R
942
Am78
Y142

Arnold Bennett

DOMINICAN COLLEGE
LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL, CALIF.

THE

ANNUAL REGISTER,

OR A VIEW OF THE

HISTORY,

POLITICS,

AND

LITERATURE,

For the YEAR 1800.

LONDON:

Printed for C. and J. RIVINGTON, N° 62, St. Paul's Church-Yard, and No. 3, Waterloo-Place, Pall-Mall;

By R. Gilbert, St. John's Square, Clerkenwell.

942
An78
v.42

21343

PREFACE.

THE Volume of the Annual Register now committed to the press, supplies one of the *lacunæ* by which our Series has been interrupted; and we confidently hope, ere long, that we shall succeed in filling up that which at present remains to be completed.

The attention of the reader need scarcely be drawn to the magnitude of the events which distinguished the closing year of the XIXth Century. They plainly speak for themselves. The victories of Marengo and of Hohenlinden consolidated the power which Buonaparte had seized; and his subsequent steps from the Consulate to the Imperial Throne, were few and rapid. In recounting the campaigns both of Italy and Germany, we have largely availed ourselves of the numerous authentic documents which have been given to the world since the fall and death of Napoleon, and in this respect our readers will be material

gainers by our delay. The progress of the Union with Ireland has been traced in the Sister Country with such minuteness as our limits permitted; and we have faithfully incorporated into our pages, reports of the most brilliant and important speeches which that eventful measure produced in the Irish Parliament.

It is scarcely necessary to remind our Readers that the time which has elapsed since the period the Volume treats of has admitted of the accession of much valuable matter, of which we have availed ourselves; and we dismiss the Volume with a just confidence that no labour has been spared to make it a correct Register of the Annals of the Year.

THE

ANNUAL REGISTER,

FOR THE YEAR 1800.

THE

HISTORY OF EUROPE.

CHAPTER I.

Agitation of Paris during the Revolution of the 9th of November. Joy on the Overthrow of the Directory. First Sitting of the Provisional Consuls. Ascendency of Buonaparte. New Ministry. Berthier, War-Minister. Gaudin, Minister of Finance. Supplies. He abolishes the forced Loan, and produces various Reforms. Cambaceres, Minister of Justice—Reinhard, of Foreign Relations—Forfait, of the Admiralty—La Place, of the Interior. Objection of Sieyes to Fouché, as Minister of Police. Negatived by Buonaparte. Sentences of Deportation. Repealed. Abolition of the Law of Hostages. Recall of the deported Priests. Protection extended to Religion. Release of the shipwrecked Emigrants. Suppression of the Oath of hatred to Royalty, and of the Festival commemorating the Death of Louis XVI. New Constitution. Oath of Fidelity. Projects of Sieyes. Lists of Notability. Conservative Senate. Tribunate. Legislative Body. His Plans for the Government are rejected. Three Consuls appointed. Pre-eminence of the First. Buonaparte appointed First Consul—Cambaceres, Second—Lebrun, Third.

THE provisional Consuls who had overthrown the Directory, lost no time in quieting the alarm which this fresh Revolution had occasioned in the Capital. The 9th of November, 1799, was a day of lively agitation, from the uncertainty of its issue. The

detestation in which the Government and the persons of the Directors were held, and the popularity of the General by whom their tyranny was assailed, contributed with equal force to render any misgiving of his success a subject of painful anxiety; and the very eagerness with which the hope of his triumph was encouraged, perhaps occasioned the circulation of reports of his failure. It was confidently asserted, that his design had miscarried, and it was left doubtful whether he had perished in its attempt, or was reserved for judicial punishment. A renewal of the reign of terror was fearfully anticipated, and every family in Paris imagined that itself was involved in individual danger.

It was not till evening that any certainty of the events which had occurred at St. Cloud was obtained in the Capital. The news of Buonaparte's triumph was received with transports of enthusiasm; and the streets were thronged during the night by crowds eagerly repeating, or listening to, the Proclamation which had been read to them by torch-light. In this, the Citizens were informed of the various overtures which the several parties had made to Buonaparte since his return from Egypt, and the refusal with which he had unequivocally met them all. The causes of the removal of the Councils, their tumultuous sittings, the attempt at assassination, and the forcible dispersion of the factious members were next detailed, and in conclusion, the Resolutions of the peaceable majority, which had framed a new law for the Republic, were announced as wholesome provisions for the State, inviting the congratulations of every good Frenchman.

The Consuls held their first sitting on the morning of the 11th, and the election of a President was the earliest subject which required their decision. Buonaparte placed himself in the chair; and whatever hope Sieyes might have entertained of exercising a preponderating influence, was destroyed at the moment by an observation of Ducos. In the Cabinet of the Directory the vote of Ducos, (who, without great talent, possessed good sense,) had been regulated by that of Sieyes; and it is probable that the latter expected him to pursue the same line of conduct on his accession to the new triumvirate; but Ducos, without hesitation, abandoned all discussion as to the Presidency, remarking, that it belonged by right to Buonaparte. The rapacity of the late Directors was instanced by a striking occurrence during this first sitting. Sieyes, in whom avarice was a ruling passion, mysteriously exhibited a cabinet, containing 800,000 francs, which had been set apart as a fund to be apportioned to each Director on his retirement from office. The spoil was declared now to belong to the two of the late Executive who remained; and Buonaparte, equally unwilling to irritate his colleagues by preventing their division, or to compromise himself by accepting a share, permitted Sieyes to apply two-thirds of the whole sum to his own use, and to bestow the remainder on Ducos. The sitting lasted several hours, and Sieyes, for the first time, per-

ceived that his labours had been employed for the aggrandizement of another. Buonaparte concisely, but forcibly delivered his opinions, not only on military affairs, but on all matters connected with internal policy, finance, and jurisprudence. When the discussion closed, and Sieyes returned to his friends, his impression of his colleague's ascendency was distinctly avowed. "Gentlemen," he said, "we have a master. General Buonaparte knows every thing, wants every thing, and can do every thing. In our deplorable situation, it is better to submit than to excite dissensions, which must produce certain ruin."

The organization of a new Ministry naturally was the subject occupying the immediate attention of the Consuls. The War department had been filled by Dubois de Crancé, a man utterly incompetent to its duties. There were no returns in his office; and the troops were neither paid, victualled, nor clothed, through his agency. The laborious and active Berthier, who succeeded him, was long employed in the necessary preliminary of obtaining official statements; and the confidence reposed in him was strongly marked by the large sum, (more than 130 millions) placed at his command. The Treasury, which had been under the management of Lindet, whose sole qualification was integrity, was completely empty of coin. Paper it possessed in abundance; checks, bills, notes, and schedules, which had succeeded the short-lived circulation of assignats. Public credit was annihilated, and every source of supply was dried up; disorder, waste, and jobbing, pervaded the whole department. The reform of these abuses was committed to Gaudin, a financier of skill, regularity, and probity, who had been employed both under the Monarchy and by the Convention; and who had the singular prudence to refuse a like engagement when offered by the Directors. His first measure was, the repeal of a grinding and destructive law, which, under the title of a compulsory and progressive loan for an hundred millions, had deteriorated all commercial and agricultural property, by assessing contributions, not only according to the amount of a direct impost, but by the arbitrary, and in many instances, corrupt opinion of a jury. In lieu of this oppressive and unproductive measure, was substituted a tax of 25 per cent. additional upon all contributions, direct or indirect; which was collected without difficulty, and produced 50 millions. Those who had already paid to the forced loan, were entitled to a discharge from this additional demand, as far as the amount of their former contributions extended; and whatever balance might ultimately appear in their favour, was reimbursed out of the general stock. A supply for immediate exigencies was obtained from the merchants of Paris, by an unreluctant loan of 12 millions. The sale of the domains of the House of Orange, reserved to France by the treaty of the Hague, produced 24 millions; and checks for the redemption of annuities, (*bons de rescription*, answering, in some mea-

sure, to our English Treasury warrants) were issued for 150 millions more. An additional sum of the same amount was raised by a complicated scheme, in which the holders of notes of *territorial inscription*, were allured to embark by the irresistible fascination of a Lottery.

In all the details of his executive, Gaudin promoted an immediate and most beneficial reform. A Commission of management was appointed to regulate the public contributions, which exclusive of its greater efficiency, conducted its proceedings at an expence of two millions less than a similar establishment had cost the Directory. The returns of the collectors were made payable at fixed and early dates; and the taxes were thus levied, and rendered available almost as soon as they were imposed. The forest lands also, from which a rental of 40 millions was derived, were subjected to a new Commission; not, however, without popular apprehension, that the revival of signorage and ancient feudal rights was intended to follow. The fear was groundless, and the public was soon as much satisfied with this, as with all the other projects effected by Gaudin.

The administration of justice was continued in the hands of Cambaceres, at the same time that numerous alterations were made among the tribunals. Reinhard, a native of Wurtemburg, retained, for a time, his post of Minister of Foreign Relations. Talleyrand, who had been dismissed from this office, and for whom it was again ultimately destined, was not at first brought forward. He partook of the unpopularity of the Directors; and until domestic tranquillity was secured, as the duties of this station were almost nominal, it little mattered upon whom it was conferred. The Admiralty was committed to Forfait, a distinguished Naval Architect; and the Ministry of the Interior to Laplace, the celebrated Geometrician. Each of these eminent persons, disappointed public expectation. Their talents were unfitted for practical life, and the latter in particular, as was forcibly observed of him by the very Patron who had called him forth from his closet, carried the doctrine of infinite littleness into the business of administration.

In all these appointments, the three Consuls unanimously concurred. Against the retention of Fouché, as Minister of Police, Sieyes, for the first time, strongly remonstrated. The whole life of Fouché had been equally distinguished by versatility and by violence. Born at Nantes, in the early scenes of the Revolution, he had addressed himself to the passions of the rabble by popular harangues, until he was called to fill a subordinate political station in his department. Here his activity secured him the appointment of Deputy, and in the Convention, he was an ardent supporter of Collot d'Herbois, in whose worst enormities he fully participated. On the fall of Robespierre, he was proscribed as a Terrorist, but fortunately escaped the scaffold; and, under the Directory, by attaching himself to Barras, he amassed wealth

at the expence of no little public hatred, by sharing in Government contracts. In his functions as Minister of Police, an office to which he had now for so many months been promoted, he rendered himself particularly odious to Sieyes and his partizans, by incessant attempts to suppress or to silence the *Manege* and other societies, avowedly opposed to the Directors. Buonaparte, without admitting him to his confidence, perceived that his talents might be usefully employed. He relied upon creating fidelity, by making it his interest to be faithful: and, notwithstanding the objections urged by Sieyes, Fouché was not removed. This, indeed, was the secret of Buonaparte's influence over his times. He employed men of all classes and of all parties, with no retrospect to the past, and with no guarantee but their powers, and his own vigilance for the future.

Sieyes was well acquainted with the clamours raised against himself by the Anarchists; and although now in plenitude of power, he lived in perpetual terror of assassination. His colleagues were frequently amused by his idle and unreasonable fears; and on one occasion, when in the dead of the night, he burst into the chamber of Buonaparte at the Luxemburg, to reveal a plot which he had just discovered through his secret Police, he was discomfited by an inquiry, whether the Consular Guards were corrupted? On his replying in the negative, he was dismissed with a brief admonition, that his alarm was causeless, for that *in war, as well as in love, the agents must come to close quarters before matters could be concluded.*

It is, perhaps, to these alarms of Sieyes, rather than to general policy, that a measure must be attributed, the severity of which little accorded with the mild tenor, by which, in other points, the Provisional Government was distinguished. Without any trial, or even a form of accusation, the terrors of deportation were renewed by a simple decree. Thirty-two disturbers of the public peace, as they were termed by the Edict, many of them ex-members of the Council of Five Hundred, were banished to Guiana, and twenty-two more to such place as the Minister of Police should determine upon in the Commune of Rochelle. In the first list were names atrociously distinguished in the annals of the Revolution, and stained with blood in some of its foulest horrors; but in the second, were none blazoned by past crimes; and, for the most part, the victims could only be *suspected* of hostility to the newly formed Government. All parties united against this decree of deportation. The friends of moderate principles considered the sentence as a blot upon those men, who having conspired and effected the overthrow of a tyrannous oligarchy, ought not to permit in themselves the least resemblance to the despotism which they had destroyed. The more vehement Republicans declaimed against it as the first step in a course of re-action. The public voice condemned the unjust punishment of such of the exiled as it would have rejoiced to see pu-

nished with justice, and rejected the sweeping enactment which confounded guilty wretches to whom banishment was an extension of clemency, with others against whom no accusation but that of attachment to a different form of Government could be fairly adduced. The Consuls perceived their false step, and retracted it in good season. A second decree commuted this arbitrary banishment into a mere observation by the Police; and soon after, as if to atone for extremity of rigour, by an equal relaxation, some of those whose lives might have justly paid the penalty of their crimes, were appointed to posts of emolument and of trust. Even Arena, who had been distinguished by his excess of violence against the person of Buonaparte on the day of the dispersion of the Councils, and whose hand was said to have been raised against his life, was not excluded from the benefit of pardon.

That clemency might justly be suspected which restored to the privileges of citizenship Fournier, yet reeking with blood from the prisons of Orleans; Jourdille and Xavier Andouin, accomplices of the sanguinary Marat; Antonnelle, upon whom rested the chief guilt of the massacre of two and twenty Deputies, assassinated in 1793; and Sonthonax deep-dyed in the barbarities of St. Domingo. But this act was succeeded by others equally agreeable to Justice and to Policy. The *Law of Hostages*, dictated by the Jacobins of the *Manege*, in July, 1799, had deprived of civil rights nearly 200,000 citizens, by making them answerable in person and property for events not within their control. By this ferocious measure, all relations of emigrants, without distinction, were made responsible for any acts of violence committed in disturbed districts. Hostages, selected from these classes, were assembled in a central spot of each department, and four of them were deported to Guiana for every public functionary, soldier, or purchaser of national domains, who fell by the hands of numerous armed troops, which either from hostility to the Republic, or from the base hope of pillage, ravaged the interior of France. Extraordinary fines also were inflicted on these miserable victims of persecution, to defray the expences attendant upon an extensive system of *espionage*, and to furnish indemnities for the losses of the Republicans. It is easy to imagine the abuses to which such a power was exposed in a country under the influence of violent excitation, and bitter mutual hostility; and among the countless miseries produced by the fury or the short-sighted policy of the various factions which swayed France in the progress of the Revolution, none were more deeply or more extensively felt than those inflicted by the *Law of Hostages*, till it was repealed by the Consular government.

The prisons teemed with captives; not less than 9000 victims of political rancour were languishing in confinement. The fury of the Theophilanthropists had been especially directed against the Clergy, and the hope of eradicating Christianity had armed the Executive against all who bore

the name of Priest, whether they had accepted or declined the proposed oaths. Guiana, the Isle of Rhé, and the fortresses of the interior, were thronged with such Ecclesiastics as had not been able to find refuge in emigration. The Churches were shut up, and the observance of the Sabbath was suppressed. The attention of the Provisional Consuls was promptly and decisively addressed to the arrest of persecution, and to the revival of at least a form of Religion. All Priests, who consented to subscribe an oath of fidelity to the existing Government, were released from deportation or imprisonment; controversial propositions were carefully avoided; and, with the nicest attention to the scruples of conscience, the Executive only required a political guarantee for its ownsecurity. In the fluctuating state of public opinion, and the total demoralization which had resulted from the convulsions of the Revolution, it was not prudent, and, perhaps, it was not possible, to attempt the immediate re-establishment of a National Church; nor, indeed, otherwise than as an engine of State, was such a measure ever contemplated or pursued by Buonaparte, even at a subsequent period, when the turbulence of the contending parties had been controlled and calmed. But his deep knowledge of mankind enabled him to perceive that Irreligion was closely linked with Anarchy; and that until some more powerful restraint than that of mere human law was imposed upon the passions of the multitude, all attempt to found a permanent system of Government would be vain and hopeless. The Churches were re-opened, the Law of the Decades was repealed, the Sabbath was again sanctified, and funeral honours were decreed to the deceased Pope. Such persons of either sex, as adhering to former religious vows, declined general intercourse with the world, received pensions for their support on a simple declaration of allegiance; and by the indiscriminate protection extended to all forms of worship, in the progress of a few months no less than 20,000 Ecclesiastics returned to the bosom of their country.

Nor were the Priests the only class of emigrants towards whom the lenity of the new Government took pains to manifest itself. All who had been oppressed by the preceding transitory systems, were included in the general amnesty, on the condition of present fidelity. A strong sensation was excited by the release of nine unhappy prisoners, who, for several years past had dragged on a captivity, rendered more fearful by the indecision of their Judges. A vessel, which had left England for La Vendée with arms and military stores, had been stranded on the coast of Calais. Among its crew were some of the most ancient and honourable names of France: a Talmont, a Montmorenci, and Choiseuil. They were found on the list of emigrants, and they were evidently proceeding to join the insurgents of the west, with a hostile intention. Had they been taken prisoners in open contest, the law awarded death as their doom; yet, although there was some reluctance to inflict this extreme penalty upon offenders, whom the chance of the elements

had thrown within the power of their enemies, there was no willingness to remit their punishment altogether; and they were transferred from prison to prison, and from tribunal to tribunal, in perpetual suspense as to their ultimate destiny. Martin, the late ferocious Minister of Internal Police, insisted that they came under the denomination of emigrants, returning without permission; but no Court, either civil or military, would accord the warrant for their execution.

The Consuls, on their first accession to power, unhesitatingly adjudged the discharge and immunity of these miserable sufferers, and enabled them to quit France in safety.

One other measure attested the wish of the Provisional Government for general conciliation. Though surrounded by men who had voted for the death of Louis XVI. it was not requisite that in employing their services the Consuls should adopt their doctrines. A festival was still celebrated on the anniversary of the death of the late King. Buonaparte abolished it. Joy, he remarked, on such an occasion was misplaced, whether the act itself was just or unjust, politic or impolitic. Whatever might be its merits, it was still a calamity, and oblivion regarding it, was of all things the best. The oath of hatred to Royalty was suppressed upon like grounds. It can be little doubted that the sagacity of Buonaparte penetrated more deeply into future events than he ventured openly to declare in his reasoning upon these decrees; and they may be considered as so many steps which he foresaw it was necessary to construct, before he could attain the elevation which he subsequently won, and which he already must have conceived in his spirit. While a solemn oath pledged every citizen to the abhorrence of monarchical sway, no single hand could ever hope to wield the sceptre with security; and it was necessary to extinguish the remembrance of the detestation of Kings before he attempted to grasp a power far more unlimited than that which Kings themselves had ever possessed. This supposition is borne out by an anecdote which rests on his own authority. At one of the first public festivals, in honour of the Consulate, Sieyes expressed his conviction, that notwithstanding the apparent joy of the people, they were far from being satisfied, and that they never would be so till they saw the Dukes and Marquesses of the old Court in the Antichamber of the Thuilleries. "Sieyes was short-sighted, and could not see far before him," added Buonaparte, in relating the observation; "I thought as he did, that all could not end with the Republic, but I foresaw the establishment of the Empire." Within four years the test of satisfaction, which Sieyes had required, was applied, and the sovereignty of Buonaparte was firmly rooted, at least in the opinions of the French people.

Meanwhile the labours of the Consuls, and of the two Legislative Committees, were incessantly directed to the promulgation of a new Constitution. Lucien Buonaparte, Boulay de la Meurthe, Daunot, and Jacquaminot, successively presided over the Com-

mittee formed out of the Five Hundred; Lemercier, Lebrun, and Regnier, over that from the Ancients. The discussions were private, and were seldom attended by more than a moiety of the members. Their proceedings were tardy; and although the meeting of the Councils, which had been adjourned to the 20th of February, could only be prevented by the solemn acceptance of a Constitution before that day, the middle of December arrived, and little more had been done than to frame an oath of fidelity to a Constitution which did not yet exist. It was couched in the following terms: "I swear fidelity to the Republic, one and indivisible, founded on the sovereignty of the People, the Representative system, the maintenance of Liberty and Equality, and the protection of Persons and Property."

The reputation and the experience of Sieyes, made him the object of general attention during the present discussions. He had been long known as a profound thinker on the theory of Government, and the part which he had hitherto acted in the progress of the Revolution, marked him as the probable author of the forth-coming Code. It was of Sieyes that Mirabeau had early remarked, that his silence was a calamity to his country. It was on the suggestion of Sieyes, that the *Tiers Etat* had declared itself a National Assembly; that the Deputies had adopted the memorable oath, never to separate until the Constitution should be formed, and the regeneration of France should be completed *; and had decreed the suppression of the Provinces, and the division of the Republican territory into Departments. No change had yet occurred in which more or less the springs had not secretly obeyed the touch of Sieyes, and in that which was most recent, the public as yet accounted Buonaparte to be little more than his agent.

The materials which Sieyes laid before the Committees were, however, for the most part, in an unclassed and undigested form. He first produced what he termed *Lists of Notability*, from which he proposed that all public functionaries of all orders should be selected. These lists were three in number. The first, the Communal, consisted of a tenth of all the citizens of each commune, elected by the inhabitants therein; from these were to be chosen the Communal Administrations and the Justices of the Peace. The second, the Departmental, was a tenth of the Communal lists of each department: this was to furnish the Prefects, Judges, and Administrators. The third, the National, was in like manner, a tenth of the Departmental lists. The last was limited to 6000 persons, and was to supply the Government, the Ministers, the Senate, (or Grand Jury, as it was called) the Tribunal of Cassation, (Court of Repeal) and the Ambassadors. The election was to be quinquennial, and according to the proposed principle, every person employed in the public

* Called the Oath of the *Jeu de Paume*, from the Tennis Court, in the *Rue de Vieux Versailles*, in which the National Assembly first met.

service would be an absolute representative of the people.

Care was taken to sound the feelings of the many by circulating this outline, and it was received with marks of approbation. Every other project, since the year 1789, had failed in turn; and this, as it resembled none of them, possessed at least the attraction of novelty. It wore a popular form, which satisfied the Republicans; yet the proposed Notability had in it some of the sweetness of elective nobility to allure those who retained a secret, and, perhaps, unconscious attachment to departed aristocracy. Its defect was in its limitation, which, by excluding all from office whom chance or choice had excluded from the Lists of Notability, would confine the Government to the hands of a few, and these, perhaps, not the most fitting whom the Republic could produce.

The second part of the project of Sieyes had been conceived by him as early as 1795. He then wished to submit it to the Convention; but while he was yet reciting it from the Tribune, his progress was stopped by loud cries of *a bas chimeres metaphysiques*. Undismayed by this repulse, and encouraged by the success of his preliminaries, he now ventured to revive it in language not less metaphysical and obscure than that which before had provoked the murmurs of the Deputies. He proposed a Constitutional Jury, under the title of a *Conservative Senate*. It was to consist of 80 members, each above forty years of age, elected for life, and incapable of holding any other public office. The measure was introduced in terms of misty pomp. The Constitution, said he, is not endowed with life. It requires a permanent body of Judges to enter into its interests, and interpret it in all doubtful cases *. Whatever the social organization may be, it must consist of different parts: one will undertake the care of governing, the other that of discussing, and giving sanction to the Laws. These assemblies, the attributes of which will be fixed by the Constitution, will sometimes clash, and will give different interpretations of the Constitution. But the National Jury will be at hand to reconcile them, and to confine each body to its proper orbit. This part of the new plan was liked even better than the former.

The National Representation was the third matter arranged by Sieyes. It was composed of two branches: 1st, a Tribunal of 100 Deputies, each aged at least 25 years, indefinitely re-eligible, and to be renewed every year by fifths. These were to discuss the Resolutions submitted to them by a Council of State; this Council was to be named by Government, and to have the privilege of drawing up Laws. 2nd, a Legislative body of 100 Deputies, aged above 30, and renewable every year by fifths. Their duties were com-

* There is something of similar strain in the complaints of the young Patricians, after the abolition of monarchy in Rome, (Liv. ii. 3.) *Leges, rem surdam, inexorabilem esse.* Perhaps both these, and the turn of Sieyes's language, were borrowed from the distinction drawn between a King and a Republic, by Megabyzus—ὁ μὲν γὰρ, ἢ τι ποίεει, γινώσκων ποίεε· τῷ δὲ οὐ γινώσκειν ἔνι.—Her. iii. 81.

prised in voting by ballot, without discussion, upon the reports of the Tribunate. As a check upon any corrupt union between the Legislative Body and the Government, no Law was to be proclaimed until ten days after its adoption by the former, and in the intermediate time the Tribunal possessed the right of denouncing in the Senate any act which it deemed unconstitutional, even although it might have been thus adopted. The salary of a Legislator was fixed at 10,000 francs, of a Tribune at 15,000. These provisions appeared to afford such salutary checks upon the tumultuous debates and inflammatory declamations, which had been so long abused to the purposes of the factious, that they were eagerly hailed as the forerunners of a period of order and tranquillity.

The concluding project, the organization of the Government, was yet to be brought forward and explained; and Sieyes still protracted it, either from diffidence of its adoption, or from willingness to heighten expectation by the coyness of delay. He ended by proposing, that the chiefship of the Republic should be vested in a magistrate, named a Grand Elector. He was to be chosen by the Conservative Senate; the appointment was to be for life. Six millions were to be appropriated for his revenue, and 3000 guards were to protect his Palace at Versailles. He was to receive foreign Ambassadors, and to accredit those of the Republic. All civil and judicial proceedings were to bear his name; and in order to atone for the absence of more solid authority, he was to be considered the sole representative of the national glory, power, and dignity. Even the privilege which he was to possess, of nominating two Consuls, one for Peace and the other for War, and of replacing them by others, was to be exercised at a hazard which rendered it nugatory. Whenever the Senate deemed the employment of the privilege arbitrary, or opposed to the national interest, of itself it was to be able to *merge* the Grand Elector: so *merged*, he vacated his office, and descended for life to a seat in the Senate.

It was obvious that it was not for this empty and only nominal supremacy that Buonaparte had laboured; and that he would not be content to exchange that actual sovereignty, which he now possessed, through the support of the army, for any gilded show and puppetry of unsubstantial state. Hitherto he had been silent upon points which to him seemed of minor interest. He cared not who modelled the machinery, provided in the end it was adjusted to his own guidance. But here his best hopes were dashed; and if he permitted the project to be carried, he had toiled at the foundation of the edifice only to destroy himself with its crowning stone. He argued that the Grand Elector, if strictly confined by the proposed functions, was the mere fleshless shadow of a *Roi faineant*; on the other hand, that if he abused his prerogative, he was endowed with absolute power. That the dependence of the two Consuls, upon the Grand Elector, and of

the Grand Elector himself upon the Senate, destroyed all guarantee; and that the total separation of the Ministers of Peace and War would occasion an ignorance of each other's designs, and a disinclination to supply each other's necessities. These were objections which Sieyes was unable to answer. He became embarrassed, hesitated, and was silent. The remainder of his scheme had passed; but this its distinguishing characteristic, which even if it did not conceal some unavowed design of self-aggrandizement, must at least have been the favourite of its inventor, was rejected as wholly impracticable.

Various propositions succeeded. It was in contemplation at one time to establish a pure Republic; at another, to adopt the model of the United States, by electing a President for ten years, who should nominate his own Ministers, his Council, and all other subordinate officers; but in the end it was prudently determined that the freshness of recent troubles, and the spirit which had been excited by them, and was not yet laid, would not permit any sole and single authority so undisguised as that which must be vested in such a President. All opinions at length tended to a Government composed of three Consuls; the two First to be named for ten years, the Third for five, and all indefinitely re-eligible. Of these, the First was endowed with peculiar and paramount attributes. He was to promulgate Laws, to appoint and remove Civil Officers, and by possessing a determining voice, to enjoy, in fact, all real authority. The Second and Third Consuls were to be his indispensable Counsellors, to deliberate with him in all remaining acts of Government, to inscribe their names on public documents, and register their opinions, if they so pleased. The salary of the First Consul was fixed at 500,000 francs, that of the Second and Third at three-tenths of the sum.

The Provisional Government lasted forty-three days. The Constitution thus arranged, was published and submitted to the sanction of the people on the 13th of December, and proclaimed on the 24th. Books were opened to receive the votes of Citizens, for its acceptance or rejection; three millions twelve thousand five hundred and sixty-nine names approved, and one thousand five hundred and sixty-two objected to the project. Its popularity could not reasonably be doubted. The supremacy was occupied by Buonaparte, who chose Cambaceres as Second Consul, Lebrun as Third. These minor agents were strongly, although amicably, opposed in opinions and in principles. Cambaceres, whom the First Consul termed the *man of abuses*, was about fifty years of age, and sprang from an ancient and honourable family in Languedoc. He had practised ably at the Bar, and while holding a seat in the Convention, was distinguished for his moderation. His feelings, as as far as the temper of the times permitted them to be undisguised, were in favour of the old regime. To him was especially confided the administration of justice. Lebrun, on the other hand, *the man of idealisms*, had a bias to the opposite extreme. He was ten

years older than Cambaceres, of Norman extraction, and had been deputed to the Council of Ancients by the department of La Manche. Though of humble birth, he had established a reputation for the graces of his style as a writer, when formerly, in 1770, he had been employed as Secretary, in drawing up the decrees of the Chancellor Maupeon; and, in a lighter department of letters, he was advantageously known by a translation of the Gerusalemme of Tasso, which had been once attributed to Jean Jaques Rousseau. Buonaparte always spoke of him as his guide during the first years of his Consulship; and his knowledge of finance proved essentially useful.

Sieyes might have held the post of Second Consul, if he had chosen to receive it. He and Ducos, as Consuls going out of office*, were nominated Members of the Conservative Senate, and with the Second and Third Consuls, they named the majority of that body which then completed itself. Sieyes was its first President. After lengthened nightly sittings and wearisome discussions, by which his health was much affected at the time, Buonaparte found himself in the possession of the highest civil, as well as military power. His ulterior views were probably fixed from this date, and his future progress may be distinctly traced as tending to the single object of the re-establishment of France as a monarchy in his own person.

* The national domain of Crosne was presented to Sieyes on his retirement. Buonaparte knew that the avarice of the Abbé was too strong to permit him to refuse the bait, and he knew also the loss of popularity which would attend its acceptance. The opportunity was too favourable for an epigram to be passed over by Lebrun, and he circulated the following lines:—

Sieyes à Buonaparte a fait présent d'un trône,
Sous ses debris pompeux croyant l'ensevelir;
Buonaparte, à son tour, lui fait présent de Crosne
Et l'enrichit pour l'avilir.

CHAPTER II.

Review of the Operations of the French Royalists since 1796. *Puisaye endeavours to renew the War in Britany. First Successes of Scepeaux and Chatillon. Advance of Hoche. Submission of Scepeaux. Activity of Georges in Morbihan. He consents to a Surrender of Arms. Successes of Frotté in Normandy. He is compelled to fly to England. Death of La Vieuville. Pacification of the West announced to the Directory. Rigorous Measures of the French Government. Disagreement among the Royalist Chiefs. Policy of the Pacific Faction. Hedouville succeeds Hoche. Puisaye embarks for England. Success of his Mission. Hopes of the Royalists. Disappointed by the Revolution of the 4th of September,* 1797. *Indiscreet Memorial of Puisaye. His Retirement to America. Depressed State of the Royal Cause. Deaths of Rochecote and Martial de*

Mandat. Great Influence of Georges. Royalist Movements during the Coalition of 1799. *Distracted State of the Western Provinces. Affairs of Mons, Nantes, St. Brieue. Movements of Hedouville. Hopes of the Royalists on the Accession of Buonaparte to the Consulate. Overtures to him from Louis XVIII., and from the Comte d'Artois through the Duchess of Guiche. Buonaparte rejects them. Intrigues of Bernier. Through him an Armistice is proposed to the Royalist Chiefs. Reasons of Buonaparte for negociating. Landing of Stores by an English Squadron. The Royalists successfully defend this Convoy at Elven. Conferences at Pouancè. Dissensions among the Chiefs. Predominance of those who were for Peace. Mission of Hyde deNeuville and d'Andigné to Buonaparte. Accounts of their Audience. Instructions from the Comte d'Artois. Warlike Appearance on both sides. An immediate Assent to the proposed Treaty, demanded by Hedouville. Indecision of the Royalists. Conferences resumed in Candé. Vigorous Measures of Buonaparte. Brune assumes the Command of the West. D'Autichamp, Chatillon, Suzannet, and La Prevelaye, sign a separate Peace. Stratagem of Bernier. Execution of two Royalists at Paris and Versailles. Affair of Grandchamp. Georges disperses his Troops. Georges and Bourmont agree to the Peace. Constancy of Frotté. He negociates. His Overtures are not answered. His Letter to d'Hugon. His Betrayal and Death. Conclusion of Bernier's History. Interview of Georges with Buonaparte. Their Accounts compared. The Comte d'Artois recommends a Cessation of open Force. Attempt of Georges during the Campaign in Italy. Peace of the West of France established.*

The conciliatory spirit manifested by Hoche, during his command in the western provinces of France in the year 1796, had contributed not less than his firmness and activity to reproduce tranquillity. On quitting that part of our narrative, (vol. xxxviii. p. 117.) we proposed to renew it subsequently at a much greater length of detail, than the abortive nature of the continued attempts to renew the war in Britany, appears to us at present to deserve. We shall now, therefore, content ourselves with a brief summary of the chief events which occurred among the insurgent Royalists, from the death of their brave and lamented Chiefs, Stofflet and Charette, to the accession of the Consulate.

The whole of La Vendée, Upper Anjou, and the left bank of the Loire, were reduced to submission in April 1796, and the oppressive burden of a military yoke had been in a great measure lightened by the wise civil organization which Hoche had succeeded in establishing. In Britany alone the spirit of resistance appeared to be unsubdued. Puisaye, by his incessant representations of the good faith and the ability of the inhabitants, had obtained promises from the British Government of a monthly subsidy of 25,000*l.*; and his views were ardently seconded by

the Comte de Botherel, who enjoyed the confidence of the exiled Princes, and the Cabinet of St. James's. Botherel was accredited, by the insurgent Chiefs on a mission to Monsieur and the English ministers. In a personal audience with the former, he received his final instructions in Janury 1796; and notwithstanding the loss of the brave and ardent individuals who had been the soul of the Bourbon cause in La Vendée, and the consequent dissolution of the Confederacy in that Province, Puisaye, in the course of April, felt sufficient confidence in the relations which he had established with England, to give orders for a general attack of the Republicans within his own district.

Several skirmishes occurred in consequence of this order; of little importance as to their general result, but sufficiently manifesting the determined bravery, the ill discipline, and the poverty of resources among the Royalists, who, in more than one instance, were compelled to fight in order to procure ammunition. Mean time Hoche had crossed the Loire; and the right bank of that river, from Angers to Nantes, was covered with his soldiers. His proclamations denounced the bitterest vengeance against all who continued to resist, or who refused to aid the cause of the Republic. "Peasants! will ye stupidly remain neutral spectators of the evils which desolate you? Is it only the fall of the thunderbolt which can break your sluggish slumber? Useless are all the struggles of a criminal few; useless their efforts to retain arms, of which, long ago, they must have perceived the weakness. They must now submit, or perish. What has been the perpetual result of their senseless projects? Death and defeat, at the will of the Republic. Four winter months have sufficed to terminate the war in that Province, which thought itself most powerful. And you—you who are but half armed, who owe all your stores to treason—know that the clue of your perfidies is unravelled. The armies are approaching you. Hasten while there is yet a place left for repentance, and live with us under the common protection of the same laws."

Undismayed by these threats, and by the numbers pouring in upon them, Scepeaux and Chatillon attacked a Republican corps at Auverner. After a short, but brisk engagement, the village was carried, and 200 of the enemy were left dead on the field. A like success attended an ambuscade which was laid to intercept a convoy proceeding to Segré: the Republican commander, and a great part of his escort were killed, and the insurgents were intoxicated with joy at this fortunate commencement of their operations. Yet in spite of these petty victories, scarcely 15,000 men could be collected under their banners, between the Loire and the Vilaine; and against this, for the most part, undisciplined rabble, were opposed twice that number of well organized and well appointed troops. Rapidly spreading themselves over the face of the country, they successively occupied every town, village, and hamlet. The families of the Royalists were driven to hiding places

in caves and forests; and women, nursed in the lap of tenderness and luxury, were exposed to the bitterest extremities of privation, and the almost uninterrupted hazard of life. Scepeaux, without provisions, pressed on all sides, and hopeless of succour, still sought to gain time by proposing a suspension of arms; but Hoche was not thus to be deceived. He demanded unlimited submission: and in spite of the pertinacious reluctance of Puisaye, who deprecated all separate accommodation, and spoke of fresh insurrections in Maine and Normandy, as far counterbalancing the losses in La Vendée, Scepeaux felt himself compelled to admit the final propositions of the Republican commander. By these, which were far more lenient than might have been anticipated, sufficient time was allowed to such emigrants as chose to profit by the permission, for retirement to England, Swisserland, or America. The peasants surrendered their arms. The Chiefs received safe conducts; and Scepeaux, discovering the hopelessness of the cause which he had adopted, for the future adhered faithfully to the treaty which he had concluded, and never again appeared in arms.

The resistance in Morbihan for a while was more effectual. The alert and indefatigable Georges was every day engaged with different divisions, and for the most part successfully. On one occasion he had nearly fallen a victim, to an act of double perfidy. The town of Vannes was in the heart of the insurrection, and a friendly communication, as was believed, had been established with some of the officers of its garrison. An attack was concerted, with their privity, to take place at a time in which they stated there was a certainty of surprise. The troops of Georges, already in motion, were nearly under the fire of the masked batteries, which were prepared to open for their destruction, when the treachery was fortunately discovered, while there was yet time for retreat.

The facilities of communication with the English by the coast, encouraged Georges in his resistance; and frequent debarkations of arms and stores enabled him to protract the warfare. The proclamation of Hoche was disregarded, and his presence every day became more necessary for the restoration of tranquillity. On the plains of Lominé he narrowly escaped an ambuscade of Royalists. His hussars were closely engaged with the insurgents, and routed them in the end, with the loss of one of their bravest officers, Lantivy du Reste, whose brother had fallen in the same cause not long before. It was only a precipitate flight which saved the Comte de Botherel, whose capture would have been important to the Republicans, since he was personally charged with the instructions of the Comte d'Artois.

It was not only with the enthusiasm of Royalist devotion that Hoche had to contend on his arrival in Morbihan. Disorder and irregularity pervaded all the departments of the Republican Government; the offers of amnesty, which he had proclaimed in other

districts, were here either carelessly or purposely suppressed; and the scaffold was daily moistened with the blood of recusant but unoffending Priests, whose patient sufferings elevated them into martyrs in the estimation of the peasants, and linked the cause of Monarchy and Religion, by bonds which appeared inseparable. These abuses and cruelties were speedily remedied, and the result was immediate. Submission was all that was demanded even from the Chiefs of the insurgents; and Georges, indignant at the secession of the other Royalist Generals, and finding all hope of temporizing vain, consented to a general surrender of arms.

An individual search was peremptorily forbidden. The arms were to be deposited *en masse*, so that the invidiousness of a private inquisition was avoided, and considerable latitude was permitted for concealment. It was evident from the disproportion of returns, to the known numbers of the insurgents, that they had profited largely by this opportunity; and there could be little doubt that Georges, who remained in the country, and preserved his influence undiminished, was only tranquillized for the moment.

Mean time, in Normandy, Frotté rivalled the bravery and perseverance of Georges in Morbihan. An attack, which in the course of March he had made on the garrison of Tinchevray, was bloody in its results to both parties. At St. Cormiar he succeeded in putting a Republican division completely to the rout; three hundred of the vanquished were killed: and in the last engagement of the campaign, which occurred during the month of May, Martial de Mandat, a chief, who might have graced the times of chivalry, obtained equal honour at Tracey. Hoche was impatient at these continued reverses. He directed numerous reinforcements to the scene of action, and being in full possession of the country, he was well pleased to hear that Frotté, who perceived the necessity of surrender, but was resolved to enter into no personal treaty, had taken refuge in England.

The death of a single leader, in the department of Ille et Vilaine, more effectually secured the submission of that country than all the previous successes of the Republicans in the field. The family of La Vieuville had possessed large hereditary property in Britany; and, during the Monarchy, Hoche had served under this officer as his serjeant, in a company of French Guards. In a former period of the Royalist war, Vieuville and Hoche had met, and the latter indignantly repulsed the superiority which the former, from the recollection of their past relations, endeavoured to assume. From that moment Vieuville had sworn never to submit, and he faithfully adhered to his vow. The district which he occupied with his division, held the key of the chief communication with England; and while part of his troops observed the coast, part also held the Republican quarters in check. For a long time the enemy acted solely upon the defensive before him; but when the general operations

of the campaign had been organized by Hoche, Vieuville was successively defeated, and driven from his numerous outposts to the Chateau de Lahoussaye, from which, as his head-quarters, he had been used to direct the movements of his partizans. This also in the end was abandoned, and the stores found in it evinced that the resources of the Royalists were far more formidable in this district, than they had appeared to be in any other. Vieuville still meditated hostile measures, and in the numerous conferences which he held with Puisaye, resistance was the watch-word of both. The surprise of the fortress of Chateauneuf was his favourite scheme, and to this he at length directed himself through the forest of Villequartier, by a route, the hazard of which Puisaye ineffectually demonstrated. A Republican detachment encountered him in his march, and the first volley terminated his life, and deprived the insurgents of one of their boldest leaders.

Puisaye, Chalus, and a small band of brothers, alone remained unconquered. The Royalists, as a party, were extinct for a time in Britany. Spies pressed upon their retreats on all sides, and Hoche succeeded in exciting a general distrust both in the assistance promised by England, and in the agents employed by the exiled family. It was believed that the paper drafts on the English Bank notes were forged, and that the coin furnished by it was debased; especial pains were taken to raise jealousies among the followers of the different branches of the Bourbon race, and an impression was sedulously created, that the restoration of a Monarch might be agreeable to the French people, provided that Monarch was not Louis XVIII. The face of Britany and Normandy was swept by more than 60,000 men. Scarcely a murmur was heard; the roads were no longer beset by an armed banditti, and, in the fields, the labours of agriculture had profitably recommenced. The pacification of the West was announced by the Legislative Body to the Directory on the 15th of July (1796), and a public decree proclaimed, that Hoche and his army had deserved well of their country.

But the measures which had produced these successful results, however beneficial in themselves to the support of the faction which now held the sovereign power in France, were little in unison with its general policy. The system of mildness, which Hoche had adopted, was represented not to spring from humanity and wisdom, but from weakness, perhaps from disaffection. All compromise with the Royalists, which permitted them to emigrate instead of dragging them to the scaffold, was held up to public reprobation; and scarcely a month had elapsed from the peaceable submission of the West, before a persecution was again commenced against the Priests and the Ex-Generals of the insurgents. Scepeaux and Dubois-guy were arrested, and placed in close confinement, and several of their minor officers shared the same fate. Puisaye succeeded in concealing himself, and continued in uninterrupted correspondence with England, and with his friends

in the interior. Dissatisfied with the conduct of those Chiefs who had been compelled to temporize, he complained loudly of their defection; and the breach between himself and the accredited agents of the Comte d'Artois, hourly became wider. No views of personal danger could induce him to abandon his post of honour; and to the offers of the English Ministers (who, after representing the inutility of farther resistance, and the extreme peril to which he was exposed, tendered him an asylum, and whatever money he deemed requisite for his own safety;) he nobly replied, by a request, that they would apply the money to the aid of his few faithful comrades, and an avowal, that he would never quit France until he despaired of serving the cause of his King.

Perpetually employed in endeavours to rekindle the war, he passed the latter months of 1796 in ineffectual Memorials to the British Cabinet, and in equally vain remonstrances with the pacific party which had gained the confidence of the Bourbon Princes. The policy upon which the Royalists now determined to act, was opposed to all measures of force. France, they thought, was not to be won by the sword, nor by the blood of Frenchmen; but a vast secret association, spreading itself from the banks of the Var to the mountains of Auvergne, from the Pyrenees to the Alps, was gradually, in the very bosom of the Republic, to call into fresh life, and to resuscitate the spirit of the ancient Monarchy. For this purpose all resistance nominally was to cease. The members of the mysterious union were to be unveiled to each other by a Freemasonry, known only to themselves; to all others they were to be impenetrable; and merged, as it were, in the great mass of the population, they were no longer to affect the self-denial of political recusants, but eagerly to accept, and even to seek, all offices, civil or military, which the Republican Government might venture to confide to them.

Hoche had penetrated the secret of this combination, and had denounced it to the Directory before he surrendered his Government in the West. The command of an expedition, projected against Ireland, was soon to withdraw him from the Provinces which he had succeeded in tranquillizing, and his favourite hope was, to awaken in the British Isles, that flame of civil war which their Government had so long supported in France. While directing the preparations for this expedition, he had twice nearly fallen a victim to base attempts at assassination. A pistol was discharged at him, but without effect, as he quitted the theatre at Rennes; and again at Brest, just previous to his embarkation, he suffered violently from poison. The defeat and dispersion of his armament, his tranfer to the command of the army of the Sambre and the Meuse, and his premature and lamented death, have already been related. He was succeeded in the West by Hedouville.

The failure of the Royalist plans through the treachery of Malo, and the dissolution of the vast confederacy upon which the hopes of the Bourbon agents had

so long been fixed, need not be repeated here, and we turn to them only as they occasioned the final secession of Puisaye. The confessions of Duverne, while in imprisonment, developed all the secrets of the Cabinet of the dethroned King. The projects of the Royalists, the names of their principal officers or agents, the missions which had been confided to them, and the Provinces in which their powers were to be established, were all revealed to the Directory. All who were prepared to assume arms, all who were depositaries of English gold, the separate bearings of the Union, and the Chiefs who organized it, were indiscriminately betrayed. But his most extraordinary discoveries, were those which displayed to the Royalists themselves the divisions in their own councils. Georges, Puisaye, Frotté, and Rochecote, for the first time perceived how little they were included in the confidence of their Princely masters; and indignant at the systematic opposition which had covertly rendered all their designs useless, they resolved to depute one of their body to make strong personal representations to the Comte d'Artois. In March 1797, Puisaye having intrusted the conduct of affairs in his absence to Chalus, his Major-general, embarked for Guernsey. After a distinguished reception by the Governor, he resumed his passage for London, and there held conferences both with the English Ministers and the chief resident emigrants. The latter vividly participated in his resentment, and his own complaints were strongly seconded by the despatches which he received from Georges. "Undeceive our unhappy Prince," said this gallant and devoted leader, "and expose to merited disgrace this intriguing faction which abuses his confidence. If, unfortunately, it continues to preserve the authority which it so little deserves, sooner or later THE CAUSE will be overwhelmed by its cabals."

Puisaye's reception by Monsieur, at Edinburgh, at first was cold and repulsive; but he gradually succeeded in removing the mist of prejudice by which the views of that Prince had been obscured. He obtained a written approval of his plans, and an instruction for Chalus to persevere in the same course during his own absence; and as a special mark of Royal favour, commissions of Marshals were addressed by the authority of the King to Chatillon, Chalus, Georges, and Mercier. In the English Cabinet, Mr. Secretary Windham eagerly listened to every project of insurrection; through him the Prince d'Auvergne, though personally hostile to Puisaye, received orders to direct the arms and stores which he retained in Jersey, to the service of the Chouans re-assembling in Britany. A subsidy of 1000*l.* per month was granted to the inhabitants of Morbihan; Normandy was again committed to the active superintendence of the brave Martial de Mandat; and although infinite caution was taken to prevent any premature display of force, every thing betokened the approach of a new convulsion.

The struggles between the two Councils and the Directory, and

the odium with which the whole existing Government was regarded by all parties, stimulated the alacrity, and increased the hopes of the Royalists. The majority of the nation supported the Councils, but the army adhered to the tyrannical oligarchy of the Luxemburg. Never, perhaps, had the friends of Monarchy been more sanguine, and never were their expectations to be more completely blasted. The indecision of Pichegru, whose connection with the adherents of the Bourbons, at this moment, has never been fully explained, paralyzed their movements, and passed over the only moment in which they might have been successful. The lapse of a single day destroyed all hope, and the denouncement of the Triumvirate, which if it had taken place, according to the original design, on the 3rd of September (1797) would have been supported by the armed force of half the Capital, was postponed until the Revolution of the 4th consolidated the sovereignty of the three Directors, and rendered all further efforts against it vain. The most lively apprehension was excited by a proposition of Boulay de la Meurthe, that all Priests and Nobles should be deported *en masse*. It was rejected, not so much from its inhumanity, as from its evident impolicy; and most of the Royalist officers, who had been gathered in Paris, and were anxiously awaiting the moment at which they might triumphantly come forward, were able to disperse and to conceal themselves. Two only of any note, Mesnard and de Trion, were discovered and shot in the plain of Grenelle. That the Bourbonists were betrayed on every side there can be little doubt: and it is more than probable, that their projects were known to the Directory from the beginning, and were tacitly and insensibly guided by it, till they were sufficiently ripened to assist in the catastrophe of the 4th of September, which, by the force of the bayonet, was to render the three tyrants independent of every civil party in the State, and to establish their Government on the formidable basis of military power.

Puisaye made yet one effort more, and it was such as could be little justified under the desperate circumstances to which his party was reduced. In a letter, bearing date the 5th of December (1797) and addressed to the Comte d'Artois, he solemnly renewed his invitation to some Prince of the Blood Royal, to place himself at the head of that which had ceased to exist—a Royalist Army. An appeal to the fourth Henri, which custom has long made necessary in all documents connected with the French Monarchy, was not likely to be omitted in this memorial; and his descendants were invoked, in his name, to abandon the uncertain asylum which they owed only to the pity of foreign Sovereigns, and to recover their right to the first throne in Europe, by the aid of hands which would never desert them. This unseasonable application, though drawn up and presented by Puisaye, bore the signatures of all the ancient Vendéan Chiefs. It was received with marked displeasure, and answered by a distinct refusal. The Chiefs who had consented to the request, disavowed the proceed-

ing, and Puisaye, left alone, no longer hesitated to retire from a contest in which his indiscreet perseverance could only injure the cause which he professed to value more than life. Through the influence of Mr. Windham he obtained a safe retreat in Canada, and received from the same English Minister a testimonial to his integrity, which many members of the Royalist party were more willing to confine to his talents.

Great pains were necessary to prevent the secession of Puisaye from disorganizing what still remained of the Royalist party in Britany. It was feared, that in a moment of irritation, he might propagate his own unfavourable impressions; and that, perhaps, his well known personal influence might induce many to accompany him to America, whose continued abode in France was considered beneficial. In order to prevent this desertion, instruments were immediately issued, confirming the principal officers in their former appointments; and naming Chalus, the confidential friend of Puisaye, Provisional Governor of Britany. This command was eventually bestowed upon the Comte de Behague, and Chalus soon after passed over into England. While remaining in that country, so great was his despair of any successful result, that he openly represented to Monsieur the impolicy of any domestic resistance, unless all Europe once again combined in arms against the Republican Government. Of such a coalition, at that moment, there could be little prospect. Europe, with the exception of England, appeared sunk in lethargic stupor; and even England, while energetically persisting in her opposition to the Revolution, no longer placed confidence in the Royalists. To the Memorials which Botherel and other ardent spirits addressed to the several Cabinets, but cold approval, if approval it could be called, was offered by the Comte d'Artois himself. He spoke of the impolitic repetition of demands, which, however just, all parties were now tired of receiving; of the abandonment, for the most part, of the early principle, that the salvation of France was compatible only with the restoration of the Bourbons; and of the conviction of the European Statesmen, that the Royalists no longer formed a body imposing either by numbers or by influence.

To the combats of the open field had succeeded the dark and dishonourable warfare of assassination; scarcely a day but was signalized, on one side or the other, by blood. The Commissioners of the Directory were waylaid and poniarded by peasant brigands, or in revenge, the unhappy prisoners whom the Gens d'Armes were instructed to escort, were shot on their passage to imprisonment, either with some mockery of form, or with a total violation of all military law. The escape of Sir Sidney Smith from the Temple, was planned and executed by some officers of Rochecote, one of them a brother of Frotté; and the prisons of Coutances were broken open by an armed force, to effect the deliverance of Destouches, an agent of the same brave Chief. On the other

hand, Rochecote himself fell a victim to the rashness which led him to encounter even the dangers of Paris; and at Caen, the gallant and lamented Martial de Mandat, was surprised and shot, carrying with him, if not the regret, at least the admiration of those who planned his destruction.

Behague, the new Governor of Britany, was too much advanced in years to be inclined to second the energetic proposals which were continually presented to him by Georges. A single fact will mark the unbounded influence which this enterprising and extraordinary man maintained in Morbihan. Still cherishing an ardent hope that the insurrection must one daybe renewed, and eagerly awaiting the first moment at which Europe should arouse herself from her slumber, his anxious care was to preserve a youthful population, whom no domestic ties should restrain from obeying an instant summons to arms. It was notified throughout Morbihan, that duty to the King for the present demanded a suspension of all nuptial engagements, and for two years unreluctant obedience was yielded to the edict without a breach and without a murmur. Death was the penalty pronounced against any Priest who administered the rite to any man under 40 years of age; but the penalty was unnecessary, for no application was made for the rite.

Mean time the prospect of European politics was changed; the Russian troops were traversing Poland and Germany, and rumours of a new coalition, which had before seemed so improbable, were daily corroborated by fresh movements of the Powers, between whom a secret alliance had been concerted. In the month of February, 1799, Georges announced the renewal of a Continental war, and summoned his adherents to muster under his banner. The frontiers demanded the armies of the Republic. Hoche had ceased to live. The conqueror of Italy, with the flower of his troops, was shut up in Egypt. Foes on all sides surrounded a weak, distracted, and detested Government. What moment could be more auspicious for the brave Vendéans to recall their King, and lead him in triumph to his ancient Capital!

Britany, Maine, Lower Anjou, and La Vendée, readily obeyed the invitation. The general levy of 200,000 Conscripts, from which these Provinces had not been exempted, swelled their indignation to the uttermost height, and the cry of revolt and vengeance was loudly echoed from all the departments of the West. The forests and defiles of Poitou and Britany, afforded secure coverts for recusants and deserters: with these were mingled brigands by profession, and a few unknown leaders. The Gens d'Armes and Republican agents who ventured into these fastnesses, paid the forfeit of their lives. Prisoners were rescued, the purchasers of national domains were carried off, and detained until they paid a stipulated ransom, and the public roads and carriages were once more beset and pillaged by a wild and ferocious band of marauders.

In these futile and unconnected struggles, the summer of 1799 was passed; but by the close of September, a more organized union had spread itself throughout

the west of France, and most of the veteran Chiefs were prepared and panting for hostilities. The unfortunate termination of the Russian campaign in Swisserland, and the failure of the English descent upon Holland, though depriving the Chouans of a powerful co-operation, to which they had looked in these quarters, by no means diminished their ardour; and after a few partial and preliminary affairs, general operations were commenced on the 15th of October, by the surprise and capture of Mans. Between two and three in the morning, the Comte de Bourmont stormed the town gates; the commandant, Simon, was desperately wounded, and the arsenal, with its stores, fell into the hands of the conquerors. The enterprise was one of the most gallant during the course of the whole Royalist war; for the garrison far outnumbered the assailants. After spiking such artillery as it was found impossible to remove, Bourmont was compelled to abandon his conquest, which was by no means tenable against a regular force.

Nantes, within a few days, (October 20th) was exposed to a similar attack, and nearly submitted to a similar fate. The Comte de Chatillon succeeded in penetrating into the centre of the town with more than 3000 Royalists, nor did he retreat till after a murderous combat. A still more daring attack was made on St. Brieue. A few emigrant officers, scarcely exceeding forty, had disembarked from England in the department of Côtes du Nord, to be distributed among the Royalists of Britany. Under the guidance of Mercier, they had securely traversed the country, and had advanced, without observation, into Morbihan. In passing by the neighbourhood of St. Brieue, they were informed that the prisons were filled with Royalists. No time was lost in requesting the aid of Georges, and he readily furnished a small detachment, which was augmented by a few chance insurgents. On the night of the 26th of October they surprised the town, which they occupied for five hours in the face of a superior force, and in the end retired, giving freedom to more than 300 prisoners.

These continued successes struck lively alarm into the distracted and enfeebled Directory. The disposeable troops with which they could afford to reinforce the disturbed Provinces, were few in number; and their chief strength consisted in the 8000 prisoners whom the English, by the capitulation at the Helder, had agreed to release from confinement. These, with the small remains of the division which had been employed against Ireland, and of the former armament of Hoche, were added to the force under Hedouville, who was instructed to renew his operations with as much vigour as his scanty power would allow.

The Vendéans had been unusually tardy in joining the insurrection, but the events at Mans, Nantes, and La Brieue, at length aroused them: in Normandy, Frotté was employed with his customary zeal; and d'Autichamp, Suzannet, and Grignon, at length took the field. Their success was far different from that of their distinguished comrades in arms. Suzannet failed in an ill concerted

attempt upon Montaigu, and d'Autichamps was still more disgracefully routed at des Aubiers. The peasants were discouraged, and Hedouville, on his arrival at Angers, unexpectedly found his task much less difficult than he had anticipated. The agents of the Directory had already prepared the field for negociation, and treachery was busy in the very heart of the Royalist camps. Under the mask of loyalty, a number of pretended emigrants had been dispersed through the West for the express purpose of obtaining the confidence of the Chiefs, and of discovering the secrets of their Union, and a great mass of intelligence, thus obtained, was communicated to the new Commander. Jealousies were successfully excited among the principal leaders, and all prospect of mutual co-operation, and mutual confidence, was irretrievably destroyed.

Such was the state of the West of France, on the accession of Buonaparte to the Consulship. The announcement of this great event was received by the emigrants in London with undisguised joy, and it was believed, that the overthrow of the Directory, was the first step to the restoration of the Bourbons.

It was not long, before overtures were made to the First Consul, directly from Louis XVIII. through the Abbé de Montesquieu, the secret agent of that Prince, at Paris. A letter written by the King, contained, among others, the following paragraph: "You delay too long to restore me to my throne. It is to be feared, that you may allow the favourable moment to escape. You cannot complete the happiness of France without *me*, nor can I serve France without *you*. Hasten then, and specify yourself, the places you would wish your friends to possess." But it was the intention of Buonaparte to play the part of Cromwell rather than that of Monk. He had laboured for himself, and he felt that he had power to retain the fruits which he had reared, without bestowing the choice of his harvest upon another. He replied, in a letter which he addressed to Louis, not as King, but as Royal Highness, that he had always felt deep interest in the misfortunes of himself and of his family, but that he must not think of appearing in France, which his presence would again deluge in blood. He concluded with an assurance, that while he himself possessed the reins of government, he would spare no pains to alleviate the hard destiny of the Bourbons, or to assist them in forgetting it.

The overtures of the Comte d'Artois were made more indirectly. The Duchess of Guiche, one of the most beautiful and fascinating women of the time, was instructed to pay her court to Madame Buonaparte, and to obtain that access to her familiar parties at Malmaison, which was no difficult task for any person of distinction connected with the ancient Court. The Duchess was readily introduced, and established herself on an easy footing. One morning, during breakfast, the conversation was directed to England and the emigrant Princes. Madame de Guiche, as if accidentally, mentioned, that a few days

before her departure from London, she happened to be present in the residence of the Comte d'Artois, when he was asked, what he would do for the First Consul, in the event of his restoring the Bourbons. "I would make him," replied the Prince, "Constable of France; and he should name his own appointments. Nay more, we would erect in the Carrousel a lofty and magnificent column, surmounted with his statue, represented in the act of crowning the King." The lovely Duchess was still present, when Josephine repeated this conversation to Buonaparte on his entrance. The First Consul was unmoved, either by the glittering bait, or the charms of the fair diplomatist. "Did you not reply," was his observation to Josephine, "that the corpse of the First Consul would have been made the pedestal of that column." All farther attempts at negociation were precluded, and the Duchess of Guiche received orders to quit Paris on that very evening.

Though rejecting these propositions from the exiled Princes, Buonaparte was most anxious to tranquillize the Western Provinces. Eighteen departments were in arms. In spite of the want of concentration or discipline among the Chouans, the guerilla system was attended with the uttermost distress and injury to the Republic; and in some instances, the ravages of the Insurgents were extended to the very gates of the Capital. To the proclamations of the Government, they replied by counter proclamations, in which they asserted, that they fought for the re-establishment of the throne and the altar, and that they considered the Consuls to be as much usurpers as the Directors, whom they had overthrown. "Whether these ambitious men assume the title of Directors or of Consuls, or substitute, in room of the old institutions, a new code, be assured that you will have only one tyrant instead of another. Remember our oath, never to sheath our swords till we have destroyed the enemies of our august Sovereign."

The first step of Buonaparte was to confirm Hedouville in his command, with full powers to pursue the negociations which he had so happily commenced. A ready minister was soon found in the ambitious and intriguing Bernier, the Rector of Saint Laud. No one had possessed more influence hitherto in La Vendeé, nor displayed more activity in the Royalist cause. The moment of which we are now treating, presented a crisis, all the bearings of which upon the future he had the sagacity to detect; and believing, that after the many feverish changes which France had endured in her revolutionary progress, the supreme power had now passed into hands which would permanently retain it, he was no longer solicitous to espouse a losing party, but eagerly seized an opportunity of reconciling himself to the ascendant Government. Buonaparte perceived the advantage to be gained by securing a person of such distinguished ability and power; for though Bernier's former sway over his fellow provincials might be somewhat diminished, it was still great enough to render him of much importance, to whichever party he adopted. He is

described as having had sufficient skill to diffuse fanaticism among his hearers, and sufficient judgment to escape from its effects himself, or in other words, he could affect an ardour which he was too cold-hearted and politic to feel, in any cause which it suited his interest to profess. There was some difficulty in discovering his retreat, and all the first attempts which Hedouville made to obtain a personal interview, proved unsuccessful, although agents, disguised in Vendéan uniforms, and instructed in almost all the secrets of the confederacy, were employed to track out the wily Priest. At length a letter was conveyed to him, expressive of the high opinion which the First Consul had formed of his talents, and the strong desire which he entertained to benefit by his services, in some post of high eminence. It added, that it was now mainly depending upon him, whether tranquillity should be restored to a country which, in fact, had neither reason nor resources for continuing the war. Bernier, in reply, expressed the full confidence which he felt in these overtures, and in the honour of the negociators; but he demanded, as a preliminary, some assurance of protection to the Gallican Church and its ministers. Without this, he pronounced all attempt at pacification to be utterly hopeless: with it he promised his own good offices, and expressed his opinion that all classes would be willing to lay down their arms, and enter into allegiance to the new Government.

A ready consent was given to these propositions, and Bernier directed himself to persuade the Royalist Chiefs to listen to accommodation. Chatillon, Bourmont, d'Autichamps, Georges, Frotté, and la Prevelaye held frequent deliberations on their prospects; and the result was, a proposition by Hedouville of an armistice on the following terms: that there should be a suspension of hostilities between the troops of the King and of the Republic, and that eight days notice, on either part, should be given before their resumption; that during the armistice, the Royalist Chiefs should be permitted to assemble for the purpose of discussing a general peace; that no reinforcements should be sent to the Republican army in the West, and no fresh stores should be transmitted to their garrisons; and that all changes of quarters, or movements by which any weak position might be strengthened, should be peremptorily interdicted.

Without doubt, these conditions, in appearance, were highly advantageous to the Royalists. If they intended to continue the war, they gave time for the concert of future operations, for procuring the stores, arms and artillery, which were promised by England, and without which, no hope of success could exist; for the disembarkation of a Prince of the Blood, on some part of the line of coast occupied by Georges, and above all, for disciplining and increasing the raw levies of Vendéan peasants. It was the first occasion, also, on which the Republicans had permitted the Royalists to treat on an equality with them, or had considered them in any other light than that of Rebels, who were to be pursued to extermina-

tion. But, in fact, the Royalists were never so powerful as at this moment. The communications with England were all open, succours were expediting from its shores, and the flame of civil war was kindling, not only in the West, but in the districts still nearer to Versailles and to Paris. To combat openly, even if there was only a chance of delay, was not the policy of the First Consul, who had a foreign war of paramount magnitude, and the re-conquest of Italy already upon his hands; and he possessed equally sure, and far easier means of success, by pursuing the negociations which he had already commenced.

On the 29th of November, before the armistice was announced, an English squadron, which for some days had manœuvred off Belleisle, succeeded in disembarking at Betiers, a large quantity of gunpowder, four field pieces, two mortars, 25,000 muskets, and six chests of gold. This operation was protected by 15,000 Royalists, assembled between Mazillac and Vannes, and the escort proceeded with their stores in the direction of Elven. The Republican commander in Vannes drew out his garrison in order to intercept this valuable convoy, and followed with 2500 infantry, 50 cavalry, and two pieces of cannon, on the track of the Royalists. Their rear guard was overtaken, and the action commenced near the park of the Chateau of Elven. It was the first affair since that of Quiberon, in which the Royalists had heard the report of artillery, and that of the Republicans, on the present occasion, was served with spirit and with skill; but the Chouans maintained their ground against the cannonade. Mutual charges took place with equally little effect; meantime the convoy thus protected, disengaged itself; the rear guard covered its retreat in the best order, and the Republicans had been too severely handled to venture in pursuit. A column, under the command of Georges, which was too distant to partake in the engagement, effected its junction with the main body, and the Republicans, having carried off their wounded, retired within the walls of Vannes, to which they confined themselves for several days afterwards.

The conferences of the Royalist Chiefs were held at Pouancé, a small town of Lower Anjou, on the confines of Britany. Georges thought his presence essential in his own department, and deputed Mercier as his representative in this assembly. It was agreed that a plurality of voices should be decisive in their discussions; and all the officers who had assembled, whether chiefs or subalterns, were present at the sittings; a circumstance which, as it happened, gave considerable preponderance to those who desired peace. The debate was opened by the Vendéan Chiefs; they avowed the exhausted situation of their district, and the poverty of their resources. Military stores they had none; not even sufficient cartridges to supply the sentinels who mounted guard at head-quarters. They contended earnestly, that the present favourable offer of accommodation should not be slightly neglected, since it was apparent, that success in further resistance was by no means to be anticipated;

and it was even contended, that so strong was the wish of the whole country for peace, that if the leaders were willing to reject it, the populace would make it for themselves.

The Chiefs of Morbihan, Normandy, and Maine, on the other hand, were clamorous for a continuance of war. Elated by their partial successes, they looked for yet more brilliant triumphs, and they affected to doubt the reliance which could be placed upon the fidelity of those with whom they must negociate. Much was said of the probable arrival of a Prince of the Blood, and of the enthusiasm which his presence must undoubtedly excite among every class of Frenchmen. But the majority of voices was decidedly in favour of pacific measures, and Bourmont and d'Autichamps were commissioned to ascertain, by a personal interview, the disposition of Hedouville and his employers. This interview was immediately held near Angers. The Republican General satisfied the Royalist agents of his anxiety to treat early, and to bind himself to their party by the surest and most inviolable guarantees; and they returned to Pouancé fully satisfied with his expressions of integrity.

In their absence, the arrival in Morbihan of a Commissioner from the King, and the farther disembarkation of arms and stores, had materially strengthened the opposition of the war party, and Frotté, Georges, and Bourmont, were less inclined than ever to negociate. By their influence the form of the conferences was changed; and the right of a voice in the sittings was confined to the Commanders themselves, and some two or three whom each might introduce. Still it was deemed advisable to temporize, and in order that the appearance of negociation might not too suddenly be suspended, Bourmont was instructed to continue the intercourse which had been established with Hedouville, and to involve him in a labyrinth of diplomacy. Time, it was thought, might thus be given for the return of a messenger, who had been dispatched to England to ascertain the wishes, and receive the orders of Monsieur; and also that of two agents who were employed at the same time in Paris, to sound the views of Buonaparte, and to discover whether he could not be induced to take the lead in the restoration of the Bourbons.

Hyde de Neuville and d'Andigné, who were engaged in this delicate mission, were received by Buonaparte late at night, in one of the small chambers of the Luxemburg. They spoke of their own hopes, of the imprudence of which the First Consul would be guilty, if he sought only a personal triumph; that it was in his power to re-establish the throne, and to restore it to its legitimate master. They themselves were authorized, they said, by the adherents of the Bourbons, to receive his disclosures; they were desirous to ascertain his purposes; and if they agreed with their own, to proffer all their resources to his disposal. Buonaparte replied, that it was useless to think of re-establishing the throne of the Bourbons; that they had done nothing for the glory of France; and that they deserved to be set aside; that they

could never be restored without striding over 500,000 dead bodies; and that it was his intention to forget the past, and to receive the submission of all who would concur with the wishes of the nation. That he would unreluctantly treat with the Vendean Chiefs, but upon this sole condition, that henceforward they should pledge their allegiance to his government, and break off all connection with the exiled Princes, and with foreigners. The conference lasted half an hour, and was broken off with a conviction on both sides, that the propositions of each were wholly inadmissible.

Of the two Royalist deputies, Buonaparte afterwards expressed his opinion openly. He spoke of d'Andigné as an outrageous madman, and of Hyde de Neuville as a young man of talent, ardent, but not violent. It is probable, that each had been selected as the fittest representative of the principles of the opposite factions, which at this moment divided the Royalists; and the pertinacious determination to resist which the war party continued to maintain, might well appear to the First Consul, who knew both their weakness and his own power, and who made little allowance for the enthusiasm of loyalty, as the height of insanity. D'Andigné's own narrative of this audience is strongly characteristic of Buonaparte. The First Consul, he says, commenced by expressing his desire for peace, and his readiness, in five minutes, to conclude a treaty, which should grant all the Royalists desired, place all posts of trust in the West in the hands of their party, better the condition of the Ecclesiastics, and bring back the emigrants. D'Andigné firmly replied, that he was not authorized to speak of peace, the negociations of which were committed to Bourmont only; but that he desired to converse with the person then at the head of the Government, in order to see whether he was willing to terminate the calamities of the Revolution, and restore a legitimate authority to his suffering country. Buonaparte then hastily turned from the subject, and spoke of a brother of M. d'Andigné, whom he had taken prisoner at Malta, had attached to his person, and had appointed to the command of a battalion in Egypt. "I should have been more obliged to you," was the severe and simple reply of the Royalist envoy, "if you had sent him back to us here."

The Comte d'Artois was decidedly averse to any negociation. He knew Buonaparte's intentions; and he had sagacity enough to perceive, that an accordance with him at this moment, on the part of the Royalists, would be a death blow to the hopes of the exiled family, as long as any power remained in the hands of this ambitious and enterprising General. He dispatched the elder Suzannet with peremptory instructions to the Chiefs assembled at Pouancé. In these the necessity of caution was earnestly recommended. If peace was offered, as he believed it was only offered, to extinguish the enthusiasm now so generally kindled in behalf of the King, and to dissolve the Royalist armies, by sowing corruption and jealousy in their ranks, they were more than ever bound to reject it, because the English Government

was more than ever willing to assist them. But if the treaty was connected with the general pacification of Europe, and the eventual re-establishment of the Monarchy, if it was intended to prevent an unnecessary effusion of blood, while these great and paramount objects were in progress, then they need no longer hesitate. But an indispensable preliminary must be, that they should be permitted to keep up an armed force, and that all Republican agents, well known as such, should be forbidden from entering their provinces. Above all things, it was urged, that no partial accommodations nor separate treaties should be concluded, but that acting on one grand broad principle of Union, they should continue to maintain the most unreserved communication with the Princes and their Commissioners.

Even before the arrival of these despatches, the face of affairs had assumed a more warlike complexion. The succours which had arrived, and those which were promised, enabled Georges and Frotté to maintain a tone of greater confidence. The facility with which Hedouville had acceded to their propositions, either occasioned distrust of his good faith, or created a belief that he held peace to be necessary at any price, however exorbitant. The spies of the First Consul, on the other hand, were acquainted with the close communication subsisting between the Princes in England, and the Chiefs at Pouancé; they observed that the influence of Georges and his partizans was obtaining the ascendancy; and that the other Chiefs, throwing aside their irresolution, and encouraging brighter prospects, only prolonged the armistice, in order to organize their bands, to recruit, equip and provision their garrisons, to exercise their raw levies, and even to raise contributions. The assurances of Fouché, whose subtle and irresistible police had guaged the secrets of the confederacy, strengthened the First Consul's resolution to break through the slow forms in which the Royalists had purposely enveloped their negociation with Hedouville, and to insist upon a definitive settlement. Fouché informed him, that from 60 to 80,000 Chouans, scattered over the country, under the mask of a suspension of arms, were only awaiting the signal, which would be given by the arrival of a Bourbon, to unite in one body, and to re-commence hostilities more vigorously than ever.

Of the military strength of the Royalists, the Generals of the First Consul on the other hand spoke with unfeigned contempt. They admitted that their numbers amounted to the sum stated by the Minister of Police, but they added, that the Chouans themselves idly boasted that they were not less than half a million. These they proceeded to represent as ill-armed, ill-disciplined, and ill-posted; without cavalry or artillery; daily thinned by desertion, and much divided among themselves, so that although nominally spreading over a great extent of country, Lower Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Britany, Tourraine, and much of the adjacent provinces, they could not be said to occupy any part of these securely or stably. These representations corroborated Buona-

parte's belief of the necessity of an immediate settlement. Weak and disunited as the Royalists might now be, he foresaw that the presence of one of their Princes might effectually consolidate them; especially if they were supported either by an English or an Austrian force. Thinking to strike terror by a rapid and uncompromising policy, he ordered Hedouville to insist upon an immediate signature of peace, without further discussion, at the same time denouncing a resumption of hostilities on the eighth day, if this course were not adopted.

Bourmont was awakened at midnight by a despatch from Hedouville, containing this announcement. He sprang on horseback, and repairing to the quarters of the Republican General, informed him, that by this act he considered the negociation as already broken, and that in eight days he must expect to meet his colleagues and himself on the field of battle. At this critical moment, the elder Suzannet arrived with the instructions of the Comte d'Artois, and found that even without them, every thing spoke the note of preparation, so much desired by his royal master.

Nevertheless, such was the indecision of the leading Chouans, that within three days they consented to listen to fresh propositions, and even Georges assembled with the rest in conference at Candé. (Jan. 13, 1800.) Here the Republican agents laid before them not only the benefits which might accrue to France and to themselves by a timely submission, but the threats of vengeance, also, which were already breathed by the proclamation of the First Consul, and the magnitude of his preparations with which they were menaced. In an address to the inhabitants of the departments of the West, the Chief Magistrate marked the acts of clemency by which the new Government had been distinguished, since its accession to power. He recapitulated the annulment of the forced loan, of the law of hostages, of the deportations, and of the decrees against the Emigrants. To these he especially added the spirit of toleration, and the regard for the Church establishment, which characterized his policy. Forgiveness and indulgence were the boons which were proffered to the repentant. On the other hand, a proclamation had been issued to the Army already in motion, to crush the Insurgents, in which the Soldiers were informed that none remained for them to suppress but brigands, emigrants, and heartless, dishonoured wretches, in the pay of England. It emphatically concluded, by a wish that their campaign should be good and short, and that they should be inexorable to the Rebels.

Idle negociations among the Chiefs at Candé, and chimerical projects among the secret agents at Paris, occupied the distracted and undecided Royalists, while Buonaparte was assembling troops to pour down upon them from all quarters. The Departments of Côtes du Nord, l'Ille and Vilaine, Morbihan and the Lower Loire, were declared by the Conservative Senate to be without the protection of the law. An extraordinary tribunal of criminal justice was instituted for the trial of the

Insurgents, without appeal or revisal. All public functionaries, civil or military, were forbidden to hold communication with them, and death was denounced as the punishment of any one who afforded an asylum to a Royalist, or who was taken with arms in his hands; finally, Hedouville being considered as too merciful and too moderate in his views for the war of extermination, the command of the Army of the West, with fresh and plenary powers, was transferred to Brune. The spirit in which he entered upon this command, may be gathered from some words of his speech in the Council of State, upon receiving the investiture. "The task imposed on me is a painful one, but I will undertake to unite the French whatever may be their opinions.—Those who are not to be influenced by reason, I will reduce by force of arms. Those who have been led into error, I will pardon. These shall be the principles of my conduct; but I will never forget that weakness is not less an enemy to moderation than to firmness. It is that which is the ruin of the Republic. May the deluded inhabitants of the west return into the bosom of their country; but, may they return as penitent children!"

Before Hedouville's secession, however, it was his fortune to detach some of the most important Chiefs from the Confederacy. Through the intrigues of Bernier, who had now secretly connected himself with the First Consul, and who laboured to procure the submission of his former comrades, d'Autichamp quitted the sittings at Condé, and established a second deliberative assembly at Montfaucon. Here, on the 21st of January, a tumultuous discussion ensued, the war party pretended that the Vendéans still possessed sufficient power and resources to justify a continuance of the struggle, and that any compromise would be base and ignominious. The other Chiefs, deceived by Bernier, mysteriously inculcated a belief, that Buonaparte was acting only as precursor of the Bourbons; that at the first seasonable moment he would throw aside the mask which he now wore from necessity; and, that it was his intention to recall the ancient dynasty. On these grounds, the rough draft of a treaty was circulated among them for approval. All the principal names were eagerly affixed to it. By the treachery of the secretary, a copy of this important document was transmitted to Bernier, who himself had not been present at the debate. The crafty Priest hastened to despatch it to the Republican quarters, as an authorized and definitive capitulation; and to the surprise of d'Autichamp, the officers who, not long after, were authorized as bearers of the final consent of himself, Chatillon, and Suzannet, to the propositions of Hedouville, were greeted as if the treaty had been already concluded; and were informed that the whole merit of pacification was to be attributed to the exertions of the Rector of St. Laud. La Prevelaye soon followed the example of the other Chiefs, and Georges, Frotté, and Bourmont, were now left alone in the fearful contest.

At Paris and Versailles, pains had been taken to strike terror, by

the execution of two Royalists of distinction. The young Comte de Toustain, who held a commission under Bourmont, was arrested while in conference with his father, a State prisoner in the Temple. He was accused before a military Commission, of purchasing stores and ammunition for the Chouans, and in spite of his youth, (he was barely sixteen years of age) he was condemned, and led to death. The Chevalier de Thelot, another officer of some note, was shot in the gardens of Versailles about the same time. Twenty thousand men, arrayed in three columns, under the immediate command of Brune, advanced on Morbihan; and several other corps held Maine and Normandy under observance. The armistice had expired, and both parties were in the field.

The first engagement with Georges was bloody, and favourable to his arms. On the morning of the 25th of January, 7000 Royalists attacked General Haity, who was posted at Granchamp, with about 5000 Republicans. It was intended that the position should be surprised, but the difficulties of the ground prevented the arrival of the assailants as early as was proposed. It was only at the moment in which he saw the enemy, that Georges learnt the submission of Chatillon. Concealing the evil news, he persisted in his attack. The action soon became general. The Republicans were driven from the village of Locmaria, and their artillery for a short time was captured. It was speedily re-taken, and the battle raged with various success from five in the morning till four in the afternoon. The seasonable arrival of a reinforcement of 800 men, and the exhaustion of the ammunition of the Royalists, enabled Haity in the end, to make good his retreat. He himself was often in imminent danger, his hat was pierced with balls, but Georges had encountered still greater peril. In the heat of the action he fell from his horse, the soldiers immediately about him dispersed, thinking that he was killed; and on the discovery of their error, they were not easily rallied to his rescue: 700 or 800 Republicans, and about 500 of the Morbihannais, were placed *hors de combat* in the engagement; and the latter evinced as much courage and discipline, as the regular troops employed against them.

Notwithstanding this success, the submission of the other leaders had so far opened all the approaches to the enemy, that Georges saw the necessity of dispersing his army. It was impossible any longer to occupy the country in a compact body, in the face of the superior force which surrounded him; and, therefore, scattering his division as widely as possible, he retained only a small escort about his own person. Brune hastened on to Vannes, and his first object was to become master of the coast, and to prevent all communication with the English flotilla.

Bourmont was actively preparing for hostilities; and had already concentrated his forces for an attack on Chateau le Loir, when he found himself surrounded by the garrisons of Tours and La Fleche. He avoided a general action by dispersing his men, but this was not done without the loss of some of his best officers: and

at the moment of his retreat, he learned the capitulation of the other Generals, and that his communication, with Morbihan, the only quarter from which support was any longer to be expected, were effectually cut off. He had no resource but to propose a fresh armistice, to which Hedouville readily assented. The situation in which Bourmont found himself, was indeed almost hopeless. Little more than barren glory could be derived from the gallant achievement of one of his officers, the Vicomte de Chappedelaine, who, on the 24th of January, at the head of 1800 men, had completely overthrown a Republican brigade at Foultourte. The baggage of the defeated corps, and a field-piece, were the trophies of the conquerors, and it was with a lively emotion of regret, after their own brilliant success, that they learned, while yet on the field of battle, the renewal of the armistice in which themselves also were included.

It was with no less pain, that Georges and Bourmont found themselves compelled to accede to the proposed capitulation. Thirty thousand men were pressing on the first of these Chiefs, and his position every moment became more and more critical. During a reconnoissance made by Brune and his suite, the Chouan leader contrived, as it were, accidentally, to throw himself in the way, but the conference was short and unsatisfactory. At length he despatched an authorized envoy to concert a final treaty. The few words which passed between Desol de Grisolles and Brune, sufficiently mark the unyielding spirit and the determined vengeance which respectively marked the two conflicting parties. "We are no longer in a condition to make war," observed the Royalist, "nevertheless, it is not on that account that we shall be more inclined to peace, if you treat us with severity." "What!" said Brune, "you rely upon your caverns and your fastnesses; but I shall fire the country." "The flames of our cottages," replied Desol, "will not reflect much lustre on the laurels which you have won in Holland; and if you look for a durable peace, that must not be with an enemy whom you have too much humbled." But the danger of further delay was too evident. Every messenger from the Capital brought orders of increased rigour; and Georges and Mercier, as the only means of escaping utter destruction, affixed their signatures to the treaty on the 2d of February. Two days after it received the name of Bourmont also. He was the last who gave in his adhesion, and it was not until the despatches, which he had received from his former comrades, all breathed one melancholy tone of despair. "Georges is overwhelmed," was the statement of Chatillon. "The Comte d'Artois does not dream of embarking, and those who urge you on to war, will be the first to abandon you. Peace is already made, I have disbanded my cavalry", wrote even to the enthusiastic and impetuous d'Andigné: all my letters from England forbid our hope of the arrival, "either of a royal leader, or of efficient succours. Our enterprise is characterized but as a

wild *houssarderie*, for which no wise man would compromise himself."

Frotté alone remained unsubdued and undismayed. His fate could not long be doubtful, and he prepared himself for its issue. One by one his detachments were assailed by superior forces, and though not always beaten, and always resisting with honour, they were hourly diminished in numbers and resources. For himself, he still disdained to treat, but the lives of his followers were dear to him, and he at length consented to endeavour to prevent a sacrifice, from which no advantage could be derived to his King. But the moment was gone by, and his propositions were received with silence. Vengeance was sure of its object, and Frotté, by his unbending loyalty, had offended too deeply to hope for mercy. It does not accord with Buonaparte's character, to attribute the determined resolve with which the destruction of this gallant and lamented Chief was pursued, to any motive of personal displeasure, nor do we believe that the First Consul sought to avenge himself, as has been said, from the charge of cowardice with which he had been stigmatized in one of Frotté's proclamations, referring to his conduct in the Council of Five Hundred, on the 4th of November. It is more consistent with the cold and stern, though not vindictive policy, which marked Buonaparte's career, to suppose that he fully estimated the talents, the fidelity, and the courage, of his heroic victim, and therefore that he determined upon removing him, as one of the most dangerous of his opponents.

Frotté rightly interpreted the silence of Hedouville. "I hear no news from Angers," thus he wrote in one of his last letters, from his retreat in the department of Orne, to d'Hugon, his aide-de-camp, and confidential friend: "I await my messenger every moment. My presentiments are too just. Our cruel and perfidious foes will treat us more harshly than the rest, because we are the latest. It matters little. *We must never consent to disarm.* At least, this shall never be by any order from my hand. How critical is our situation. What grief and bitterness of soul is mine. Would that I could concentrate, on my own single head, all the hatred of our enemies." It was this noble letter which was pleaded in defence of his murder.

On a renewal of his proposals, Chamberlhac and Guidal replied, that the orders of their Government forbade them from any correspondence with Frotté, but that if he would unconditionally surrender, they would offer solicitations in his behalf. The officers, whom he sent, were received with distinguished attention, and under the promise of a safeguard, and the pretext of facilities afforded by a personal conference, Frotté was allured to trust himself in Alençon. The same disregard of all selfish feeling marked him to the last; he spoke to the Baron d'Hugon, who had negociated for him, and who accompanied him, of his distrust of the Republicans; nevertheless, that he was prepared for the sacrifice of his life. While on the road to Alençon, he wrote a few lines to the Chevalier de Bruslard, expressive

of his melancholy forebodings, and again anxiously wishing, that his own death might avert evil from all others embarked in the same cause.

Meantime the guards had been doubled at Alençon, and a reinforcement of 1500 men had been disposed in a cordon round the town. Even then, there were not wanting some brave and faithful spirits, who, at their own hazard, attempted to excite the suspicions of the betrayed Royalists. But urged on, as it were, by some fatality, they persisted in discrediting the possibility of such atrocious treachery, as must attend the violation of their safeguard. A woman assured them, that she had overheard orders given for their arrest; a stranger, in military garb, approached and whispered the same warning. All was vain. About midnight the seven chiefs, Frotté, Comarque, d'Hugon, Verdun, Casimieux, Pascal Seguiral, and Saint Florent, presented themselves at the Republican headquarters. What passed in this interview is variously related; and can be known only to the perfidious actors themselves, and those whom they betrayed. In the end, the seven leaders were arrested, and their papers were seized. At five in the morning of the 16th of February, the garrison beat to arms, and an escort of 1800 men accompanied the prisoners to Verneuil. The distance is nearly sixty miles, and it was performed without stopping. A military commission, under General Lefevre, was already sitting on their arrival. Its forms occupied but a few minutes, and sentence of death was instantly pronounced. The victims were conveyed to execution by torchlight. There, holding each others hands, they refused to have their eyes bandaged; and Frotté tossed his purse to the grenadier in front of him, and requested him to take true aim. He profited by the gift, for he was the first who fell; Casimieux, who was only wounded, stood till he had ordered and received a second fire, and the others were despatched while they lay on the ground.

Thus fell Pierre Marie Louis de Frotté, in the 31st year of his age. None of the Royalists left a higher reputation for ability and valour: none perished with more unblemished honour. In person and accomplishments he was far distinguished above most of his comrades in arms, and in all the private relations of life his affections were called out most keenly and vividly. His death must ever be regarded as a foul stain on the Consular Government. Treachery was employed to detach him from the security of his concealment; the only charge advanced against him, with mockery of trial, was the letter found on d'Hugon; and this was written before Hedouville's reply to his proposals, and could not, therefore, be esteemed any violation of a treaty. Neither himself, nor his companions, were taken with arms in their hands, but they were betrayed, while solemnly negociating peace, under the protection of a safeguard; and even if the accusation against Frotté had been more substantial, it could not extend to the remaining Chiefs. The Legislative Body heard the announcement of their death with a gloomy and ferocious

joy, and received as trophies the Royalist emblems and crosses of St. Louis, which had decorated the victims of their gratuitous cruelty *.

Before the close of February, tranquillity was restored in La Vendée, the few remaining bands who clung together for purpose of plunder, under the pretext of Royalism, were gradually dispersed, and the greater part of the Western Provinces were disembarrassed from military government. D'Autichamp, Bourmont and Chatillon were invited to Paris, and received with distinction. The fate of Bernier, to whom the dissolution of the Royalist union must be mainly attributed, demands a few words in anticipation. Employed in negociating the *Concordat* with the Pope, he received the Bishopric of Orleans as his reward. For a time he returned to La Vendée, with instructions to preach submission to the existing Government. He had sufficient art to re-establish his former influence among the peasantry, and he again presented himself at the Thuilleries, with the full expectation that Buonaparte would demand for him the purple. The causes which led to the disappointment of his restless ambition, cannot be ascertained, but it sank deeply into his heart, and he died of chagrin not long after, hated and despised equally by the party which he had betrayed, and that which had seduced him.

Georges also was removed from Morbihan. Of his interview with the First Consul we have his own account, and that of Buonaparte also. "Napoleon," says the latter, "tried in vain to make the same impression upon him, that he had made upon a great number of Vendéans; to awaken a sentiment of French patriotism, the honour of the nation, the love of country; but not one of these chords would vibrate." The Chieftain himself relates a different tale. Buonaparte refused him permission to return to his own Province, but offered to give him a commission of Lieutenant-General in the service of the Republic. "You misunderstand my character," replied Georges, "I have taken an oath to the Bourbons, which I will never violate." The next bribe placed before him, was a pension of 100,000 francs, on the sole condition of living privately and peaceably. This was rejected with equal contempt. The audience closed, and Georges having received secret information that his immediate arrest was ordered, quitted Paris on the same night, and embarked at Boulogne for England. From that moment Buonaparte resolved upon his destruction, for by whatever terms he may have endeavoured to defame the noble spirit which animated the Breton leader, it is

* The "prompt proceeding" with Frotté, as it is termed by Buonaparte himself, is admitted even by him to have been the result of treachery. "Generals Chamberlhac and Gardanne entered the department of the Orne, at the head of two moveable columns, to secure Frotté. This Chief, young, active, and full of stratagem, was much dreaded, and caused many disorders. He was surprised at the house of Guidal, general commandant of Alençon, who had an understanding with him, *was admitted into his confidence, and betrayed him.* He was tried and shot."—*Napoleon Memoirs*, i. 37.

evident, that he acknowledged and feared his untameable devotion to his rightful master. How deeply that master, also, appreciated this loyalty, may be seen by the letter which he addressed to him from Mittau. (June 6, 1800.) "I have learned, with the most lively satisfaction, that ye have at length escaped from the hands of a tyrant, who has so far misunderstood you, as to propose that you should enter into his service. I lamented the unhappy circumstances which compelled you to negociate with him, but I never felt the slightest anxiety as to the result. The hearts of my brave Bretons, and of yourself in particular, are too well known to me. You are now free, you are with my brother, and my hopes are renewed. To so true a Frenchman as yourself, I need add no more."

The submission of the West, placed a considerable military force at the disposal of Buonaparte, and in our subsequent chapters, the purposes to which it was employed will be detailed. The pacification thus won by force, could scarcely be sincere on the part of those who yielded, but it was plainly to the disadvantage of the Royal cause, that any explosion should take place under the present shattered circumstances of their adherents. No pains were spared to prevent any useless and premature rising, which could only render the yoke, under which the Vendéans groaned, more oppressive. The Comte d'Artois, by secret instructions, recommended the peasants to remain quiet and dispersed; to lose no opportunity of organizing, preparing and augmenting their bands in silence, so that they might profit by the first moment which might recall them into activity. But above all things, he deprecated any immediate renewal of hostilities which, if they were precipitately commenced, must inevitably bring in their train all the calamities from which they had so recently escaped.

One other effort only was made by Georges during 1800. He had arrived at the summit of his hopes, by investiture with the chief command of ancient Britany. In the month of June, he disembarked in Morbihan, and issued his proclamation for fresh levies. Buonaparte's hands were full at the moment, and the opportunity was well chosen. But the events to which we are about to turn, disconcerted the brief hopes of the Royalists, and the plains of Marengo were destined to establish the tranquillity of the West of France.

CHAPTER III.

Session of Parliament in September 1799. *King's Speech. Thanks to various Officers. Bill for enabling His Majesty to accept the Services of the Militia. Speeches of Messrs. Tierney, Wyndham, Sheridan, and Pitt, in the Commons; of Lords Holland, Westmoreland, Caernarvon, Hardwick and Grenville in the Lords. Supplies. Treaties with the Emperor of Russia. Lord Holland moves an Address disapproving of the Introduction of Foreign Troops into Great Britain. It is negatived. Adjournment of Parliament.*

The British Parliament, though prorogued after the close of the last Session, to the 29th of October, 1799, was called together more than a month sooner than the appointed day. The ostensible reason assigned by Ministers for this early meeting, was the necessity of augmenting the military forces, in consequence of our Continental expeditions. The Speech from the Throne, (September 24) recommended the adoption, to a greater extent, of an Act of the last Session, which enabled his Majesty to avail himself of Volunteers from the Militia. It then noticed the various successes of our Allies. The deliverance of Italy, which might now be considered secured, and the restoration of the Kingdom of Naples to its lawful Sovereign were particularly instanced. Our own triumphs in Egypt, (among which that of Sir Sidney Smith was particularly specified,) and the overthrow of Tippoo Saib were stated to have placed the British interests in India in a condition of solid and permanent safety. Hopes of ultimate success in Holland were expressed, and the treaties which had been entered into with the Emperor of Russia were directed to be laid before the House. The service of the present year was stated to have been fully provided for by the grants of the last Session, and an early consideration of the expences of the ensuing year was recommended to the Commons. The speech closed by informing both Houses that a communication had been made to the Parliament of Ireland on the subject of Union, and that His Majesty trusted to find the sentiments of that country corresponding to those which had been expressed last Session by the Parliament of England.

The Address occasioned no debate of any interest in either House. In the Lords it was moved by the Marquess of Buckingham and seconded by Lord Amherst: in the Commons by Mr. Shaw Lefevre and Colonel Elford. The speakers in the usual manner dilated on the various topics referred to by His Majesty, and the respective Addresses were carried without a dissenting voice.

The thanks of both Houses were very early moved to the various Officers who had recently distinguished themselves on dif-

ferent services. In the Lords, on the 4th of October, in the Commons, on the 26th of September, to Sir R. Abercromby, Vice Admiral Mitchell, and the military and naval Officers and men under their respective commands, for the landing at the Helder, and the capture of the Dutch fleet. In moving thanks to Sir Sidney Smith on the same night, for the defence of St. Jean d'Acre, Mr. Secretary Dundas characterized this gallant act as one which had a nation for its spectators, and upon the event of which the safety of the Turkish Empire had depended. He expressed the astonishment which he had felt on first reading the despatches, and his conviction that there never was any enterprize in which more heroism, more skill, or greater exertion, had been displayed.

On the 4th of October, Lord Grenville in the Lords, and Mr. Secretary Dundas in the Commons, moved the thanks of each House to the Earl of Mornington, Lord Clive, General Harris, Jonathan Duncan, Esq. General Stuart, and the Officers and soldiers employed in the late Mysore war. Lord Grenville prefaced his motion by a detail of the origin and progress of the war, in which he exposed the intrigues of Tippoo Saib with France for our total expulsion from our Indian territories; the skill and decision with which the Governor-General resolved to anticipate the threatened attack; the spirited manœuvre by which the hostile force of the Nizam was placed at our disposal; the frequent opportunities for negociation which were thrown in the Sultaun's way; the dexterity with which Lord Mornington had united the once discordant opinions of the Company's servants, and the final splendid military achievement which at one blow annihilated the power and terminated the life of the perfidious Tippoo. In the course of his speech Lord Grenville happily availed himself of the opportunity of expressing his own peculiar delight in being the public organ through which national thanks were to be conveyed to a nobleman whose talents and virtues he had long loved, and admired in the most intimate bonds of private friendship.

No time was lost in bringing in the new Bill "to enable His Majesty to accept the services of an additional number of Volunteers from the Militia, under certain restrictions." The opposition raised by Mr Tierney to this measure, (September 26) was founded more on general objections to the war itself, than to the immediate system proposed for the enlargement of our armies.

The militia, he said, was originally intended for home defence: the nature of their service was changed when they went out of the country for any purpose, be that purpose what it might. He did not mean to insinuate that they had not done themselves great credit, and this Kingdom great service in Ireland; but they had totally altered the system on which they were established, and, by this sort of practice, might become a standing army in the hands of the Crown. Viewing things constitutionally, therefore, he could not but remark that the militia was now rather an object of jealousy

than of confidence, and he could wish to have it voted annually, like all the other military forces.

He felt himself peculiarly embarrassed on the subject: he did not pronounce the measure to be a bad one, but he objected to the application which Government intended to make of it. Administration ought to take it upon themselves, and not to call for the sanction of Parliament. It was now time for this country to think seriously of the waste of English blood. The House of Commons ought to pause before an army destined for internal defence should be converted to act offensively for the purposes of ambition. The legislature ought to consider, that not only men could not be raised at all under the old system of recruiting, but that, when raised by this new method, the mode of payment by the old funding system was at an end. He submitted this point to the House, not to raise despair, but to awaken consideration to the circumstances of the country, before they agreed to go on with projects of distant expeditions.

Holland had now no fleet to act hostilely against us: their colonies were in our possession, and their trade to all intents and purposes was annihilated: nothing remained to them but their soil, their canals, and their population. France could derive no advantage in its character of an enemy to us by retaining Holland; nor England gain any thing by taking it out of their hands, except a grave for Englishmen.

Besides, we had sufficient reason to conclude, that the Dutch had no inclination to co-operate with our efforts. When our army had been a month in the country, and had shewn itself sufficiently powerful to protect and defend those who should rally round its standard, few joined our cause, and an obstinate resistance had been opposed to our progress. We had seen 1500 English troops fall in our last attempt, and a much greater proportion of our allies. After severe encounters we only occupied the positions held at the commencement of our enterprize. Why then should a British Parliament sanction measures that must involve such loss of blood and treasures?

The burden that would be entailed upon us at the end of the seventh year of the war deserved calculation also. After we had been so prodigal of our exertions, after the security of our own country was placed upon the most solid basis, was it wise to risk all the advantages we possessed by plunging into a continental war to be prosecuted by our own forces? The number of troops already on the continent was beyond what we ever were accustomed to employ, and now it was proposed to send an additional body of 26,000 men, which, added to the 22,000 in Holland, amounted to an army of 48,000 British troops! We should thus heap new and enormous expences on ourselves. Had we not taken our full proportion of the task of delivering Europe and resisting France?

We had 45,000 Russians in our pay, to be employed on the continent. Ought Parliament, at a fortnight's notice, without any well-founded hope of beneficial

enterprize, or ultimate success, to sanction the establishment of an army of 100,000 men? Were the object of the war precisely ascertained, it would be more easy to appreciate the measures to be adopted: the Emperor of Russia, indeed, avowed the restoration of the French monarchy to be his object; and in the speech from the Throne last session, His Majesty stated, that he acted most cordially with this magnanimous ally; but the Emperor of Germany had refused to pledge himself to any such design—his views were evidently directed to his own aggrandizement — every battle which he fought, every drop of blood which he expended, was to secure some territorial acquisition. Now the object must be considered in relation to the means to be pursued, and the chance of success. Were England and Russia likely to accomplish the overthrow of the French republic? Was this object promoted by the victories which had crowned the campaign? What return of order, of religion, of legitimate government, had we seen rising from any of our exploits? He saw with pleasure, indeed, the power of France circumscribed, and with pleasure he should see her confined within her ancient limits; but it would be necessary to calculate whether we might not suffer more by the attempt than by the evil which existed. Was Swisserland yet restored to its former government? On the contrary, had it not been held as a conquest, and merely shifted hands from France to Austria? Had the king of Sardinia ascended his recovered throne and regained his territories? What matters it to him who loses a Crown, whether it be purloined by Emperors or by Directories?

With respect to the Bill itself, Mr. Tierney said he had little objection. He was not averse to see the supplementary militia reduced, and the expence which it occasioned saved. He wished not to see the exertions of Government crippled, but he would not give his support for enabling them to carry on a crusade against France. Connecting therefore the application of the disposable force with the measure proposed, he felt it his duty to give it his negative.

The Secretary at war said, that the nature of the Bill was misinterpreted; no man by giving it his vote pledged himself to approve its application; for this, Ministers would be responsible, as well as for every other part of the disposal of military force. The system of pure defensive war, which the honourable gentleman so strenuously recommended, was the most unfortunate which could be espoused: the only effectual means of defence, both for individuals and nations, was to attack the enemy: by mere defence we were exposed to the danger of being hurt without any chance of injuring the adversary. Offensive operations alone could terminate the contest. But why not leave Europe to itself it was said? had *we* not done enough? as if it was a point of mere calculation and contribution, to be regulated by narrow principles and illiberal views! It was wretched economy also; for if we circumscribed our sphere of operations we contract-

ed our own means of defence. But we had the command of the seas. What was this to the general cause of Europe? Could we be safe whilst such a Republic as France continued to exist? What could the naval force of this country effect to the annoyance of the enemy if restricted as proposed? What could the gallant Sidney Smith have achieved had he remained on board his ships? What might have been the consequences of Bonaparte's expedition had he been unopposed? or what the situation of the Ottoman Empire?

No deep politician, on taking an extensive view of things, could assert, that, because this was an island, we ought to separate the cause of Europe from our own; our fate was involved in that of surrounding nations; our interests and our prosperity were connected with their state; in extending a liberal regard to them, in contributing to their defence, we best promoted our own; by maintaining their freedom, we employed the surest means of advancing our own greatness, guarding our own security, and confirming our own independence. If France were permitted to retain the dominion she lately possessed, all the means of defence of which we could boast would be inadequate for our safety. He did not wish to be understood as holding out the restoration of the French monarchy as the absolute object of the war: however desirable, it might be impracticable; he was well convinced of the impossibility of establishing any form of government against the manners, habits, and sentiments of a people. The question was, whether France desired it? and he did not hesitate to give it as his opinion that it was the wish of the majority; for it was easy to comprehend that a State might be governed by the minority, and only wait for an occasion to evince its sentiments.

Mr. Sheridan followed Mr. Tierney's line of argument, and rested the propriety of undertaking the expedition to Holland at all, and the expediency of persevering in it now, upon two points; the neutrality of the King of Prussia, and the disposition of the people of Holland.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer assured the House, that the King of Prussia had not the smallest influence in determining the expedition; it was adopted by Ministers under auspices to justify the most sanguine hopes. And even if, contrary to all he believed, the attempt to rescue Holland from the tyranny of France should miscarry, Government would have abundant matter, not only of consolation, but of triumph. It could boast of an object fully adequate to justify the design and compensate for the sacrifices required by it. Was it not of importance to have transferred so great a portion of the naval force of Holland from our enemies? If we could not secure a friend, was it nothing to disarm an adversary? to have stript the Republic of an instrument by which it might have assailed the safety of our shores, and to have gained a new bulwark to our national security? These were claims to the gratitude of the country which could not be shaken. These were proofs of success which left

no room for regret; which manifested the benefits derived from the former application of the militia forces, and warranted an extension of the principle.

The honourable gentleman (Mr. Tierney) had said he was not inclined to despond himself, nor to excite despondency in others; yet certainly if he had been so, if he had been desirous of damping the generous ardour for the common cause, of blighting all our prospects of national triumph, and of final security, his topics could not have been more happily selected.

As to the new system of finance, it was a mode of raising supplies by which national credit was supported to a pitch unprecedented at the very commencement of former wars, by which our resources were prolonged, our trade increased, and our prosperity consolidated.

The Bill after a slight opposition and some amendments in the Committee, was sent to the Lords on the 2d of October. On the second reading in that House, (October 4) Lord Fitzwilliam objected to it, not only as being unjust in its nature, but as introducing into the militia a degree of insubordination of the most perilous nature. When it was brought into Parliament during the last year, he had foreseen that what was then grounded upon a particular emergency, would be resorted to on every occasion as a general principle.

The same reasons which induced him to oppose it at that time were strengthened by this proposed extension: the plan was a breach of the engagement which subsisted with men who were raised for a peculiar purpose, under a peculiar system: the burden of raising the militia was not distributed over the community; it devolved chiefly on the owners of land; it had been a considerable weight upon the poor's rates; and to the poor's rates those who had fixed and ostensible property contributed in the greatest measure. Landholders indeed had a superior interest in defending their property, because it could not be transferred like other kinds into other countries: for this reason the landed interest might acquiesce in the support of a body of men for the defence of their country; but when they found the corps which had been raised and maintained at a great expence for their defence were directed to other purposes, they had reason to complain: it was an act of injustice, as it destroyed the system under which they had engaged to contribute their personal service or pecuniary aid. This was not the only ground on which he opposed the measure; all sorts of mutinies were engendered by it; riot and disorders took place on the recruiting from the militia forces; the officers were placed in the most mortifying situations; they were obliged to confine themselves to their barracks, durst not face the soldiers, nor appear on the parades. Such was the overthrow of discipline which had hitherto resulted from the measure.

Lord Holland observed, that the avowed object of the Bill was, to reduce the number of the militia, in order to obtain a disposable force. It was not (he hoped) necessary to demonstrate what was

quite obvious, that no man could give his vote for the measure, unless he also could give his sanction to the manner in which the force should be applied: it was no less essential to approve of the final object than of the mode of attaining it. As to this mode, their lordships had heard from different members of the House well qualified to judge, that it was considered as a violation of engagement between Government and the militia; that it was odious to the officers, and regarded as an insult both to their spirit and their rank—two things which, in the militia, ought to be held most sacred. Upon this part of the subject much had been already said; but there was another branch, of no mean consideration, which had not come under examination. He was well aware that he was exposing himself to censure by discussing it: the exercise of one of the great duties of a lord in Parliament had of late years become obnoxious; and to arraign the object or conduct of an expedition pending its success, was stigmatized as factious, unseasonable, and hostile to the interests of the public. Consciousness of rectitude, however, rendered him regardless of all these imputations.

He was ready to admit, that in the execution of an enterprise some mischiefs might arise from public discussion, but these were compensated by the benefits arising from that free investigation so peculiarly connected with the genius of our Constitution. His lordship proceeded to examine the object of the present expedition, and whether in our actual circumstances it was prudent to be attempted, or safe to be pursued. That it would be happy for the United Provinces to be again placed under their old Government he most readily acknowledged—but what were the sentiments of the people of Holland upon this subject? Unless they co-operated with our efforts, it would be extreme folly and injustice to attempt the restoration of the Stadtholder's power; and this was the avowed object of administration. That the Dutch abhorred the usurpation of the French, and languished for independence, there was little doubt; but it did not therefore follow that they would coincide with the views of Great Britain and Russia: they were too well acquainted, both by experience and observation, with the full meaning of that protection and relief which the weak receive from the powerful. They had seen what was the protection of the Netherlands, of Poland, of Venice, and of Swisserland, and they could not but entertain suspicions, even of the most flattering protestations held out to themselves. But it would be answered, How could they suspect the magnanimity of the Emperor of Russia, and the generosity of the British nation? Our proclamations indeed breathed nothing but liberal and friendly aid; but our conduct spoke a different language, when, in our negociations at Paris, it was evident that we were determined to retain the settlements which had fallen into our own hands, and the restoration of the Cape, and of Ceylon, was never intended, even should we again become allies of Holland. Would

the Dutch infer our generosity by our readiness to procure troops to fight their battles in Holland, when we had no design to put them in possession of those Colonies essential to their commerce and prosperity?

But there was another consideration to be weighed: might not the object which we were now so doubtfully pursuing by arms, be more probably achieved by negociation? There was reason to believe that the King of Prussia must be desirous to see the Government of the Stadtholder restored; and perhaps France, upon certain considerations, would acquiesce in such a change.

To attempt it by force, with the assistance of Russia, so actively interposed, might risk the total failure of the expedition. It was the wise maxim of Mr. Burke upon another occasion, that if negociation failed, an appeal might be made to arms, but if force proved ineffectual, it was impossible to recur to negociation: our failure, therefore, in our present plan, left no place for amicable arrangement.

But, admitting that it was desirable to restore the old Government of Holland by force of arms, ought we to employ our own forces, or those of our allies, in the enterprize? To rely upon our own, was attended with many advantages, but still these might be counterbalanced by the sacrifices requisite. If we were compelled to violate our engagement with the militia, the question was doubtful. To depend solely on our allies was attended with certain inconveniences; the expence of maintaining a large army abroad was enormous; the employment of so many vessels in transport service had already produced an uncommon scarcity of coals in the metropolis; the price of grain was rising to an unusual height; and when the demand of vessels for Government would probably continue, there appeared but little of sound policy in employing foreign allies to accomplish our design. There were other strong reasons which ought to deter us from sending so great a part of our men out of the Kingdom: the French fleet had returned to Brest in great force; there was cause for apprehension in Ireland, should foreign aid be joined to domestic discontent; the Union held out by Ministers had not yet tranquillized the Sister Kingdom. Surely, then, it was questionable, whether the proposed reduction of our defensive force in the country, and the employment of so great an army on a foreign expedition, were measures of wisdom.

The practice which had been introduced of sacrificing the militia to the regular army, tended to destroy that Constitutional system of defence, and he suspected that from the beginning it had been in the contemplation of Ministers to render the militia subservient to the recruiting of the army—a measure calculated to disgust the officers in that service. The nature of its objects was different from those of a regular army; the views and the qualifications were different. His lordship concluded with expressing his disapprobation of the Bill, both with respect to the object and the means.

The Earl of Westmoreland denied that there was any breach of contract with the militia in in-

viting them to consent to become more useful than they were at present; and maintained also that no injury was done to the landholders, since no additional burdens were laid upon the counties.

The Earl of Carnarvon said the original militia was calculated and raised for all circumstances whatever, either of peace or war, and not liable to be affected by any changes in the situation of public affairs. The supplementary was raised as a war-addition to the permanent militia, and augmented to accommodate the defensive force to peculiar exigencies. It would necessarily admit of reduction, though not of its perversion from a militia to a force of another nature. Government could not cast a greater odium on the legislature than by supposing it intended to divert the money given by private subscription for domestic defence, to purposes diametrically opposite, namely, to re-establish the subverted Government of Holland. Nothing could excuse the dishonourable conduct of appropriating large sums bestowed for one declared end to another quite different, *without the consent of the subscribers*, who in such a case would be defrauded of their money under false pretences. Nor had the legislature been guilty of so flagrant an outrage to justice and probity: it had been effected by the finesse of Government in misconstruing the Act for this very purpose. The Bill had been brought forward late in the last session, when only seventeen members were present, and it was now resumed at an early period, in an unusual way, when only those whom public employments detained near town could possibly attend.

But it was affirmed, that the men willingly had entered the service. There was no doubt of it: soldiers were always to be obtained by money, and the tricks of ale-house seduction. But the measure was not to be estimated by the approbation of these men, which did not render it less a breach of faith towards the land owners, who still continued loaded with the expence of their internal defence, when deprived of the purchased security: that management and address was not very creditable which had succeeded in corrupting, with public money, men who were encumbered with another service.

The system of an unalienable home defence, under the command of gentlemen of independent fortune, was an object of Constitutional value: the militia was a force by which the combined zeal and patriotism of the whole country was called forth and interested in its defence, if attacked within. It was vain to allege that there would be left a sufficient number to preserve the old establishment entire; the militia was not an army to be described by its numbers, but by its nature and its principles. After the whole body had been reduced by furnishing recruits to the army, there might remain numbers equal to the original plan spread through the various corps, original, supplementary, and volunteers; but the militia could not be re-composed by adding to its remains any number drawn from any other corps. They were not sworn in for the

same service; the officers were not qualified by the same indispensable property; and the two last corps had no existence beyond the war, consequently they could not complete the militia, which continued to exist in peace. These several bodies of men may be added and spliced together, during their mutual existence, into an heterogeneous compound, and may form, for a time, a miserable regiment of shreds and patches, no longer feeling themselves the champions of their country reserved for the last stake, but degraded to the state of a drill to the army, and burdensome to those whom they were raised to defend. This perversion of the militia once carried into execution, irrecoverably destroyed it—the legislature could not, with all its omnipotence, restore it—the same confidence could never be revived. Unprofessional gentlemen could not be expected to labour in the formation of regiments which they were not to command in the hour of danger—they must remember that their zeal and labour had been rewarded by the transfer of its object to another, and that those who directed military arrangements held the Constitutional system of the militia in aversion, and sought every opportunity of depressing its ardour, and reducing it to a standing army.

The authors of the Bill, deeming it necessary to gain the approbation of officers by any means, had introduced a clause as disgraceful to the proposers as to the persons acceding to it; a clause which enabled the King to continue, during pleasure, the pay of those officers who were rendered useless by the deprivation of the men: it was a flagitious bribe, held out to render them corrupt instruments of the seduction of their soldiers; it was a dishonourable military pension to reconcile self-interest to a bad measure, by placing Commanders without service in a better pecuniary situation than those who retained the labour and expence of their vocations. Government had thought fit to subvert a militia which had been the pride of the country, and of little burden to the public purse; and this had been done also in the midst of an alarming war, at a moment when 50 sail of the line were in Brest harbour, fit for sea; and when a little change in our continental successes would render them again formidable to our coast. Should the danger revive, and domestic defence again be necessary, the bad policy of this measure would be felt to its full effect.

Lord Hardwicke, although he saw considerable objections to the Bill, was convinced that the interests of the country demanded an augmentation of our force, which no other means could so easily produce.

Lord Grenville argued that it was no breach of faith to officers, landholders, or farmers, to convert this Constitutional defence of the country into a disposable military force; it was, in reality, only converting it to the promotion of their happiness and safety. He would allow, it was not intended that it should act within the kingdom; but the vi-

gorous co-operation which our external efforts would receive from it, would ultimately tend to our advantage and glory as a nation, and consequently to the essential benefit of the landholders and farmers.

Many statements had been made respecting the expedition to Holland. If we were to be influenced by circumstances devoid of doubt, and not by idle speculations, what inference might we draw from the events which had already occurred? Was it no proof in our favour, that the Dutch wished the restoration of their ancient Government, when the sailors of the fleet, who formed no inconsiderable body, seized the first opportunity of returning to that order of things under which they were once so happy and flourishing? When we considered the insults which the Dutch had experienced from the wanton tyranny of the French; the annihilation of their commerce, the degradation of their pride, and the plunder of their property, could we hesitate to decide whether they wished for emancipation?

His lordship concluded with observing, that we had uniformly evinced our sincerity in wishing to re-establish their happiness and independence; that we had even offered, during the negociation with France, to restore to the Dutch their most valuable possessions, provided France would consent to leave them in the enjoyment of their rights; and that the object of the present Bill was to establish, on a permanent basis, the real interests of this country.

The Bill passed through the Committee without amendments, and was read a third time on October 7.

It was well known that an intimation from the Throne would be early given, recommending an adjournment of both houses, till some time after the Christmas holidays. It became necessary, therefore, to vote a part of the Supplies for 1800; and (Oct. 2.) the Secretary at War moved a Resolution, that a number of land forces, amounting to 90,000 men, including commissioned and non-commissioned Officers, be employed for two months for the year 1800. The items of his general estimate were as below.

£510,396 for charges of 90,000 men for two months.
16,648 for maintaining forces in Plantations.
92,635 for charges of Cavalry in Great Britain.
232,998 for embodied Militia and corps of Miners in Cornwall.
40,000 for increase of rate of subsistence and Victuallers.
120,000 for Barracks.
230,000 for Ordnance of Land Service.
121,510 for Navy Ordinaries.
115,625 for Ditto Extraordinaries.

Mr. Tierney said, he did not rise to oppose this motion on its own grounds; what he objected to was, the idea of voting any supply at all at this moment, and under the circumstances which brought

the members of the House together. He felt it a duty upon him as a member of Parliament, to protest against voting any supply at this time; and he would briefly state why he was of that opinion. By a late act of Parliament his Majesty could call them together in fourteen days. To their being so assembled he had no objection; on the contrary, he thought that every thinking man must see the necessity of their being so called together, and that much public inconvenience might be felt, if his Majesty had not the power of assembling Parliament in less than forty days. The reason, however, of assembling them in fourteen days appeared in his Majesty's gracious speech delivered from the Throne; it was to enable his Majesty without delay to avail himself of the voluntary services of the militia; upon that measure Parliament had a Bill before it, and it was a measure which he saw no disposition to oppose. Gentlemen might say, that it would be useless to vote for a Bill to increase the force of the army, without voting a supply; for that an army is of no use unless there be money to support it. So much he knew; but he objected to the manner in which this was done, and the more especially since his Majesty had declared from the Throne, "that the ample supplies which had been granted to him in the course of the last session would enable him, without further aid, to continue his exertions to the close of the present year." But then it was stated as a matter of convenience to the members, that the members themselves should provide for an early part of the ensuing year, by which they were promised, if they voted a certain portion of the supply now, they would not be called upon again until they had a comfortable recess. Now, having adverted to his Majesty's speech, he was naturally led to take notice of some deficiencies which were likely to arise in the supplies for last year. He believed there would be 400,000*l.* in the navy; that sum the Minister might think a trifle, although in former days it might be thought a considerable sum: the distilleries in Scotland were stopped; that would occasion another deficiency. The Income tax had been taken at the lowest to produce 7,500,000*l.* whereas he believed it would not actually produce above 6,000,000*l.* This was a point which the Minister must know, at least within 100,000*l.* Possibly the land and malt taxes now to be voted might be made to cover this deficiency.

Mr. Pitt said, he should fall short of his duty if he did not express some surprise at the observations he had just heard. The honourable gentleman would not find one word in his Majesty's speech from the throne, which went to restrain Parliament from entering upon the very business against which the honourable gentleman entered his protest. He should be sorry to use any improper words; but after what he had heard he could not help saying, that the only presumptuous conduct that he observed upon this occasion was that of the honourable gentleman himself, who opposed his individual opinion to the conduct of the House of Commons, and that an opinion which had a tendency to fetter the inherent

power of Parliament; and really this was the whole of the honourable gentleman's Constitutional defence of the usage of the House of Commons. The proceeding before the House was a measure growing out of the present war, and out of the very point on which Parliament was assembled; the object was to transfer a considerable number out of the militia into the army, which could not be done without an augmentation of the army estimates: whether that was a right or a wrong measure in itself he was not now arguing, nor was the honourable gentleman disputing; but the present was nothing more than a necessary measure arising out of that plan, a plan which his Majesty had recommended from the throne, which Parliament had adopted, and to which the honourable gentleman himself did not object.

Mr. Tierney explained; and the Resolutions were then put and carried. The other Resolutions were put and carried.

From the Treaties between his Majesty and the Emperor of Russia laid before the House, it appeared, that the last named Power engaged to employ 45,000 men in the common cause, for whom he was to receive from Great Britain a first payment of 225,000*l.* sterling, and a subsequent monthly subsidy of 75,000*l.* This Treaty was concluded at the close of 1798. By a second Convention, dated June 1799, the Emperor of Russia engaged to furnish 17,593 men for the expedition to Holland, for whom he was to receive a first payment of 88,000*l.* and a subsequent monthly subsidy of 44,000*l.* Provision was also made for the wintering of this force in England, if such a step from any circumstances should become necessary. A separate article stipulated another payment of 58,927*l.* 10*s.* for the use of Russian vessels to transport these troops, and a subsequent monthly subsidy of 19,642*l.* 10*s.*

Lord Holland (Oct. 11.) went into an examination of these Treaties. He argued that Ministers, in the first instance, had dealt unfairly with Parliament, for that at the very time in which they asked for supplies, to enable them to employ 45,000 men, a Convention was actually ratified, which stipulated for 17,000 more. But the point upon which he chiefly rested his attack, was the unconstitutional article by which we engaged to receive the Russian troops, and winter them in England. He contended that the Crown had no such power; and in support of this assertion, he quoted a Resolution of the Commons in 1641, the substance of which was, that whoever shall advise the Crown to bring in foreign troops without the consent of Parliament, shall be adjudged an enemy to this Kingdom. To the same purpose, he cited also a declaration of Mr. Speaker Onslow, at the bar of the House of Lords in 1756. His motion, Lord Holland continued, would by no means go the length of preventing the fulfilment of this article, illegal as it was; for an illegality might be cured, but a breach of faith could not. He should, therefore, only protest against its establishment as a precedent. His Lordship then passed to a review of the policy of the Treaty. From the habits of the Dutch, he considered Holland as

the worst theatre of war which could have been chosen, and the Russians the least fitting soldiers who could have been employed. He saw much future inconvenience, if not danger, in any alliance which we might form with the Cabinet of St. Petersburgh; and above all, he considered the present moment of success to be, of all others, the most favourable for negociations with France; for even if they did not succeed, their failure would tend to disgust the French with their Government. The French were now in as much danger as in 1793, and if we persisted now, as we did then, in our projects of dismemberment, we should bring down upon ourselves equal ruin, for we should unite all parties in opposition to us. His Lordship, before he sat down, moved an Address, praying his Majesty to enter into negociations with the French Republic, manifesting a desire to enable his Majesty to fulfil his engagements with the Emperor of Russia, and at the same time expressing great concern for the violation of the Constitution to which his Majesty's advisers had impelled him, in recommending the introduction and the maintenance, in this kingdom, of a foreign force. The Address embraced the chief points upon which the noble Lord had touched in his speech, with the exception of the expedition to Holland.

Lord Grenville briefly opposed the motion, which he characterized as a most unprecedented interference with the privileges and prerogatives of the Crown. Parliament had repeatedly pronounced the present war to be just and necessary, and he therefore thought it needless to answer the stale tirade which Lord Holland had pronounced against it. He should, indeed, confine himself to a few observations onthe Treaties in particular, omitting the vague and general charges with which the noble mover had interspersed his speech. First he would say, that the strength of Russia consisted in men, while finance constituted the strength of Britain: in any Convention between the two countries, therefore, it was only natural that she should furnish men, and we money. In regard to the Article which promised that the Russian troops, if necessary, should be received and wintered, he defied Lord Holland to produce a single law which could prevent it. The Constitution gave the Crown the undoubted prerogative of making peace and declaring war, of entering into Treaties, and stipulating conditions. To all these it was true, Parliament might subsequently refuse its support; but nothing could deprive the Crown of its own free powers. His Lordship assigned but little authority to either of the precedents which had been quoted. In 1641 Parliament was taking measures to dethrone the Monarch, and whatever weight and respect might attach to the name and character of Mr. Speaker Onslow, (and no man deserved more) still the House of Lords, acting in its Parliamentary functions, was not to learn its duty from a casual speech of the Speaker of the Commons, in delivering a money Bill at their Lordships' Bar. When

the Treaty itself was discussed, it would be seen whether Ministers had done their duty legally and constitutionally.

Lord Holland explained at length, and his address was negatived on a division. Contents 2, (Lords Holland and King) Non-Contents 15.

On the following morning (Oct. 12.) both Houses met soon after eleven o'clock, when the Duke of Portland in the Lords, and Mr. Pitt in the Commons, moved, that in conformity with his Majesty's pleasure, they do adjourn to the 21st of January next. Upon this point Mr. Tierney twice divided the House, first that the adjournment be for one month only, secondly, that it be till four o'clock. The tellers on either side not voting, the numbers on each division were, Ayes 0. Noes 38. and the House accordingly adjourned to the 21st of January.

CHAPTER IV.

The First Consul proposes Peace to the English Government. Official Copies of the Papers relative to the Proposition. King's Message on their presentation to Parliament. Debate in the House of Lords. Speeches of Lord Grenville, the Duke of Bedford, Lords Boringdon, Holland and Caernarvon. The Ministerial Address carried. Lord Holland's Protest. Debate in the House of Commons. Speeches of Messrs. Dundas, Whitbread, Canning, Erskine, Pitt and Fox. The Address carried.

The accession of the First Consul to sovereign power was marked by a singular deviation from the forms of State policy which had long been received in Europe. A negociation for Peace was attempted with the English Government; and it was opened by a letter addressed personally from himself to the King.

As the debates which ensued in the British House of Commons, cannot be fully understood without a constant reference to this official correspondence, we shall present it in the body of our history, rather than in our Appendix. It was on the 27th of December, 1799, that M. Talleyrand, as Minister of Foreign Affairs in France, despatched the following letters to Lord Grenville, the English Foreign Secretary.

No. 1.

Letter from the Minister of Foreign Affairs in France.

My Lord,

I despatch by order of General Buonaparte, First Consul of the French Republic, a messenger to London: he is the bearer of a letter from the First Consul of the Republic to his Majesty the King of England. I request you to give the necessary orders that he may be enabled to deliver it directly into your own hands. This step, in itself, announces the importance of its object.

Accept, my lord, the assurance of my highest consideration.

(Signed) C. M. Talleyrand.

Paris, 5th Nivose, 8th year.
(*Dec.* 25, 1799.)

No. 2.

French Republic—Sovereignty of the People—Liberty—Equality. Buonaparte, First Consul of the Republic, to his Majesty the King of Great Britain and of Ireland.

Paris, 5th Nivose, (*Dec.* 25, 1799.)

Called by the wishes of the French nation to occupy the first magistracy of the Republic, I think it proper, on entering into office, to make a direct communication of it to your Majesty.

The war which for eight years has ravaged the four quarters of the world, must it be eternal? Are there no means of coming to an understanding?

How can the two most enlightened nations of Europe, powerful and strong beyond what their safety and independence require, sacrifice to ideas of vain greatness the benefits of commerce, internal prosperity, and the happiness of families? How is it that they do not feel that peace is of the first necessity, as well as of the first glory?

These sentiments cannot be foreign to the heart of your Majesty, who reigns over a free nation, and with a sole view of rendering it happy.

Your Majesty will only see in this overture my sincere desire to contribute efficaciously, for the second time, to a general pacification, by a step, speedy, entirely of confidence, and disengaged from those forms which, necessary, perhaps, to disguise the dependence of weak States, prove only, in those which are strong, the mutual desire of deceiving each other.

France and England, by the abuse of their strength, may still, for a long time, for the misfortune of all nations, retard the period of their being exhausted. But I will venture to say it, the fate of all civilised nations is attached to the termination of a war which involves the whole world.

I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) Buonaparte.

Lord Grenville lost no time in conveying the sentiments of the British Cabinet in reply. His answer was couched as below.

No. 3.

To the Minister of Foreign Affairs in France, dated Downing-street, Jan. 4, 1800.

Sir,

I have received and laid before the King the two letters which you have transmitted to me; and his Majesty, seeing no reason to depart from those forms which have long been established in Europe for transacting business with foreign States, has commanded me to return, in his name, the official answer which I send you herewith inclosed. I have the honour to be, with high consideration, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) Grenville.

No. 4.

Official Note from Lord Grenville to the Minister for Foreign Affairs at Paris, dated Jan. 4, 1800.

The King has given frequent proofs of his sincere desire for the re-establishment of secure and permanent tranquillity in Europe. He neither is, nor has been, engaged in any contest for a vain and false glory. He has had no other view than that of maintaining against all aggression, the rights and happiness of his subjects.

For these he has contended against an unprovoked attack; and for the same objects he is still obliged to contend; nor can he hope that this necessity could be removed by entering, at the present moment, into negociation with those whom a fresh revolution has so recently placed in the exercise of power in France; since no real advantage can arise from such negociation to the great and desirable object of general peace, until it shall distinctly appear that those causes have ceased to operate which originally produced the war, and by which it has since been protracted, and, in more than one instance, renewed.

The same system, to the prevalence of which France justly ascribes all her present miseries, is that which has also involved the rest of Europe in a long and destructive warfare, of a nature long since unknown to the practice of civilized nations.

For the extension of this system, and for the extermination of all established governments, the resources of France have from year to year, and in the midst of the most unparalleled distress, been lavished and exhausted. To this indiscriminate spirit of destruction, the Netherlands, the United Provinces, the Swiss Cantons (his Majesty's ancient friends and allies,) have successively been sacrificed: Germany has been ravaged: Italy, though now rescued from its invaders, has been made the scene of unbounded rapine and anarchy. His Majesty has himself been compelled to maintain an arduous and burthensome contest for the independence and existence of his Kingdoms.

Nor have these calamities been confined to Europe alone; they have been extended to the most distant quarters of the world, and even to countries so remote both in situation and interest from the present contest, that the very existence of such a war was perhaps unknown to those who found themselves suddenly involved in all its horrors.

While such a system continues to prevail, and while the blood and treasure of a numerous and powerful nation can be lavished in its support, experience has shown that no defence but that of open and steady hostility can be availing. The most solemn Treaties have only prepared the way for fresh aggression; and it is to a determined resistance alone that is now due whatever remains in Europe of stability for property, for personal liberty, for social order, or for the free exercise of religion.

For the security, therefore, of these essential objects, his Majesty cannot place his reliance on the mere renewal of general professions of pacific dispositions. Such professions have been repeatedly held out by all those who have successively directed the resources of France to the destruction of Europe; and whom the present

rulers have declared to have been all, from the beginning, and uniformly, incapable of maintaining the relations of amity and peace.

Greatly, indeed, will his Majesty rejoice, whenever it shall appear that the danger to which his own dominions, and those of his allies, have been so long exposed, has really ceased; whenever he shall be satisfied that the necessity of resistance is at an end; that, after the experience of so many years of crimes and miseries, better principles have ultimately prevailed in France; and that all the gigantic projects of ambition, and all the restless schemes of destruction, which have endangered the very existence of civil society, have at length been finally relinquished:—But the conviction of such a change, however agreeable to his Majesty's wishes, can result only from experience, and from evidence of facts.

The best and most natural pledge of its reality and permanance would be the restoration of that line of Princes which for so many centuries maintained the French nation in prosperity at home, and in consideration and respect abroad; such an event would at once have removed, and will at any time remove, all obstacles in the way of negociation or peace. It would confirm to France the unmolested enjoyment of its ancient territory; and it would give to all the other nations of Europe, in tranquillity and peace, that security which they are now compelled to seek by other means.

But, desirable as such an event must be both to France and to the world, it is not to this mode exclusively that his Majesty limits the possibility of secure and solid pacification. His Majesty makes no claim to prescribe to France what shall be the form of her government, or in whose hands she shall vest the authority necessary for conducting the affairs of a great and powerful nation.

His Majesty looks only to the security of his own dominions and those of his allies, and to the general safety of Europe. Whenever he shall judge that such security can in any manner be attained, as resulting either from the internal situation of that country, from whose internal situation the danger has arisen, or from such other circumstances of whatever nature as may produce the same end, his Majesty will eagerly embrace the opportunity to concert with his allies the means of immediate and general pacification.

Unhappily no such security hitherto exists; no sufficient evidence of the principles by which the new government will be directed; no reasonable ground by which to judge of its stability. In this situation it can for the present only remain for his Majesty to pursue, in conjunction with other Powers, those exertions of just and defensive war, which his regard to the happiness of his subjects will never permit him either to continue beyond the necessity in which they originated, or to terminate on any other grounds than such as may best contribute to the secure enjoyment of their tranquillity, their Constitution, and their independence.

(Signed.) Grenville.

The following explanatory rejoinders were afterwards added

by each Government in illustration of its own views of this proposal.

No. 5.

Letter from the Minister of Foreign Affairs in France to Lord Grenville, dated Paris, 24th Nivose, (Jan. 14, 1800.)

My Lord,

I lost no time in laying before the First Consul of the Republic the official note under date of the 14th Nivose, which you transmitted to me; and I am charged to forward the answer, equally official, which you will find annexed.

Receive, my lord, the assurance of my high consideration.

(Signed) C. M. Talleyrand.

No. 6.

Official Note referred to in the French Minister's Letter of Jan. 14, to Lord Grenville.

The official note, under date of the 14th Nivose, the 8th year, addressed by the Minister of his Britannic Majesty, having been laid before the First Consul of the French Republic, he observed with surprise, that it rested upon an opinion which is not exact respecting the origin and consequences of the present war. Very far from its being France which provoked it, she had, it must be remembered, from the commencement of her revolution, solemnly proclaimed her love of peace, and her disinclination to conquests, her respect for the independence of all governments; and it is not to be doubted that, occupied at that time with her own internal affairs, she would have avoided taking part in those of Europe, and would have remained faithful to her declarations.

But from an opposite disposition, as soon as the French revolution had broken out, almost all Europe entered into a league for its destruction. The aggression was real, long time before it was public; internal resistance was excited; its opponents were favourably received; their extravagant declamations were supported; the French nation was insulted in the person of its agents; and England set particularly this example by the dismissal of the Minister accredited to her. Finally, France was, in fact, attacked in her independence, in her honour, and in her safety, long time before the war was declared.

Thus, it is to the projects of subjection, dissolution, and dismemberment, which were prepared against her, and the execution of which was several times attempted and pursued, that France has a right to impute the evils which she has suffered, and those which have afflicted Europe. Such projects, for a long time without example, with respect to so powerful a nation, could not fail to bring on the most fatal consequences.

Assailed on all sides, the Republic could not but extend universally the efforts of her defence; and it is only for the maintenance of her independence that she has made use of those means which she possessed, in her own strength and the courage of her citizens. As long as she saw her enemies obstinately refuse to recognize her rights, she counted only upon the energy of her resistance; but as soon as they were obliged to

abandon the hope of invasion, she sought for means of reconciliation, and manifested pacific intentions: and if these have not always been efficacious; if, in the midst of the critical circumstances of her internal situation, which the revolution and the war have successively brought on, the former depositaries of the executive authority in France have not always shown as much moderation as the nation itself has shown courage, it must, above all, be imputed to the fatal and persevering animosity with which the resources of England have been lavished to accomplish the ruin of France.

But if the wishes of his Britannic Majesty (in conformity with his assurances) are, in unison with those of the French Republic, for the re-establishment of peace, why, instead of attempting the apology of the war, should not attention be rather paid to the means of terminating it? And what obstacle can prevent a mutual understanding, of which the utility is reciprocal, and is felt, especially when the First Consul of the French Republic has personally given so many proofs of his eagerness to put an end to the calamities of war, and of his disposition to maintain the rigid observance of all the Treaties concluded?

The First Consul of the French Republic could not doubt that his Britannic Majesty recognized the right of nations to choose the form of their government, since it is from the exercise of this right that he holds his crown; but he has been unable to comprehend how to this fundamental principle, upon which rests the existence of political societies, the Ministers of his Majesty could annex insinuations which tend to an interference in the internal affairs of the Republic, and which are no less injurious to the French nation and to its government, than it would be to England and to his Majesty, if a sort of invitation were held out in favour of that Republican Government of which England adopted the forms in the middle of the last century, or an exhortation to recall to the Throne that family whom their birth had placed there, and whom a Revolution compelled to descend from it.

If at periods not far distant, when the Constitutional system of the Republic presented neither the strength nor the solidity which it contains at present, his Britannic Majesty thought himself enabled to invite a negociation and pacific conferences; how is it possible that he should not be eager now to renew negociations to which the present and reciprocal situation of affairs promises a rapid progress? On every side the voice of nations and of humanity implores the conclusion of a war, marked already by such great calamities, and the prolongation of which threatens Europe with an universal convulsion and irremediable evils. It is, therefore, to put a stop to the course of these calamities, or in order that their terrible consequences may be reproached to those only who shall have provoked them, that the First Consul of the French Republic proposes to put an immediate end to hostilities, by agreeing to a suspension of arms, and naming plenipotentiaries on each side, who shall repair to Dunkirk, or any other

town as advantageously situated for the quickness of the respective communications, and who should apply themselves without any delay to effect the re-establishment of peace and good understanding between the French Republic and England.

The First Consul offers to give the passports which may be necessary for this purpose.

(Signed) C. M. Talleyrand.

Paris, the 24th Nivose (14th Jan.) eighth year of the French Republic.

No. 7.

Letter from Lord Grenville to the Minister for Foreign Affairs at Paris, dated Downing-street, Jan. 20, 1800.

Sir,

I have the honour to inclose to you the answer which his Majesty has directed me to return to the official note which you transmitted to me.

I have the honour to be, with high consideration, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) Grenville.

No. 8.

Official Note referred to in Lord Grenville's Letter of Jan. 20.

The official note transmitted by the Minister for Foreign affairs in France, and received by the undersigned on the 1st instant, has been laid before the King.

His Majesty cannot forbear expressing the concern with which he observes in that note, that the unprovoked aggressions of France, the sole cause and origin of the war, are systematically defended by her present rulers, under the same injurious pretences by which they were originally attempted to be disguised. His Majesty will not enter into the refutation of allegations now universally exploded, and (in so far as they respect his Majesty's conduct) not only in themselves utterly groundless, but contradicted both by the internal evidence of the transactions to which they relate, and also by the express testimony, given at that time, of the government of France itself.

With respect to the object of the note, his Majesty can only refer to the answer which he has already given.

He has explained without reserve, the obstacles which, in his judgment, preclude, at the present moment, all hope of advantage from negociation. All the inducements to treat, which are relied upon in the French official note; the personal dispositions which are said to prevail for the conclusion of peace, and for the future observance of Treaties; the power of insuring the effect of those dispositions, supposing them to exist; and the solidity of the system newly established, after so rapid a succession of revolutions—all these are points which can be known only from that test to which his Majesty has already referred them—the result of experience, and the evidence of facts.

With that sincerity and plainness which his anxiety for the re-establishment of peace indispensably required, his Majesty has pointed out to France the surest and speediest means for the attainment of that great object. But he has declared in terms equally explicit,

and with the same sincerity, that he entertains no desire to prescribe to a foreign nation the form of its government;—that he looks only to the security of his own dominions and of Europe; and that whenever that essential object can in his judgment be, in any manner whatever, sufficiently provided for, he will eagerly concert with his allies the means of immediate and joint negociation, for the re-establishment of general tranquillity.

To these declarations his Majesty steadily adheres: and it is only on the grounds thus stated, that his regard to the safety of his subjects will suffer him to renounce that system of vigorous defence, to which, under the favour of Providence, his Kingdoms owe the security of those blessings which they now enjoy.

(Signed) Grenville.

Downing-street, Jan. 20, 1800.

On the day after Parliament resumed its sittings, (Jan. 22.) two messages from the King were delivered to each House. The first related to supplies, and was accompanied with copies of the above papers relating to the Overture of Peace which had been made by the French Government during the period of adjournment. The second acquainted Parliament that the Russian troops employed in the expedition to Holland, having necessarily been brought to this country at the close of the campaign; his Majesty, agreeably to Treaty, had directed quarters to be provided for them in the islands of Guernsey and Jersey.

The Lords appointed an early day (Jan. 28.) for the consideration of these messages. Lord Grenville, in moving an Address in answer to them, commented upon the unfortunate necessity which protracted the present contest, and denied that, in the state of European affairs, any rational hope existed either for this country or the rest of the world, unless in war. The documents on the table, he said, would sufficiently prove that the enemy was still actuated by the same proneness to aggression, and disregard to justice, which had always marked him, and while this spirit remained, peace with such a nation must be considered rather as a cessation from resistance to wrong, than a termination of ordinary warfare. It would lead us to encounter all the risks of an uncertain truce, without one of the benefits of even a temporary peace. France, at the commencement of the war, was innovating, Jacobinical, faithless in Treaty, and hostile to Monarchy, and such she still remained. Notwithstanding the solemn proclamation, which her negociator made, in one of the notes now before the House, of "the love of peace" which actuated her, it would be easy to show, that in the course of eight years, she had been at war with every nation in Europe, except Sweden and Denmark, and that she had very nearly been at war with America also, besides, at this moment, being on terms of threatened hostility with the first named country. The Rhine, the Netherlands, Swisserland and Italy, contradicted another assertion of her "disinclination to conquest," and the Ottoman Porte might join its voice also in the same refutal. Her "respect for

the independence of all Governments," was disproved by all Governments with which she had been connected.

Every power with which she had treated could furnish melancholy instances of the perfidy, injustice, and cruelty of the Republic. If she agreed to a suspension of arms, it was in order to be admitted into the State of the negociating Prince, that she might then undermine his Throne by corrupting the principles of his subjects. The Duke of Tuscany was among the early sufferers by a Treaty. He strove to conform his conduct in every respect to the views of France; but at the moment when she pledged her honour for the security of his State, he saw the troops of his ally enter his Capital, the governor of that city imprisoned, his subjects in a state of rebellion, and himself about to be exiled from his dominions. It was to this Prince, however, that the Republic repeated her assurances of attachment. That very Republic which sought not conquest, which declared she would not interfere with the Government of other States, deposed the Sovereign, and gave a democracy to the Florentines!

The King of Sardinia opened the gates of his Capital to the Republican arms; and, confiding in the integrity of the French Government, expected to find his possessions guaranteed by the Treaty which recognized his rights, and secured to France adequate advantages. He was obliged to resign his continental dominions, while the city of Turin was treacherously seized by the Republicans. The change of Papal government was schemed by Joseph Buonaparte in his Palace; and, after that Ambassador had excited an insurrection, we saw the revolution effected by him at the head of a Roman mob. In the example of Naples was displayed the same contempt of the laws of war, and of the rights of peace. Reverting to the intercourse of the Republic with the States of the Empire, the same want of faith was discoverable. The armistice concluded by the Archduke with the General of the Republic, was succeeded by the Treaty of Campo Formio; and was this better observed than others? It generated the causes of the war which now raged for the second time over Europe. After the armistice with the Emperor, the French directed their arms against Venice. Here they proclaimed themselves deliverers, who came to release them from the yoke of Austria, who, according to the French, had oppressed the Republican Venetians: but it was mere proclamation; for in no long time after that Republic was annihilated, and Venice was sold to that very Emperor whose vaunted aggressions afforded the original pretext for the French invasion.

Genoa received them as friends; and, that the debt of gratitude might be paid in the style of the new school, Genoa was revolutionized, a new Government was hurried up, while, under the authority of a mock revolution, we saw the people plundered, and the country pillaged. If injustice towards Princes and Aristocrates forms part of the creed of the modern rulers, why was not justice better observed towards *Republics* raised especially under the wings of

France, her own offspring, and affiliated with her?

Swisserland concluded a truce; the Republic excited insurrections there; overthrew her institutions; oppressed her people with contributions; degraded, deposed, or exiled her magistracy; seized her strong places; assumed the command of her armies; and, to give permanency to the usurpation, imposed a new Government, not only in form but name.

From which of these facts could we expect security in any peace? But it would be said, these were not the acts of France more than they were inevitably the result of a state of war. This was answered by the report of Boulay de la Meurthe (a principal member of the new Government,) who told the Council of Elders, that neither the revolutionary nor Constitutional Government was capable of maintaining the relations of friendship and peace with the powers of Europe; that Treaties were made to be broken; and that there was no security in the Republic itself, whilst such a mass of absurdity, of folly, and of error, continued to form the basis of the Government. If then the declarations of the rulers of France so entirely supported all that his Majesty's Ministers had from time to time stated on the subject of war and peace, what other course would Great Britain adopt (if she were wise) than to wait the event of things, and not to enter on negociation at a time in which no one advantage could fairly be expected from it? To negociate now would be to impeach all former decisions, to libel the past declarations of the House, and, above all, to betray the interests of our allies, at a moment when the world hailed with impatience our vigorous resistance to the aggressions of France, which, under Providence, might yet lead to the deliverance of Europe.

His Lordship then reiterated, with great ability, the arguments of Ministers, to prove that France, respecting England, had been the aggressor; he disclaimed all alliance and connexion with any Powers for the purpose of overthrowing their Government, especially specifying the pretended Treaties of Pavia and Pilnitz; and observed, that so far was the Emperor from meditating such interference, that he expressly notified to all the Courts of Europe, that he regarded the new French Constitution accepted by the King as the proper act of the King. The Emperor too soon felt the effect of his declaration; for, when the French invaded his dominions, in 1792, he was so unprepared, that the Netherlands speedily fell into the hands of the Republic. England not only did not mean to interfere with the internal affairs of France, but actually authorized her Ministers on the continent to become the mediators between the Powers at war. Even M. Chauvelin and M. Talleyrand admitted this: and, in fact, the latter in his declaration as an Ambassador contradicted his declaration as a Minister.

Lord Grenville, after taking a view of the negociation at Lisle and maintaining that the reception of our Ambassador there, and at Paris were proofs of the impracticability of negociation, commented on the note of the French Minister, dwelling upon that assertion

in it "that the Powers of Europe had originally provoked the Republic to the exertion of her own strength, and of the courage of her citizens." There was more meant in the original phrase than could be expressed by a translation. It was an artful insinuation, that the Republic, being dragged into the war, carried her arms into neutral States to make her claims valid against nations at war. In other words, if a neutral State would not commit aggressions on States at war with the Republic, or supply the wants of her soldiers, she was to resort to the exertion of her strength, and to subjugate and plunder them. It was in this spirit they had invaded and seized on Egypt, and in the same spirit might England expect to be invaded, if, unlike the other Powers which surround the Republic, we were not separated by a channel, which, under Providence, would ever be impassable.

From this point his Lordship passed to the personal character of the first Consul, upon which he maintained that much of the stability of any peace concluded with him must necessarily depend. He traced the history of this extraordinary man from the third year of the Republic, when he first imposed upon France, by the mouth of the cannon, that Constitution, which he had recently destroyed by the point of the bayonet. To him belonged the conclusion and the violation of treaties with Sardinia, with Tuscany, with Modena, with Venice, with Rome, with Genoa, and with Swisserland. The Cisalpine Republic had been raised and overthrown by his hands. Malta, after many specious promises of good faith, had been treated as a conquered country. He declared to the Porte that he did *not* mean to take possession of Egypt, to his own Generals that he *did* mean to take possession of it, and to the people of the country that he *had* taken possession of it with the consent of the Porte, and lastly, after his sudden flight, he left directions with General Kleber to sign a Treaty for its evacuation, but not to execute this article. These, said Lord Grenville, may be accepted as unquestionable proofs of his future integrity; and they may teach us what his objects were in proposing the late negociation. The one to amuse Great Britain, the other to induce her to give offence to her allies. The proposed negociation would relieve France from numberless difficulties, England not from any. France would be freed from blockade, stores would be introduced, troops brought back. It is clearly Buonaparte's interest to negociate, if it were only for the sake of lowering the tone of a people who have hitherto proved the most effectual barrier against the encroachments of Republicanism, and of infusing into our allies a suspicion of our resolution, or our integrity. Obviously, however, as his interests lead him to negociation, it is equally obvious that they cannot at present lead him to a permanent peace. He has succeeded in establishing a military despotism, and his power must be maintained by an armed force. All history teaches us, that in such a Government internal tranquillity can only be preserved by constant action, and a state of perpetual warfare must be its chief

support. Or again granting that his power is more firm than in any way it can be proved to be, in making peace with him we hazard all upon his life, and if that fails, we have no security behind, for we know not whom the licentiousness and the turbulence of French principles may raise up as his successor.

Lord Grenville then declared, that however strongly Ministers might believe, that the restoration of Monarchy in France would be the best, the surest, and the speediest road to peace, still that they never had asserted it to be the only means by which that desirable end could be effected, nor did they consider it the *sine qua non* of negociation. They earnestly desired peace, but they thought it would be dishonest, unwise, and fruitless, to enter into hollow negociation. Contrasting the state of France now with what it was in 1795, he was convinced, that by steadily pursuing the same course which had diminished her power and increased our own, we were every hour approaching nearer to the consummation of our wishes.

The Duke of Bedford professed to discuss the principles of the war, and the basis upon which negociation was to be founded, rather than to follow the arguments of the Noble Secretary; for there was nothing in the objections urged against treating now, which might not equally have been urged when the negociations were opened at Lisle. He by no means took upon himself to defend the conduct of Republican France, he would as soon think of defending that of some of our present allies, or of ourselves in India; but he strongly reprobated the insulting epithets with which Lord Grenville had loaded its present Governors.

The paper transmitted by our Ministers called upon the French Government to vindicate their nation at large in pursuing the war. Did it not expressly say, that if France would again revolutionize itself, and restore its ancient line of Princes, this country would treat with her? Was this the conciliatory paper which it was a crime in France to answer as she had answered it? Was it extraordinary that the French should deny that they were the aggressors, when our Ministers not only endeavoured to prove that they were so, but that they had acted infamously and atrociously? Had the Republic made use of any language so provoking as this? The style of their Government had been directly contrary: yet, without the least necessity, his Lordship had thought fit to load them with every degrading and insulting epithet. Whether England or France were the first aggressors was a question to be reserved to posterity; it was natural for each country to throw the imputation off their own shoulders, and avoid not only the execration of the present age, but the curse of posterity. The wild scheme of restoring the French Monarchy was the *sine qua non*, if not of peace, of negociation; for, notwithstanding the Noble Secretary had denied the charge, whilst he pointed out the impossibility of treating with the French Government during all its stages to the present, and insisted upon vigorous hostilities being the only means of our security, there was no in-

ference to be drawn but that the war must be continued till Monarchy was re-established. What prospect remained of such an event taking place, his Grace said, he would not pretend to determine; but this fact was certain, in proportion as this country oppressed France, in the same proportion did France become violent; our attempts to destroy Jacobinism promoted, and, if we persevered, would establish it. If the restoration of Monarchy was not the object, what was this object? Were Ministers contending that we ought to wait for a more favourable opportunity of entering into negociation? Was it to be attained by railing at Buonaparte? There were no terms sufficiently strong in which to censure the littleness which attacked his character, in order to ruin him in the estimation of the French nation, as if by so doing we could negociate with more effect, or gain a fairer prospect of peace. It was also most contemptible to publish what was called "The intercepted Correspondence of the Enemy;" these were paltry shifts, reflecting more disgrace upon Ministers than on the writers of these fabricated letters.

Upon what, he might ask, did we found our hopes of a better opportunity for negociation than the present? Was it on our allies? Each of them, we were well assured, would make a separate peace at the first moment favourable to their own views. Or was it in our own internal situation? This, he feared, was not one of profound tranquillity. Our old system of finance had been abandoned, and a new one, after two years trial, had been proved defective. Distress was universal, and the only means by which it could be relieved, arose from the precarious benevolence of individuals. Strong means, at variance with the fundamental principles upon which the military force of these kingdoms was raised, had been resorted to to recruit our armies; and the armies so formed, after leaving our own shores with assurance of success, had been obliged to purchase a disgraceful retreat from the enemy's territory.

The present question was big with the crisis, not only of England, but of existing man, and succeeding generations. He implored their Lordships, by the love they bore their country, to pause ere they consented to plunge it in eternal war. If France and England were to be eternal rivals, let that rivalship be manifested by other means; instead of desolating each other's territories, and carrying devastation into every part of the habitable world, adding to the number of disconsolate widows and helpless orphans, let the countries reciprocally lighten the burdens of the people, direct their thoughts to agriculture and commerce, and vie with each other in the arts of peace. By the silence of the people it might be supposed they were satisfied; in this case the more responsibility attached to Ministers; they were bending under the accumulated weight of taxes; it was for their rulers to take care that they did not sink. A continuance of oppression would make them slaves, or prepare them for revolution. If they were driven to despair, like the people

of France, they would look up to themselves, and redress their own grievances.

His Grace then enlarged, in very general terms, upon the advantages of peace, and sat down after proposing the following amended Address, which was read by Lord Holland.

"That an Address be presented to his Majesty, returning thanks for his gracious communication of the correspondence between the Minister of France and that of England, and humbly to represent, that in December 1795, his Majesty was pleased to acquaint the House, that he had been induced to meet any disposition for negociation on the part of the enemy with an earnest desire to give it the speediest effect.

"That, in pursuance of this disposition, an overture had been made in the spring by his Minister in Swisserland, in the year 1796.

"On the rejection of that overture, his Majesty had given the most solemn assurance, that whenever the enemy should manifest more pacific sentiments, he would eagerly concur in them, and concert with his allies such measures as were best calculated to re-establish tranquillity on conditions just, honourable, and permanent.

"That his Majesty had since entered into two negociations for peace with the Republic, at Paris in 1796, and at Lisle in 1797: and that the rupture was solely to be attributed to the determination of the French Government to reject all means of peace, and to pursue at all hazards their hostile designs against these kingdoms.

"That we his Majesty's most dutiful subjects, impressed with the justice of these sentiments, anxious for the re-establishment of peace, and the dignity of the Crown, cannot conceal our regret on perceiving his Majesty has been advised to reject the first overtures on the part of the enemy; and we implore his Majesty to give directions for an immediate renewal of the negociation for peace with the Republic, beseeching him to recur to those principles of moderation and equity so solemnly and repeatedly avowed, and which, if adhered to, must either ensure the restoration of peace, or render our enemies alone accountable for the calamities of war."

Lord Boringdon said that the question was, whether Parliament would support his Majesty in prosecuting the war till a peace, compatible with our own security and that of Europe, could be concluded. Now, being thoroughly convinced that no such peace could be made at the present moment, he felt himself bound to vote for the Address. That negociation would have injured our security was capable of proof, for it was impossible that we could feel certain of the duration of the power of that extraordinary man; (he would give him no other epithet,) whom another revolution had recently placed at the head of the French Government.

He would not pretend to determine what might be the real dispositions of the First Consul relative to general pacification; but it was remarkable that though his Majesty, with that good faith so well becoming his character, as well as that of the nation, expressly stated his intentions of acting only in concert with his allies, not one

word should be said in answer respecting peace with them: he argued, therefore, that even if we had acceded to the French propositions, it was probable we might have left in existence the continental war; we might have enabled France to have strengthened and recruited her forces, basely have allowed her to bring them out against the powers now in alliance with us, and have put into the hands of these successors of Buonaparte a power more formidable than that now enjoyed by himself, more formidable, from the principles of those who might direct it; and, above all, from the abject state in which it would most assuredly find this country under such circumstances. It was impossible to conceive means more calculated to damp the ardour and check the enterprise of our fleets, to destroy the discipline and spirit of our armies, to enfeeble every branch of the public service, and diffuse distrust and despondency into the public mind, than the hasty conclusion of a temporary peace.

In opposition to the Noble Duke, he considered the personal character of this Chief as most important to the present subject. It was not likely that the high eminence which he had now attained would new model his disposition, that it would soften his heart, eradicate deceit, implant sincerity, restrain ambition, and engender moderation.

It had been said, that Ministers, by their answers to France, had declared eternal war, but this proposition could not be proved; Ministers couldnot have expressed (short of negociation) his Majesty's desire of peace more strongly; experience and facts could mean nothing else than that his Majesty felt it his duty to wait to see whether the power of the present ruler in France should be established, and whether his use of that power could reasonably induce us to hope for the faithful observance of any Treaty concluded with him. It was necessary to remind the House that Buonaparte had only been installed a month; and such was the nature of the French revolution, that no reference to the history of former times, no recurrence to those transactions of which France had for so many years been the melancholy and sanguinary theatre, could in any way lead to a plausible conjecture, much less to such a solid opinion as should be adopted before they could proceed in a measure of the deepest importance. Surely, in waiting for the test of experience and the evidence of facts, there was nothing which justified the imputation of unwise delay and timid policy: no comment was necessary upon peace having been proposed on the last occasion, because betwixt powerful and independent nations that circumstance made no difference; nor could the proposal of peace be considered in itself as either an act of humiliation or a pledge of sincerity.

Lord Boringdon then observed, that Ministers had ever considered the restoration of Monarchy as a means to peace, but in no way as a just and legitimate end for the continuance of war: a distinction sufficiently proved by the negociations at Paris and at Lisle. Yet in spite of these negociations,

he could see no reason why the declarations which were issued after their failure should, as the Noble Duke contended, be thought binding upon this country to the end of Time. Nor could it be expected that in situations widely different we should pursue precisely the same line of conduct. Lord Boringdon here contrasted the present favourable state of Europe with that in which it had been placed three years since, and thinking that the appearance of the existing French Government implied nothing of stability, and that its nature and character demanded something more than profession, he called upon their Lordships to support the original Address.

Lord Romney and Lord Carlisle each seemed to wish for a middle course between the Address and the Amendment.

Lord Holland pointed out one material change in the relative situations of the two countries, which was ascertained by the correspondence on the table; we could no longer attribute the continuance of the war to the avowed animosity of the enemy. He remarked upon the anxiety which had been shewn to avoid naming Buonaparte by the title of First Consul, and hoped that this feeling had not tacitly formed one of the objections which Ministers felt to negociation, since negociation, instead of giving sanction to a Government, was merely a recognition of its power. In regard to the instability of the present French Government, this, on former occasions, had never been urged against Governments no less unstable. Its faithlessness had been exaggerated. Its ambition could not be allowed as a preliminary argument preclusive of all Treaty, and for its sincerity, it had done every thing in its power to evince such a disposition. The Noble Secretary had pointed out many objections to Peace, but he had not shewn how it was to be obtained. The official note, however, in answer to Buonaparte's proposition, hinted at a mode which he was not very likely to adopt: the restoration of the hereditary line of Kings. But surely if ambition were an obstacle to general Pacification, something of the recorded charges which Parliament, at various periods, had advanced against the House of Bourbon, should be honestly recollected. We complained of the recency of the last revolution as an objection to Treaty, and in the same breath we recommended another as the readiest means to peace. We talked of ambition and insincerity, and then mentioned as a remedy, a family proverbially ambitious and insincere. We apprehended instability, and then expressed a hope that a form of Government would be adopted, which, under the present circumstances, must be the most precarious of all others. In the late correspondence, we had taken up the principle which we had stigmatized hitherto as Jacobinical, of distinguishing between a People and their Government. The note of Ministers was a manifesto to the Royalists, and framed for that purpose. It spoke of the miseries of France, with which we had as little to do as Talleyrand with the Test Act, the want of Parliamentary Reform, or the Income Tax.

One argument against negociation, Lord Holland said, had been avoided, which to him was the only one which had any weight. The probable destruction in which it might involve the Chouans; perhaps, however, we might render them more service by our mediation than by our direct assistance. After expressing a belief that the country at large disapproved of the present abrupt refusal to treat, his Lordship asked how Ministers, if Buonaparte should hereafter be proved sincere, could satisfy their consciences for having prolonged the calamities of war without any motive of honour, interest, or security?

Lord Caernarvon thought the question had throughout been debated on wrong grounds. The House was not to decide by its vote of that night whether the country should be plunged into a long and ruinous war, or should make an immediate peace; but it was to approve or disapprove a certain answer which had been made by the Secretary of State, to a proposal of negociation offered by the Enemy. Now in declining this proposal, the Minister by no means rejected any distinct basis upon which Pacification might have been founded; but in an answer at once dignified and spirited, he evinced our sincere wish for Peace, together with our resolution not to be duped by artifice. We paused, to ascertain the stability of the Government which sought to treat with us. In this point, he fully coincided with Ministers: not so, however, in assigning the character of the ruling Sovereign, and repeated breaches of national faith, as reasons essentially precluding negociation. History was full of these disgraceful violations. In this part of his speech, Lord Caernarvon mentioned a remarkable instance of national bad faith. At the moment in which Spain and France signed the peace with this country in 1763, an order was signed by the Spanish Minister, in conjunction with the Duc de Choiseul, for an attack to be made on Falkland's Islands on a given date some years after. So that a prospective rupture was decided on in the same breath which proclaimed a Treaty of perpetual amity. This sealed order was forgotten by the two Courts, and to their astonishment, was faithfully executed at the appointed time, by the Officer to whom it had been consigned, a time indeed which suited the interests of neither party. Mons. d' Ossun, who related this anecdote to Lord Caernarvon, was at that time Ambassador from France to the Court of Spain, and was directed to remonstrate on this aggression, which had embarrassed the Cabinet of Paris. He found equal surpise at Madrid, nor was the circumstance explained till the Officer defended himself by the production of his order. With such facts as these before us, his Lordship observed, that Peace must be made whenever the interests of both parties require it, and in fact, seldom lasts longer. Lord Caernarvon did not agree with Ministers, in thinking that War was Buonaparte's policy. The reign of Attornies and Mountebanks was passed, and the reign of Soldiers had commenced. The new chief had to encounter all the dangers of freshly acquired power, without the experience which was to be gained by the slow advances of previous intrigue. He cannot

quit his Capital, but if he enters the field, he must confide his armies to his Generals, whose failure or success would be equally fatal to his Government. The first would advance the Bourbons to the throne, the second would raise formidable rivals with claims equal to his own, and equal means of asserting them. Thinking that Peace was the private interest of Buonaparte, his Lordship felt no doubt that Buonaparte would sacrifice the interest of France to obtain it, so that either by the overthrow or the confirmation of the present French Government, we should soon obtain it; under this conviction, he did not think the sort of negociation proposed, the shortest road to Peace, and he earnestly deprecated all interference with Ministers, who, he believed, had this great object honestly at heart.

Lord Liverpool compared the commercial and financial condition of the two Countries, and impressed upon the House, that a rash and premature negociation would at present, only tend to remove some of the burdens under which France was labouring. He adverted to the famous resolution of the Convention, in Nov. 1792, declaring the intention of the Republic of France to overthrow the Government of every other State in Europe: this was still unrepealed, and Buonaparte's letter mentioned no design of repealing it: again, he pointed out the novel practice of annexing all conquered territories to the Republic, and refusing to make them the subject of any future negociation. The answer given by Ministers to M. Talleyrand, declared the express wish of his Majesty to treat for Peace whenever he could do so with security.

The House then divided: Contents 79; Proxies 13: Not Contents 6; Proxies none—Majority 86. The Not Contents were, the Duke of Bedford, the Earl of Albemarle, Lords Ponsonby, Holland, King, and Camelford. Lord Holland entered the following protest on the Journals.

'*Dissentient.*

'Because the Address directly approves of the rejection of an overture for peace, when that blessing might probably be attained with honour and security by opening a negociation with the Republic, and indirectly approves of the language in which the rejection of the offer was conveyed to the French Government—a language which can only widen the breach between the two countries, exasperate the enemy, and prolong the calamities of war.'

The line of argument adopted in the commencement of his speech, by Mr. Secretary Dundas, when introducing this subject to the House of Commons, (Feb. 3) was very similar to that used in the Upper House by Lord Grenville. He characterized the French Revolution, from what experience had taught us of it, as a transaction of more mischief, horror, and devastation, than any other which the history of the World could exhibit. One uniform feature in all its stages was a total disregard for Treaties and obligations, and a sovereign contempt for the rights and privileges of other States. Mr. Dundas here enumerated the various breaches of faith by which the Jacobinical Government had been disgraced, and contended that

this Government was now at an end in form, but not in substance; for that all the qualities of the Revolutionary Government were as much in force at this moment, as in the days of Robespierre. Upon this reasoning, his Majesty's Ministers proceeded in their refusal to treat: all former attempts made for that purpose had proved abortive, and they saw nothing to promise a more favourable termination at present. They were neither certain of the sincerity of the overture, nor of the stability of the Government by which it was offered. The Right Hon. Secretary here entered into a detailed history of Buonaparte's rise and aggrandizement, and maintained from it, that there was not a single case of negociation on record in which he had not violated his faith; and that in this long catalogue of crimes, he himself had always been the chief, often the spontaneous, Actor. But it had been said, Why not try the experiment? did gentlemen perceive no danger in such an experiment? was it a matter of indifference to dissolve an alliance which it had cost us so much pains to cement, and which had succeeded in making such illustrious efforts? or was it nothing to stretch out our hands to nurse and uphold the usurpation of Buonaparte, to assist in the consolidation of his power, and to become the instruments of his strength, so that, when opportunity occurs, we may see it turned against the very States which have assisted in its augmentation? But what, it had been said again, if he be not sincere? how are we worse off than with the insincerity of the ancient line of Princes? Thus far plainly; the ambition of the Bourbons did not shew itself by rousing the passions of the rabble, by dissolving the bands of society, or beating down all principles: but these were the arms by which Revolutionary France attacked all other nations. It is not France in arms that we dread, but a Government founded upon doctrines which afford no security to other countries. Such a Government must be overthrown, or rendered incapable of wanton injury: the former course is the most desirable, for in the latter, we must keep the eyes of Argus in perpetual watchfulness.

Mr. Dundas then denied the hacknied assertion, that we would accept no peace, unless from the restored Bourbons. It was now upon record, he said, that such was not the only security which we would admit. The restoration of that House, however, was eminently to be desired, for two reasons, first, because we were well acquainted with the code of action in such a Government; and secondly, because it would be of the most dangerous consequence to mankind, if an usurpation so founded, as the Jacobinical Government had been founded, should prove stable in the end. He did not speak this because Monarchy had been deposed by it, for his objection would have been equally strong if it had set aside any other form of Polity. No Revolution, brought about by such principles as Jacobinical France inculcated, ought to prosper. Another argument which had been urged against the conduct of Ministers on the present occasion was, that as they had before this

treated with the French Republic, there was no reason why they should decline to do so now;—now it by no means follows, that what once was deemed prudent must therefore always be prudent. But more than this he was prepared to say, that in both the former negociations at Paris and at Lisle, every member of the Cabinet was deeply impressed with a sense of danger in the event of such negociation proving successful, and that Government, in consenting to the measure, had only yielded to collateral circumstances which forced them into it. These negociations, however, were little to be cited against the course which Ministers had now adopted; in the progress of them, no concessions which we could make, were thought satisfactory, and the implacability, and the insincerity of the Enemy, were both distinctly evinced. What now would have been the consequence, if we had made Peace then? Do Gentlemen imagine that the Irish Rebellion would have subsided? or can they think that the expedition to Egypt would not have taken place? One thing more,—if the Treaty were now actually signed, could we venture to disarm? On the contrary, pledging ourselves to refrain from hostility against France, and leaving her at liberty to act against the different Governments of Europe, we should tie up our own hands, and be held back from every thing but the expence. Mr. Dundas concluded, by moving an Address similar to that which had been voted by the Lords.

Mr. Whitbread attributed all the enormities which had accompanied the French Revolution to the interference, the folly, and the ambition of the European Powers, who combined against it: and endeavoured to prove that neither they nor ourselves had manifested firmer adherence to Treaties than the Republic of France. This charge of want of fidelity had never stood in the way of negociation on former occasions. Mr. Whitbread here entered into details concerning the discussions at Paris and at Lisle, and maintained that there was no reason why we should now refuse what we admitted then, solely because a new revolution had placed the government of France in the hands of one person, instead of those of five. On this point, he argued that Buonaparte's power, however attained, if once consolidated, must be respected by foreign Nations equally with the most legitimate. Mr. Whitbread then contrasted the conduct of Austria and Prussia towards England, with that of Buonaparte towards Europe at large, and deduced from this comparison, that if Ministers were disposed to treat with none but immaculate Governments, they could never expect to have an ally or a friend. Many arguments, he said, were drawn from the character of the First Consul (who was represented as an infractor of Treaties, and an unprincipled blasphemer) to discountenance any treaty of pacification. Every expression which could revile, every topic which could prejudice, every art which could blacken, had been used, for the purposes of political slander; and he was sorry to see that the intercepted correspondence (embellished with notes) had

made its appearance with a view to influence the country against Buonaparte, and thereby to remove every hope of peace. It had been affirmed, that since Buonaparte had been known to mankind, in no one instance had he observed a treaty, or kept an armistice. Before attention should be paid to such vague assertions, or any conclusions formed upon them, our eyes should be fixed on matter of fact. The preliminaries of Leoben were not broken, or the peace with Austria infringed by Buonaparte; for he had quitted Europe before these events took place. Even by any influence in the councils of France he could not be supposed to have had a hand in these infractions. His conduct at Venice, indeed, he would not attempt to defend, any more than that of Austria; they were both alike culpable, and both, as far as their transactions there extended, equally unworthy of future confidence. France at all times had been notorious for her want of faith in keeping Treaties; but it was also known, that other Governments kept them no longer than they were found beneficial to their States. England was now smarting under the treachery of Prussia, who took a subsidy from us, and then broke through all engagements. England, however, was said to be actuated by nobler views, and firmly to adhere to Treaties. He would beg leave to put it to his Majesty's Ministers whether they had not repeatedly endeavoured to provoke Austria and Prussia to infractions? This general charge did not justify any violations of promise; but it proved that if our Government would only treat with those who had integrity, they could never expect to have an ally or a friend in any foreign State. But to come to the Egyptian expedition; to seize and colonize that country had always been a favorite scheme of the old Government of France; the only difference therefore was, that the Republic had executed what the Monarchy had planned. Treachery of that kind was by no means confined to France; for Prussia had seized Silesia, and three of the first Powers of Europe divided and appropriated to themselves the unfortunate Kingdom of Poland, whilst England was a tame spectator. Austria and Russia (the chief agents in this treacherous transaction) were still our "good and true allies:" though Ministers refused to treat with France on account of treachery. He argued from Buonaparte's expressions, that general Pacification was his object, and that he had renounced the principles of his predecessors; so that if our allies seized the favourable moment while we neglected it, we should be left by ourselves to treat at some future period on less advantageous terms.

Ministers very modestly required, that Buonaparte should acknowledge himself a usurper, recant his principles, and descend from the throne which he now filled, to accommodate a branch of the Bourbon family. But was it really their wish to lavish the blood and treasure of England to restore to the throne of France the Bourbon race? The honourable gentleman had carried his veneration of them so far as to palliate their crimes; and if they were perfidious (a fact they could not well

deny) to find out something noble in their kind of perfidy: if they were ambitious, yet their ambition was of a sublime nature. He seemed to have forgotten the conduct of Louis the Fourteenth in his seizure of Holland, and of the Bourbon family during the American war, by which a whole continent was separated from its mother-state by a species of perfidy not completely honourable; it was from the same source the very revolution might take its date. Louis the Fourteenth had acted the part of a most cruel tyrant in his persecuting for religion, and extirpating by the edict of Nantz so many thousands of his best subjects. It was thus that their affections were alienated from the Bourbon family; and was it the duty of Englishmen to restore a banished King of this line, of this character, to the throne, or the Pope to his tiara? we were now contending either for this, or to exterminate the people who held Jacobinical principles: if for the former, we were now fighting for an unattainable object; if for the latter, for an opinion which could not be eradicated by force; and in both cases the contest must last as long as Time itself lasted. Buonaparte had done more to ruin Jacobinism than any other person, by taking the executive authority into his own hands, by destroying clubs, and by restraining the licentiousness of the press.

A complete negative, however, we are told, is not given to the overtures of Buonaparte; and, so far as this is true, it is fortunate for the country. Before any decision be made, it would be well if the House would consider the relation of England with the allies. One of the coalitions against France had already failed, and one single fortunate event on the side of the Republic might occasion a second dissolution of such heterogeneous materials. Austria did not pretend to have any communication with us; she had even refused our subsidies. The Emperor of Germany had declared *ipso facto* for the restoration of royalty in France; England did not say quite so much, however it might be an object of her wishes. In foreign papers one party blamed the other for its ill success in the last campaign; no Treaty existed which bound them all to any one point, or united them in one system; but they were all moving in irregular orbits. Between Russia and England there could be no common cause: between Russia and the Porte alliance was a rope of sand. Could it be supposed possible for the allies to act in any kind of concert? and without this, combined operations would never be successful. Mr. Whitbread ended by adverting to America: she had been insulted by France, and every thing bore the appearance of hostility; but the President, by pursuing a very different conduct from ours, and by appointing a person to remonstrate and negociate, had saved his country from the evils of war, and had established tranquillity. The interests of England, he said, depended on a speedy peace, and we ought to listen to the overtures of Buonaparte in order to obtain it.

Mr. Canning professed to differ from Mr. Whitbread in every sentiment which he had uttered;

but no part of the speech, he said, had so much displeased him, as that which which stated that we and our allies had been guilty of as great enormities as the French. He had affirmed that Great Britain had violated the rights of neutral nations when her interests were concerned, and had adduced, as a proof of it, our conduct to the Republic of Genoa, and to the Grand-duke of Tuscany. When the French, in their destructive career, had penetrated Italy, and were, notwithstanding a brave resistance, discomfiting our allies in almost every encounter, they at last arrived at the borders of Genoa. It was the duty of that State to have refrained from all intercourse with them, much less to have afforded them assistance: instead of which the Genoese supplied them with clothes, provisions, military stores, and necessaries of every description;—under these circumstances had we not a right to order the Government to dismiss the French Ambassador under risk of our displeasure? What was there in this demand unsanctioned by the law of nations, and the uniform practice of every State in Europe? Ought we quietly to have sat down inactive, witnessing unlawful measures taken for the destruction of our allies? Had the Genoese adhered to the duties of neutral nations, their rights would never have been infringed.

Respecting Florence, if the source of information had been authentic, he would not pretend to say our conduct had been as justifiable; but it was not authentic; the letter of Lord Hervey to the Grand-duke of Tuscany, issued from the same Jacobinical manufactory with the treaties of Pavia and Pilnitz; and, like them, never had existed. Lord Hervey had taken measures for the preservation of British property in Leghorn, and to prevent as far as was in his power, the Government of Tuscany from assisting the French;—but he had done nothing for these purposes which the general practice of different nations did not entitle him to do. The Court of Florence had complained; but small States were always irritable, and, as they were sensible of their weakness, so were they apt to think themselves insulted.

Great stress had been laid upon the declaration of his Majesty after the failure of the negociation at Lisle; and occasions had never been omitted of censuring Ministers for rejecting the offers lately made by the enemy. The statement of facts was the best refutation of censure and prejudice. Immediately after the departure of our Ambassador from Lisle, his Majesty's arms were blessed by Providence with a signal victory, which might naturally be supposed to elate him and raise his pretensions; to do away these apprehensions, he published his declaration, in which his Majesty said, that notwithstanding the important advantages he had obtained, he was still ready, if the French were pacifically inclined, to treat upon the same equitable terms proposed before this victory. But because he was willing to negociate then upon those terms, did it follow that he ought to do so now?

The object of that declaration was, to remove all bar to negociation, which the victory might have been supposed to occasion at that time. Twice the Republic had rejected our overtures, unfettered by any former promise or agreement, and were we not justified in refusing to listen to their's?

Mr. Canning contended, that it was somewhat singular in those who objected to a review of the revolutionary transactions with foreign nations, that they should feel so little scruple in going still farther back, and in showing how much in former times we had to dread from Louis XIV. and his descendants. Mr. Canning here entered at length into details of the conduct of France in her several negociations with various Powers since the commencement of the revolution, from each of which he maintained, that she had forfeited all claim to confidence. Nor must it be said, that the Ministers by the declarations which they issued after the rupture of the negociations, both at Lisle and at Paris, had in any way pledged themselves to receive overtures whenever it suited the enemy to offer them. We were by no means forbidden to vary our tone with the variation of circumstances, nor were we bound, whenever we were called upon, to accept the worst terms possible, because there once was a time in which we thought a bad peace preferable to a continuance of the war. Mr. Canning next passed to the predilection which was attributed to Ministers for the restoration of Monarchy, and denied that the avowal of such an opinion was either impolitic in itself, or insulting to the French.

If, notwithstanding their dreadful experience, there still remained in that unhappy country some men enthusiastically attached to democracy—whose indignation was excited at the very name of King, who longed for the overthrow of every regular State, hated Religion and its ministers, and wished to reduce all orders to one undistinguished mass—an appeal would be fruitless; but after having seen their commerce ruined, their navy destroyed, and their colonies wrested from them; after having been deprived of their property and bereaved of their children, forced to carry on a war not only detrimental but destructive to them; after wading through seas of blood to grasp the empty shade of Liberty which ever eluded their pursuit; after seeing in the throne of their Kings a form which waved a sword in its hand, and made the people bow before it: was it probable that they still bore an unconquerable antipathy to that line of Princes under whose gentle sway they had lived so respectable abroad and happy at home.

Mr. Canning then showed, that after ten years of sufferings and of crimes, France had only exchanged the sceptre for the sword; that instead of eradicating Monarchy, she had only stripped it of all that made it venerable and useful, of all that recommended it in theory, and softened it in practice, of its stability, its legitimacy, and its limitations; and had received in exchange nothing but a shapeless mockery of royalty, a frightful and

a jealous usurpation. Still this usurpation was a step back to former things. The transition from the lawless government of one man, to that of a lawful King was by no means difficult; and no one would deny, that Monarchy was more in view and in the thoughts of Frenchmen now, than it had been at any period since the beginning of the revolution. Much as we wished for this change, we had however carefully guarded against a belief, that it was the only state of affairs under which we would treat. The Royalists of France and the British Government were embarked in a common cause, but with different degrees of interest. *They* embarked the whole of their fortunes in the partnership, *we* a share only; as far as our ways lay together we should cordially assist them; but there might be circumstances under which it would be our duty to separate. The interest which England had jointly with the Royalists no man could doubt, who preferred the re-establishment of a known, defined, understood, legitimate order of things, to a system of disorder, anarchy, and impiety, incompatible with the security of every Government on earth. Mr. Canning here with great ingenuity retorted an argument which had fallen from Mr. Whitbread, respecting the impolicy of tracing back the early aggressions of the Republic. The honourable gentleman himself, he remarked, in reviling the ancient Government of France, has sinned as much against the majesty of the French nation, as if he had presumed to traduce Brissot or Robespierre. He has most rashly committed his country, by using intemperate language against Louis XIV. "Does he not recollect that Rome was sacked and pillaged the other day to avenge the manes of Vercengetorix, a king of the Gauls, who flourished some time before Louis XIV, and whom Julius Cæsar was discovered to have aggrieved in a scandalous manner: and that to reclaim the trophies won from the Burgundians, was one of the pretexts for the invasion of Swisserland? France was not forgetful; to her *nullum tempus occurrit;* and could *we* be caught as fairly off our guard as Rome or Swisserland, the honourable gentleman's abuse of Louis XIV would be as good a plea as any other for pursuing us to our ruin." In passing on to the character of Buonaparte, Mr. Canning defended the publication of the letters intercepted on their passage from Egypt, which threw so much light upon his conduct. He quoted many precedents for this proceeding, and alluded to opinions on this point, expressed in another place (by the Duke of Bedford) which however were little worth notice, since the Orator who used them had gone on to deduce the present scarcity from the continuance of the war. Having mentioned various acts of perfidy in Buonaparte's career, he dwelt upon the manifest insecurity of his power, a power built by Republicans upon the wreck of every principle of freedom, professing to emanate from the people, but which no class of the people had any share in creating, or any interest in preserving, a military despotism professing to maintain

itself by universal peace. Even "the metaphysical aid" of Sieyes who had brought this Macbeth to the crown, could scarcely, he said, be expected to continue him in it; unless that "weird" Abbè had some new chain which could baffle all the combinations that "man of woman born could bring against him." With respect to the prophecies of ill with which we had been profusely threatened if we refused to negociate, Mr. Canning saw little in the present state of France, or that of the Powers opposed to her, to warrant despondency. He remembered the time, (the spring of 1797) when the House was solemnly warned that "there were not three weeks of regular government" left to this country. It was owing to our own exertions that this prophecy was falsified; and if we still continued true to ourselves, he doubted not, there was abundance of safety even now left in store.

Mr. Erskine said that it was clear, no former determination of the House could sanction the present rejection of overtures, since Ministers had advised the King to ask the opinion of Parliament upon it. On their own confession therefore, we had arrived at a new æra of the war, on which we were called upon to deliberate. The question was not whether the King should have yielded to an armistice, or have opened negociations, much less as to what particular terms should have been accepted; but whether the House of Commons could say in the face of a suffering nation and a desolated world, that a lofty, imperious, declamatory, insulting answer should have been sent to a proposition of peace and conciliation. For this question alone materials had been furnished, and this it was not difficult to answer; the reply sent by Ministers to Buonaparte was such as no reasonable man ought to approve; as a vindication of the war it was loose, and in some parts unfounded; but as an answer to a pacific proposition it was dangerous to the universal interests of mankind. It rejected peace as if it were a curse, negociation, as if it were an insult, and clung fast to war, as if it were an inseparable adjunct to the prosperity of nations. It unadvisedly put at issue the causes of the war, upon which the two nations could never be expected to agree, and which were wholly irrelevant to the question of peace.

Mr. Erskine proceeded to trace the fatality with which we had hitherto always resisted peace on general and undefined objections to the condition and views of France. The French revolution was undoubtedly in its commencement an awful event which could not but extend its influence to other nations. So mighty a fabric of despotism and superstition, after having endured for ages, could not fall to the ground without a concussion which the whole earth would feel; but the evil of such a revolution (if any there was to other nations) was only to be averted by *internal* policy, not by external war. The American war, when it first broke out, was inveighed against by its opponents in the same extravagant manner: an orator who had long flourished

within these walls had left the only fit answer to complaints of revolutions in other countries. "The question," says Burke, "is not whether this condition of human affairs deserves praise or censure, but *what are you to do with it?*" Nor had Ministers by eight years invective in this House been able to mitigate the evils of the French revolution; on the contrary, after creating the worst of them, they prevented them from subsiding, and provoked the excesses which now furnished the pretexts of perpetual and unavailing war.

When France cut off her most unfortunate Prince, and established her first Republic, she had an Ambassador at our Court; he was here indeed as the French King's Ambassador; but he presented letters of credence from the first Republic with the most unqualified professions of respect and friendship; they were not only respectful in form, but the interest of France was an argument that they were not a fraud upon England. It had been said, that, at that moment, the aggressions of France were just causes of the war: why then did not England complain of them, and dismiss the Ambassador on his refusal of satisfaction? Not a syllable was ever uttered capable of being adjusted by negociation; on the contrary, when Louis XVI. before his death, most earnestly besought our mediation with the continental Powers, we positively refused it; yet, on his death, we dismissed the Ambassador accredited by the Republic, for no other avowed reason than that France had tried and executed her King.

What just cause of war was this to England? If France, at that time, was engaged in projects inconsistent with peace, why were they not stated then? If any specific objections existed at this moment, why were they not stated now? But *then* and *now* war was provoked, and peace rejected upon unjustifiable objections—upon speculative dangers to Religion and Government, which, supposing them to have existed with all their imaginary consequences, were more likely to be increased than diminished by the fury and bitterness of the contest.

M. Chauvelin, with the olive branch in his hand from the first Republic in France, was sent out of the country on twenty-four hours notice; not because France was accused of any national aggression towards us, but because *she had beheaded her King!* This dismission of her Ambassador furnished her with a pretext for war; though, at that time, Ministers were repeatedly implored from his side of the House not to invite hostilities upon principles which made peace dependent on forms of Government instead of the conduct of nations; upon theories which could not be changed, instead of aggressions which might be removed. France had then a strong interest in peace; she had not extended her conquests, and her internal security was doubtful. Unfortunately we suffered this auspicious season to pass away; and, instead of negociating a peace with inexhausted nations in our train, Ministers declared, for two years together, that the Republic was incapable of the relations of amity. Europe combined to place her

without the pale of social community; and France, acting on the same principles, desolated whatever territories she occupied, and extended her conquests with the astonishing rapidity which we have witnessed. What other consequences could Ministers expect? Was it to be imagined that a powerful nation, so surrounded, would act merely on the defensive; or that, in the midst of a revolution which the confederacy of nations had rendered terrible, the rights of nations would be respected? No; we inspired the different French Governments with jealousy of every European State, and instigated them to the victories which had been the subject of so much complaint and indignation. Our confederacies obliged France to maintain mighty armies in her defence: but such a contest could not be long defensive; and defence was only practicable by the boldness of invasion; ambitious projects, not perhaps originally contemplated, followed; and the world was changed with portentous violence, because the Ministers of Great Britain had resolved that, if it changed at all, it should revert to establishments which had reached their period and had expired.

In 1795, however, in spite of the ban which we had placed her under, we professed ourselves ready to receive propositions from the Government, then not a month old, established on the ruins of Robespierre's tyranny; and yet the very Ministers who thus invited the infant, demoeratic, Jacobin, regicide Republic, to propose a peace, now called upon the House of Commons to approve a disdainful rejection sent to a Government in which the resistless fury of popular spirit had subsided from time and expansion, or was rather extinguished under a new power which wooed us to reconciliation. If any Government could be sincere in its offers, it must be that over which Buonaparte presided. Surrounded with perils, at the head of an untried Constitution, menaced by a great Confederacy, of which England was the grand prop and director, compelled to press heavily upon the forces of an exhausted people, whose powers of renovating riches and prosperity were suspended by war, it was undoubtedly his interest to be at peace with England; and it might be no less our interest to meet his wishes. Great Britain once reconciled to him, he would scarcely run the risk of oversetting his power by recurring to war. The argument, therefore, was reduced to this, which wore an absurdity on the very face of it, that because France wished for peace, therefore, *we* ought not to wish for it. Now the interests of Nations were for the most part reciprocal; and the interest of peace to all Nations was an interest perpetual and universal. Mr. Erskine next considered the disposition which we had shewn to negociation a second time, in 1796, and commented on the confession to which Mr. Dundas had been driven that night: that Ministers in both these instances had yielded, not to their own conviction, but to the wishes of the people. He could not believe that they had put forth all their strength and zeal to forward these negociations, from the very success of which

they apprehended so much danger. As a proof of the interest which we had in listening to offers of peace, Mr. Erskine assumed, that Buonaparte's Government must either establish itself permanently, or perish in another revolution; and also that, if it should be overthrown, it must be so either by a new democratical Power, or by the restoration of the Bourbons. If Buonaparte remained unshaken, it was admitted that, after some undefined period of probation, we might venture to treat with him. But were we sure that he would then treat with us? If he was upset by a democratical revolution, we reverted to our system of probation *in infinitum*, and he (Mr. Erskine) would here ask, whether the history of the world furnished any reasonable expectation, that new convulsions would raise up a character more to be relied upon; taking advantage of this opportunity, Mr. Erskine digressed into an eulogy on General Washington. "From the womb of revolution and war," he said, "there had arisen but one man of that description in the world. There was but one Washington. Alas! rather there only had been one." * No other alternative, therefore, remained, but the restoration of the Bourbons; and if by the success of the allied confederacy, Louis XVIII. was placed upon the Throne, he must be held there by the pressure of that power which fixed him in it; for to his permanency was opposed the greatest of all objections, the present state of property in France.

The property of France, real and personal, in the hands of its present possessors, depended on the present Government; it was impossible to restore the Princes of the Bourbon House without restitution to those who had been exiled in its defence; which attempt would infallibly raise up the whole Nation in support of the Republic. The same principle supported the British Government far more than her Constitution, however estimable, affording new strength to Ministers in proportion as they ceased to deserve it. The destruction which a revolution in this country would bring on public credit, and the ruin which would attend all the forms and tenures on which property was ensured, formed an insurmountable bulwark here at home; the three per cents. was the great fountain of loyalty and strength to the establishments of Great Britain. Every man who was invited to mix in revolutionary projects, particularly as he advanced in life, and was fettered with its duties and obligations, considered these obstacles; he looked upon his family, which he could still protect; to his friends, to whom, in spite of our burthens, he could administer consolation; and to his mortgages and lands, which furnished him with the only means of discharging his duties and enjoying his existence. Feelings of this nature were not peculiar to our nation, but to every nation similarly circumstanced: it appeared to him, therefore, impossible that the Bourbons could ever establish their authority without convulsion after convulsion, and

* Washington died on the 14th December, 1799. See the following Chapter.

war after war, which, if Great Britain were embarked in the necessity of maintaining, would destroy her resources, cramp her pursuits, and drag down her Constitution. But without resorting to the *probable* effects, one consequence appeared *certain:* our insulting answer would confirm the Government which we sought to destroy; it would produce unanimity when nothing but division could support our cause; upon the universal principles of human interest and feeling, it would raise up all France to a man against us. The only way of judging of the effect was to reverse the case, and to suppose that *we* had sent to France the pacific propositions, and that she had rejected them in the insolent language of *our* answer; that, overlooking this offence, we sent another message, still inviting peace, and that France again referred to her first haughty refusal as her final determination. What would then have been the feelings of this country? Every individual, however he might differ on the origin or conduct of the war, would consider it his duty and interest to support its prosecution: it would no longer be a matter of choice, but of necessity; and every sentiment of enthusiasm, connected with the glory of England, would stimulate universal exertions for its safety. In the same manner would Frenchmen reason on the present occasion; and this natural sentiment, supported by the influence of their Government, would be irresistible; our answer would discomfit their rebellion, and recruit their armies; Buonaparte might easily pass over the intemperate declamations against his character and dominion when they furnished him with the surest means of advancing and confirming them. In every view, therefore, of the question, he was decidedly against expressing any approbation of the answer which had been sent. It was an answer inconsistent with the wisdom, with the dignity, and with the justice of the British Parliament; it was pregnant with danger, and entailed an awful responsibility upon those who had advised and upon those who supported it.

Mr. Pitt remarked, that the foundation of Mr. Erskine's leading argument was plainly this, that every effort to overturn the system of the French revolution must be unavailing, and that it would not only be imprudent, but almost impious, to struggle longer against that order of things which, upon some strange and hidden principle of Predestination, he appeared to consider immortal. This opinion could only rest on one of the following grounds. On a belief that the French Government, both now and at all times, afforded sufficient security for negociation—a belief that the security wanting in former stages was given at the present moment—or a belief that we are bound to accept an inadequate security, rather than to endure the pressure, and incur the risk, which must result from a farther prolongation of the contest. In arguing against the last supposition, it was necessary to refer to the lessons which we had derived from former experience, and it was the more necessary to tread over again this often trodden subject, on account of the mistakes which had gone abroad upon it.

He should begin by mentioning one to which Mr. Erskine had given the sanction of his authority, both in print and in his speech of to night, namely, that the dismissal of M. Chauvelin was the cause of the war. Mr. Pitt here distinctly shewed, from comparative dates, that before the dismissal of M. Chauvelin (which did not take place till by the murder of Louis XVI. his accredited mission had naturally terminated) that Minister had presented a peremptory ultimatum, stating, that our refusal to accede to it would be considered as a declaration of war; nor could the objection to acknowledge the political existence of the Republic, or to entertain its Minister, be considered as a cause for hostility, since it was well known that such was the conduct observed by the neutral Court of Denmark for years subsequent to this period. The demands of this ultimatum, with which we refused to comply, were virtually, that we should not notice the aggressions on Holland by the opening of the Scheldt, and the pursuit of the Austrians into the neutral country of the Republic after the battle of Jemappe, that we should quietly admit those newly discovered sacred laws of nature, which made the Alps and the Rhine the legitimate boundaries of France, and that we should close our eyes to the annexation of Belgium and Savoy. At the very time too, during which, explanations the most unsatisfactory were offered on these points, the Convention issued a declaration, that in all countries to which the French armies should come, the first care of the Generals should be to introduce Revolutionary principles and practices, to destroy the privileged Orders, and every thing which obstructed the establishment of the new system. It cannot be contended that this declaration was confined only to those Nations with whom the French were then at war, for an explanation to this effect, proposed about the same time in the National Convention, was negatived by a great majority. Yet even after these aggressions, we were disposed to negociate, when war was dashed in our teeth from France herself.

Such was the nature of their system; it was a system intended to be acted upon. One of the articles of the 15th of December expressly was, "that those who should show themselves so brutish as to renounce Liberty and Equality, or to recal their Prince or the privileged Orders, were not entitled to the distinction which France, in other cases, had established between Government and People; and that such a people ought to be treated according to the rigour of war and of conquest." Here was their love of peace; here was their aversion to conquest; here was their respect for the independence of other nations!

It was then after receiving such explanations as these, after M. Chauvelin's credentials had ceased, that he was required to depart; and even after that period (he was ashamed to record it) we did not on our part shut the door against other attempts to negociate. But this transaction was immediately followed by a declaration of war, not proceeding from England in vindication of its rights, but from France as the completion of her

insults; and on a war thus originating, could it be doubted by an English House of Commons, whether the aggression was on our side or on that of France? or whether it was not the result of the principles which characterized the French revolution? The only objection to this simple statement was to be found in the insinuation contained in the note from France, "that previously we had encouraged and supported the combination of other Powers directed against them."

Upon this part of the subject, the proofs which contradicted the insinuation were innumerable. In the year 1792 Russia conceived, as well as ourselves, a just alarm for the balance of Europe, and applied to learn our sentiments; in our answer, we imparted the principles on which we then acted, and communicated that answer to Prussia. A despatch was sent from Lord Grenville to his Majesty's Minister in Russia, dated December, 1792, "desiring to have an explanation on the subject of the war with France, to avert hostilities, and to enable those powers not hitherto engaged in them to propose to that country terms of peace: that those terms should be, for France to withdraw her arms within the limits of her own territory, relinquish her conquests, and rescind any acts injurious to the rights of other nations.—In return for these stipulations, the different Powers of Europe, who should be parties to this measure, were to engage to abandon all views of hostility against France, and all interference in her internal concerns. If these proposals should not be accepted, or, if accepted, should not be performed, the different Powers might then engage themselves in active measures to obtain these desirable ends." Mr. Pitt laid this paper before the House. In this instance, therefore, as well as in the others, our neutrality and pacific dispositions were evident; corroborated by the evidence of dates, and the testimony of all the different parties in France. The friends of Brissot charged on Robespierre the war with this country; the friends of Robespierre charged it on Brissot: both acquitted England. Even Talleyrand was sent by the constitutional King of the French, after the combination must have existed (if it existed at all), with a letter from the King of France, thanking his British Majesty for the neutrality he had uniformly observed. The same fact was confirmed by all those who knew any thing of the plans of the King of Sweden—of the Emperor—or the King of Prussia; confirmed by every occurrence since the war; by the publications of Dumourier, and by America, respecting the mission of M. Genet, proving that the hostility against this country was decided on the part of France long before the period when M. Chauvelin was sent hence. From the first rumour of any measure taken by the Emperor of Germany in 1791, till the year 1792, we not only were no parties in the projects imputed to him, but we declined all communications with him on the subject of France: we stated our unalterable resolution to maintain neutrality, and to avoid interference in her internal affairs, as long as France should refrain from hostile mea-

sures against us and our allies. No Minister of England had any authority to treat with Foreign States, for any warlike coalition, till after the battle of Jemappe, a time subsequent to the repeated provocations which had been offered to us.

Having thus proved that England, far from being the aggressor, avoided hostilities almost to a fault, Mr. Pitt enumerated the various provocations which the other nations of Europe had received; and then passed to the negociation of 1796. He denied that this treaty had been broken off in consequence of a refusal on our part to permit France to retain the Austrian Netherlands; dangerous as such an article would have been to our interests, the Republic demanded one still more so as a preliminary, that we should recognize the principle, that whatever she had annexed to herself by conquest, must remain inseparable for ever, and be excluded from all negociation. In the following year, England being left (with the exception of Portugal, from whom we could expect little active assistance) single-handed in the contest, we made a fresh offer. We asked for no restitution from France, we only asked to retain a part of what we ourselves had won from Holland (now identified with France) which was useless to her, and necessary for our security in India. This offer was contemptuously refused in a manner of which even the learned gentleman has expressed his detestation.

Subsequent to this period, the conduct of France was hourly marked by new atrocities, the seizure of Swisserland rapidly followed, "that innocent and happy country, which by the common consent of mankind, had been exempted from the sound of war, and marked out as a land of Goshen, safe and untouched in the midst of surrounding calamities;" next wanton hostility against America, then the capture of Malta, and the invasion of Egypt. The all-searching eye of the Republic looked to every quarter of the Globe in which plunder was to be found. Nothing was too great for the temerity of its ambition, nothing too insignificant for the grasp of its rapacity. In Egypt France was stated to land with the approbation of the Grand Signor, and to have abjured, as in impious language it was termed, "the sect of the Messiah." The plea advanced was, that this country was the direct road to the English possessions in India. This undoubtedly was one plea, but there was another equally substantial, the hoped for partition of what was thought a falling Power. The attack meditated on India was to be effected on true Jacobin principles. Clubs were actually established in that country, the members of which swore "hatred to tyranny, the love of liberty, and destruction to all Governments, *except the good and faithful Ally of the French Republic Citizen Tippoo.*"

Such hitherto had been the spirit of the Revolution; insatiable in aggrandizement, implacable in hostility against the civil and religious institutions of all Countries, bribing the poor against the rich, by the delusive principle of Equality, the practical application of which was indiscriminate plunder, unwearied in proselytism, bound

by no obligation. The Genius of Revolution marched forth, armed for the destruction, the terror, and dismay of the whole world; and France, even when groaning under every degree of misery, the victim of her own crimes, and asking pardon both of God and man, for the wretchedness which she had brought upon herself and others, still possessed unexampled means of annoyance against all other nations. Add to this, the fearful rapidity of her internal changes, the continual fluctuation both in the form of her government and the persons of her rulers, and we should obtain a correct notion of the security which hitherto had been offered for negociation.

Having dismissed this point, Mr. Pitt next enquired what our present security was. A military despotism had been established, and absolute power was in the hands of one man, with whose character all Europe was well acquainted. However invidious any discussion of that character might be represented to be, it arose unavoidably from the very nature of the question, for upon this the security of the treaty, under present circumstances, must principally depend.

Mr. Pitt here reviewed the history of Buonaparte, and detailed the several acts of perfidy by which his career was stained. He observed that it was a doubtful proposition, whether his interests required peace, and his interest in preserving it was still more so; clearly, however, it was his interest to negociate, that he might loosen and dissolve the continental confederacy, and at a proper season revive those claims, which, according to his Egyptian policy, "may have been reserved for a happier period." * It could never be his interest to promote a permanent system of tranquillity. A stranger and an usurper, he had no hold upon France, but by the sword. He united in his own person every thing that a pure Republican must detest, every thing which an enraged Jacobin had abjured, every thing which a sincere Royalist must scorn. He cannot afford to let his laurels wither, and having no object but absolute dominion, no passion but military glory, we should find little security in his professed moderation, his love of peace, his aversion to conquest, and his regard for the independence of other nations.

But to come to the probable stability of his power. Had we any grounds, Mr. Pitt asked, to believe that this new usurpation, more odious, and more undisguised than all which preceded it, would therefore be more durable? Was military despotism a government which History had taught us to consider stable? The advocates of the French Revolution boasted that by their new system, a security was provided for ever against military force, for that no artificial power could resist public opinion. In this, as in every other instance, the progress of the Revolution had belied its professions, for through all its stages, military force had governed, and public opinion had scarcely been heard. Yet believing, as Mr. Pitt professed he did sincerely believe, that in every civilized country (not enslaved by Jacobin faction) public opinion

* Intercepted Letters.

was the only sure support of any government, he saw no reason to suppose that the present usurpation would be more durable than any of its forerunners, which had been established in the same defiance of the national voice.

If he were asked to draw an inference from these statements, Mr. Pitt observed, it would not be, that we will in no case treat with Buonaparte; but that we ought to wait for experience before treaty becomes admissible. We would treat, if we saw France guided by other maxims than such as had hitherto actuated her; if she shewed greater signs of stability; if the progress of the allied arms should not rouse a spirit in which the country, by its own act, would destroy the system now prevailing; or if the difficulty and the risk of the contest should increase disproportionately to the ultimate chance of success. These different considerations at present, operated but one way—against any treaty; but they will be weighed from time to time, and shall always be justly weighed.

But ultimate success had been by some represented as unattainable; do you think, it has been asked, to impose Monarchy upon France against the will of the nation? I never thought it, I never hoped it, I never wished it, said Mr. Pitt. I have thought, I have hoped, I have wished, that the allies might so far overpower the military force which keeps France in bondage, as to give vent and scope to the feelings and actions of the inhabitants; and then, if the question be between the ancient line of hereditary Princes on the one hand, and a military tyrant, a foreign usurper on the other, what reason have we to anticipate that the restoration of Monarchy, under such circumstances, is impracticable?

The security of property, it was affirmed, precluded the possibility of Restoration; if that single argument were conclusive, however, our own Revolution could never have taken place. The precarious tenure, and depreciated value of their present title, and the low price for which lands have been generally purchased, leaves fair room to suppose that the ancient Proprietors might be reinstated, with only such a temporary sacrifice as reasonable men would willingly make. It was not likely that the monied men would be much attached to the Revolutionary system, as far as public credit was concerned, so that *the three per Cent Patriotism*, which the learned gentleman thought the great support of the English Constitution, (though his profession might have supplied him with nobler and better motives) was little likely to be called into action. The Capital of the three per Cent Stock, which formerly existed in France, had (to use their own words) been Republicanized: that is, two thirds of it had been struck off, and the proprietors took their chance for the interest of the remainder. This remnant had been converted into the present five per Cent. which recently, from confidence in the new Government, had *actually risen in the market to the high price of seventeen.*

As a sincere lover of Peace, said Mr. Pitt, I cannot be content with its nominal attainment. I will not sacrifice it by grasping at a shadow, when the reality is not substantially within my reach. "*Our*

igitur Pacem nolo? Quia infida est, quia periculosa, quia esse non potest." No adequate security is yet afforded us. He then proceeded to state the motives which had induced him to open the negociations at Lisle. The gigantic system of prodigality and bloodshed, by which France supported her projects, he admitted, had at that time driven England to exertions, which, without some new measure to check the rapid accumulation of public debt, might perhaps have endangered the stability of the funded system. This new and solid system of finance, could not be rendered effectual, without the general and decided concurrence of public opinion, and in order to obtain this, it was necessary to satisfy the Country, that peace, on terms in any degree admissible, was not to be wrung from the enemy. From the result of the negociations then unsuccessfully entered into, a spirit was excited in the nation, to which we were indebted for our subsequent exertions and our present happy change. But it by no means follows, that because our opinions now in reviewing what is past, concur in believing the failure of the treaty to be a most fortunate circumstance for the country, that we were therefore insincere at the time, in our endeavours to obtain Peace; nor does it follow, that in spite of our experience, we are bound to renew the experiment, when all the inducements which formerly led to it, have ceased to exist.

Mr. Pitt, in conclusion, spoke of the improved state of public credit, of the increasing amount of permanent revenue, of the accession of wealth, and the unprecedented extension of commerce, of the progress of manufactures, and the perpetual exertion of every branch of national industry. He alluded to the increase of our disposeable force, and our late naval and military triumphs. He called to mind also, the unexampled successes of our allies: against all these, he weighed the exhaustion of the enemy, both in men and money, the deficiency of the conscription, with all its rigour to recruit his armies, the inability which he felt to pay or maintain them, in spite of the plunder of all the countries which he had overrun, the disorder of his finances, the signs of internal distraction, and the open war levied in many populous districts. From all these he augured, that if we did not finally overthrow the Jacobin system, every month by weakening it, gave us farther security in any other termination of the war; and therefore, that without pledging ourselves to any unalterable determination as to our future conduct, we were amply justified in refusing to negociate at present.

Mr. Fox said, all parties were agreed, that the present was a new æra of the war; yet the honourable gentleman who spoke last, seemed to think it necessary only to press his former arguments to induce us to persevere in it; all the topics which had misled us, all the reasoning which had so invariably failed, all the lofty predictions which had been so constantly falsified by events, were again enumerated and advanced for this purpose. At the end of seven years of the most calamitous contest, we were again to be amused with notions of finance, and calculations of the exhausted resources of the enemy as a ground of confidence!

We had been told five years ago, that France was not only on the brink of ruin, but actually sunk into the gulf of bankruptcy: we had been told as an unanswerable argument against treating, that she could not hold out another campaign, and that we had only to prosecute the war for a short time to save ourselves for ever from the consequences of Jacobinism. After having gone on from year to year upon assurances like these, and after witnessing the repeated refutations of every prognostication, could we still be deluded with the hope, that we had the same prospects of success on the same identical ground! and without any other security could we submit to be invited, at this new æra of the war, to carry it on upon principles which, if adopted, would make it eternal? He much lamented, with every friend of genuine peace, the harsh and unconciliating language which Ministers had used to the French, and especially in their answer to a respectful offer of a negociation. Such conduct had always been reprobated by diplomatic men. A sincere wish to accomplish pacification must be frustrated by revolting reproaches and reciprocal invective. He could not but lament also, for the same reason, that the Minister had thought proper to enter with such severity of minute investigation into all the early circumstances of the war, which were nothing to the present purpose, and which ought not to influence the feelings of the House. He should not follow him into all the detail; though he must acknowledge, whatever impression his assertions might make on some minds, they had not convinced him. Till he had better grounds for changing his opinion than any he had heard that night, he must continue to think, and to say explicitly, that "*this country was the aggressor in the war.*" And was there a man who could for a moment dispute, that Austria and Prussia were the aggressors? The unfortunate Monarch Louis the XVIth himself, as well as those in his confidence, had borne decisive testimony to the fact, that between him and the Emperor there was an intimate correspondence and a perfect understanding. He did not mean to say that a positive treaty was entered into for the dismemberment of France; but the declarations made at Mantua, as well as at Pilnitz, not only implied but expressed the intention on the part of Germany to interfere in the internal affairs of France. The honourable gentleman denied there having been such a thing as a treaty at Pilnitz. Granted: but did it not amount to the same? The Emperor of Germany and the King of Prussia made a public declaration "that they were determined to employ their forces, in conjunction with those of the other Sovereigns of Europe, in order to place the King of France in a situation to establish, in perfect liberty, the foundation of a Monarchical government, equally agreeable to the rights of Sovereigns and the welfare of the French, whenever other Princes would co-operate with them. In the mean time, they would give orders for their troops to be ready for actual service."

Was not this a menace and an insult to any nation? Were not the terms direct, that they would attack France (which was then at peace with them, and at that time

only employed in domestic regulations) whenever the other Powers of Europe would concur?

Let us imagine the case had been that of Great Britain; would it not be considered by our Parliament and people as an hostile aggression, for two of the great Powers to issue a public declaration that they would make an attack upon this Kingdom as soon as circumstances should favour their intention? Was there an Englishman in existence who would say that our nation could retain its honour and dignity if it would quietly sit down under such a threat? We ought then to respect in others the indignation which such an act would excite in ourselves: and when it was evidently established on the most indisputable authority, that declarations to this effect were made both at Pilnitz and Mantua, it was idle to say, that as far as the Emperor and King of Prussia were concerned they were not the aggressors in the war.

"But the decree of the 19th of November, 1792, was an hostile act, not only against England, but against all the Sovereigns of Europe." Mr. Fox said he was not one of those who attached interest to the general and indiscriminate provocations thrown out at random, nor was it necessary to the dignity of any people to notice them: but if, in insolence or in folly, such offence was given, an explanation was the thing which a magnanimous nation, feeling itself aggrieved, ought to demand; and, if this was not satisfactory, it ought without ambiguity or reserve to be so stated. Now, from the documents on the table, it was certain that M. Chauvelin did give an explanation of this silly decree. He declared, in the name of his Government, that the decree was applicable only to those people who, having acquired their liberty by conquest, should demand the assistance of the Republic, but that France would respect not only the independence of England, but also that of her allies with whom she was not at war. This was the explanation given; "but it was not satisfactory." Why was not M. Chauvelin informed of it then? Was he ever told that we were discontented at this explanation? No: at the death of his King, did we profess ourselves still aggrieved by it? No such thing: we demanded no further explanations, nor gave the French any opportunity of settling the misunderstanding which that decree, or any other, had created. When a nation refuses to state to another the thing which would satisfy her, she shows that she is not actuated by a desire to preserve peace between them; and this was the actual case. The navigation of the Scheldt, for instance, was one of the causes of our complaint: Did we ever explain ourselves upon that subject? did we make it one of the grounds of the dismissal of M. Chauvelin? No.—A nation, to justify itself in the origin and continuance of such a war, ought to prove that it had taken every possible means to obtain reparation and redress. If she had refused to explain what would be satisfactory, she could not exonerate herself from the charge of having been the aggressor.

Mr. Pitt had for the first time produced a paper of a most conciliatory tone, in which our Minister at the Court of St. Petersburgh, was instructed to interest her Im-

perial Majesty to join her efforts with our own, for a mediation. The Right Hon. Gentleman, said Mr. Fox, has taken blame to himself for having written this paper, as if he had been too slow in apprehending the dangers of the Revolution. "*Quod solum excusat, hoc solum miror in illo*"—the tenor and composition of this paper is excellent—it wanted but one thing more,—to be acted upon. If it had been communicated to Paris instead of St. Petersburgh, it might have produced most seasonable benefits to mankind.

It was not a defence of the French, Mr. Fox said, which he was undertaking. In all this he was not seeking to justify the French either in their internal or external policy: on the contrary, he thought their successive rulers had been as execrable in various instances as any of the most despotic and unprincipled Governments which the world had ever seen. And it was impossible that it should have been otherwise. Men bred in the school of the House of Bourbon, once engaged in foreign wars, would naturally endeavour to spread destruction and form plans of aggrandizement on every side. They could not have lived so long under their ancient masters without imbibing the insatiable ambition and restless spirit, the perfidy and the despotism inherent in the race: they had imitated their great prototype; and, through their whole career of crimes, had done no more than trace the steps of their own Louis XIV. If they had overrun countries, and ravaged them; if they had ruined and dethroned Sovereigns; if they had even fraternized with the people of foreign countries,—they had acted upon Bourbon principles, and accomplished their exploits in the Bourbon manner. But this example was long ago—we ought not to refer to so distant a period. True, the period was distant, applied to the man, but the principle had never been extinct; nor had its operation been suspended, excepting during the administration of Cardinal Fleury; and the crime of France was, not that she had generated new evils, but perpetuated the former, and adopted the old principles so fatal to Europe under the practice of the House of Bourbon. It had been said, that whereever the French had gone they had introduced revolution. So did Louis the XIVth. He was not content with overrunning a State: whenever he entered a new territory, he established what he called his *chamber of claims*, by which he inquired whether the conquered country had any dormant or disputed claims, any cause of complaint or unsettled demand on another province, upon which he might wage war, thereby discover ground for new devastation, and gratify his ambition by new acquisitions. And what had the Republic ever done more atrocious, more jacobinical than this! Louis went to war with Holland, pretending that Holland had not treated him with sufficient respect—a just and proper cause of war!

When our Charles II. as a short exception to the policy of his reign, made the Triple Alliance for the protection of Europe, and particularly of Holland, against the ambition of Louis, what was the conduct of that most able statesman De Witt, when the confederates came

to deliberate on the terms upon which they should treat with the French Monarch? When it was urged that he had made unprincipled conquests, and ought to surrender them all, the language of that great man was: "You ought not to look back to the origin of the war, but to the means of putting an end to it. Had you in time united to prevent those conquests, well; but now that he has actually made them, he stands upon the ground of conquest, and we must agree to treat, not with reference to the origin of the conquest, but to the present situation of his affairs. He has possession of those places; and some of them we must be content to resign as the means of peace—for conquest will always set up successfully its claims to indemnification." Such was the opinion of a Minister who was the ornament of his time, and such ought to be ours with regard to the French at this day. It was true that the French had overrun Savoy; but they had overrun it upon Bourbon principles; and, having gained this and other conquests before the confederacy was formed, we ought to have treated with her for future security, not for past connection. Of victorious States, whether Monarchical or Republican, it will never be so much inquired by what right they gained possession, as by what means they can be prevented from enlarging their depredations. A celebrated historian, Hume, who was a childish lover of Princes, talks of Louis in very magnificent terms; but says of him, "though he managed his enterprises with skill and bravery, he was unfortunate in one respect; that he never obtained one good and fair pretence for war." This he reckons amongst his misfortunes. Can we say more of the Republican French? In seizing Savoy, they use these words: "*convenances morales et physiques.*" These were their reasons—a most Bourbon-like phrase! And Mr. Fox therefore contended that, as we never scrupled to treat with the Princes of the House of Bourbon on account of their rapacity, their violation of treaties, and their ambitious spirit; so we ought not to refuse treating with their Republican imitators for any of these reasons.

Ministers could not pretend ignorance of the unprincipled manner in which the French had seized on Savoy. The Sardinian Minister complained of the aggression, and yet no stir was made about it: the Courts of Europe stood by and saw the outrage, and our Ministers saw it. In vain therefore had the honourable gentleman exerted his powers to convince us of the interest he took in the preservation of "the rights of nations;" since, at the very moment when an interference might have been made with effect, no step was taken, no remonstrance made, no mediation negociated, to stop the career of conquest: it was then the Minister boasted that he was prevented by a sense of neutrality from taking any measures; but the fact was, this country at that time was decidedly against any interruption being given to the French in the regulations of their own government. From this neutrality the English would never have departed, but from the hypocritical cant set up to arouse their jealousy and alarm their fears, and which was

very different from the great principle of political prudence which ought to have actuated the councils of the nation on the first step of France towards external conquest. When the unfortunate Louis, in a letter delivered by MM. Chauvelin and Talleyrand, entreated us to mediate between him and the allied Powers of Austria and Prussia, we ought to have accepted the offer, and to have used our influence to save Europe from a system which then began to be manifested. Mr. Fox professed his doubts of the sensibility which could be so indifferent at the proper moment of action, and was inclined to think that the germs of ambition were then rising in the mind of the honourable gentleman, who might entertain hopes, like others, that something might be obtained out of the approaching confusion. What but some such interested principle could have made him forego the truly honourable task by which his administration would have displayed its magnanimity and power? Had we declared to France, that we would mediate, with candour and sincerity, but at the same time made known our apprehensions; had we told them openly that we would not trust to their assertions, because their language was contradicted by facts; reminded them of the Bourbon principles in which they were educated, and which they had put in practice by seizing Savoy; had we expressly stated what we considered as an attack on the balance of Europe, and what securities we deemed essential to general repose, we should have acted both with wisdom and dignity; and not having done so, we had no reason to talk of the violated rights of Europe.

Mr. Fox said, that if he understood the true precepts of the Christian religion, as set forth in the New Testament, there was no rule or doctrine by which we could be justified in waging a war for religion: the idea was subversive of the very foundations upon which it stood—"peace and good will amongst men." Yet this sacred name had been too often grossly used as the pretext for the most unprincipled wars. The conduct of the French, he must repeat, was not justifiable towards foreign nations; they had given great cause of offence, but certainly not to all countries alike. Ministers, in their eagerness to throw odium upon them, had made an indiscriminate catalogue of the nations they had offended. Without investigating the sources of their several quarrels, without entering into the long detail, he would merely mention Sardinia as one instance which had been strongly insisted upon. Did the French attack Sardinia when at peace with them? No such thing: the king of Sardinia had accepted a subsidy from Great Britain, and Sardinia was a belligerent Power. Several others might be adduced; but though in the majority of them the French might be culpable, was this a moment to dwell on their enormities, to waste our time and inflame our passions by criminating and recriminating upon each other? If this war of reproach and invective was to be countenanced, might not the French complain, with equal reason, of the outrages and horrors committed by the Powers opposed to them? And if we were not to treat with the Republic on account of the iniquity of their former transactions, ought we to connect ourselves with other

nations equally criminal? If it was necessary to be thus rigid in scrutinizing the conduct of an enemy, ought we not to be equally careful in committing ourselves to an ally who had manifested the same want of respect for the rights of other nations? If it were material to know the character of a Power with which we were to treat for peace, surely it was more material to know that of allies whom we were to pay for assistance, and with whom we were to enter into the closest bond of friendship! What had been the conduct of these our allies to Poland? Was there a single atrocity of the French in Italy, in Swisserland, in Egypt, more inhuman than that of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, towards Poland? What had there ever been worse in *their* violation of solemn treaties, in the plunder and devastation of unoffending countries, in the horrors and massacres perpetrated upon the subdued victims of their rage in any district they had overrun—what could have been worse than the conduct of these three great Powers to the miserable and devoted Kingdom of Poland? Yet these all had been or were our allies in this war for religion, social order, and the rights of nations! But we *regretted* the partition—Yes! and united ourselves to the actors;—in fact, by acquiesence confirmed their atrocities!—But then they were our allies; and, though they divided Poland, there was nothing perhaps in the *manner* of doing this which stamped it with peculiar infamy. The hero of Poland might be merciful and mild, "as much superior to Buonaparte in bravery, and in the discipline which he maintained, as in virtue and humanity." He was animated by the purest principles of Christianity, and restrained in his career by the benevolent precepts which it inculcates. Let unfortunate Warsaw and the miserable inhabitants of Praga speak! What were the deeds of this magnanimous hero with whom Buonaparte is not to be compared? He entered Praga, the most populous suburb of Warsaw, and there he let his soldiery loose on the unarmed and unresisting people: men, women, and children, nay, infants at the breast, were doomed to one indiscriminate massacre. And why? Because they dared to join in a wish to meliorate their condition as a people, and to improve their constitution, which had been confessed by their own Sovereign to be in want of amendment. Such was the hero upon whom the cause of religion and social order was to depend; whom we praise for his discipline and his virtue, and whom we hold out as our boast and dependence, whilst the conduct of Buonaparte unfits him to be even treated with as an enemy!

Mr. Fox then turned to Swisserland, the fate of which country he observed, had excited all the eloquence and indignation of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. I admire the indignation, said Mr. Fox, which the Right Hon. Gentleman expressed (and I think he felt it) in speaking of this country, so dear and so congenial to every man who loves the sacred name of freedom. I admire the eloquence with which he mentioned that abode of liberty and peace, to which every man would desire, once in his life at least, to make a pilgrimage; but he should remember that he him-

self first proposed to the Swiss people, a departure from the neutrality, which was their chief protection. Mr. Fox then stated on the authority of his relation, Lord Robert Fitzgerald, at that time our Minister to the Swiss Cantons, that an official note had been presented from our Government, proposing an alliance with the confederacy, and telling them that "in such a contest neutrality was criminal."

So too with Tuscany and Genoa. Lord Harvey, our Ambassador, went into the closet of the Grand Duke, laid his watch upon the table, and demanded in a peremptory manner, that he should determine in a quarter of an hour, aye or no, to dismiss the French Minister, with a threat that if he did not dismiss him, the English fleet should bombard Leghorn. On the Grand Duke's complaint Lord Harvey was recalled, but the demand was persisted in and obeyed. Was Mr. Drake's note delivered at Genoa, a forgery, Mr. Fox enquired? Did the blockade of that Port never take place? or to turn from our own injustice once more to that of Austria, how were the French worse in violating the independence of Venice, than the Austrians in bartering for a continuance of this violation by themselves? Again, did France attack Russia? Had the magnanimous Paul taken the field on account of personal aggression? How had he displayed his abhorrence of French principles by his own conduct! He said to Denmark, "You have seditious clubs at Copenhagen: no Danish vessel shall enter the Ports of Russia." He held a still more despotic language to Hamburgh; threatened to lay an embargo on their trade, and forced them to surrender up men who were claimed by the French as citizens; menaced them with his own vengeance if they refused, and subjected them to that of the French if they complied. Respecting Spain, he sends away its Minister from Petersburgh, and then complains of *his* Minister being dismissed from Madrid. This is one of our allies; who declared the object of the war was, to replace the ancient race of Bourbon on the throne of France, and who does this for the sake of order and religion, so admirably enforced by his own example!

The enormities of France, be they what they may, cannot bear upon the present question; for we have treated with her twice already under the weight of them all. Mr. Fox here made a most ingenious use of Mr. Pitt's admission, that he had been led to negociation, because the unequivocal sense of the people appeared to be in favor of it. Now, said Mr. Fox, it was denied in 1797 that the people wished for peace, and the House voted that the Petitions on the table did not speak the language of the country. The House, therefore, decided against what the Right Honourable Gentleman knew to be the sense of the people, but he himself acted with the minority, upon that sense, against the vote of Parliament. Knowing that contrary to his declarations in the House, the opinion of the people of England was generally for peace, he entered into a negociation, in which up to this moment, it had been believed that he completely failed—no such thing—he completely succeeded, for his object

was not to gain peace, but to win over the people of this country, to a new and solid system of Finance: so that we gained the Triple Assessment and the tax upon Income, because the Right Honourable Gentleman pretended to be a friend to peace, which he was not; and opened a negociation which he secretly wished might not succeed; and in all this, the Right Honourable Gentleman says he was honest and sincere. He might be honest to his own purposes, and he may be honest in his present declaration and confessions, but he was scarcely honest to this House nor to the people of this Country. Charles II. might as well be called honest when he sold Dunkirk, and when in declaring war against France, he did so to cover a negociation, by which, in his difficulties, he also was to gain "a solid system of finance."

Mr. Fox here, in the bitterest strain of sarcasm, attacked that part of Mr. Canning's speech, which alluded to the Duke of Bedford's remarks on the publication of the Intercepted letters. He saw no reason, he said, why that Honourable Gentleman and his friends should not leave to persons, in another place, holding the same opinions as themselves, the task of answering what may be thrown out there. Was not the phalanx sufficient? It was surely no great compliment to their talents, considering their numbers, that they were not thought competent to reply to the few by whom they were opposed; but perhaps the Honourable Gentleman has too little to do in this House, and was to be sent to the other himself. In truth, there was no reason why even *he* might not go, as well as some who had preceeed him already.

Returning from this digression to the main question, Mr. Fox remarked, that the Restoration of the Bourbons had been mentioned as a case, in which we might venture to negociate; but pains had been taken to shew that this event was not esteemed a *sine qua non*. By talking, however, of "limited possibilities," which neither meant any thing nor defined any thing, we seemed afraid of receiving any other proposition, and made this one point, in fact, though not in terms, the only one admissible. So far in the official note; in his speech, the Right Honourable Gentleman points out four distinct cases, in which he would negociate; first, if Buonaparte should abandon the principles of his predecessors, Mr. Fox asked, if this was likely to be ascertained during war? secondly, if contrary to expectation, the people of France should acquiesce in his Government. Mr. Fox here compared Buonaparte to Cromwell.

Cromwell was an usurper, and in many points might be found a resemblance between them. The sincerity of Cromwell might be questioned on several occasions; but would it not have been madness in France and Spain to have refused to treat with him on account of his usurpation? These are not the maxims by which Governments are actuated. They do not inquire so much in what manner power may have been acquired, as in what place it resides. But of Cromwell it may be said, that the splendour of his talents,

the vigour of his administration, the high tone with which he addressed foreign nations, and the character which he gave to the English name, induced the people to acquiesce. And was not Buonaparte also a man of great abilities? Had he not by his victories thrown a splendour even over the violence of the Revolution, and conciliated the French people by the high language which he held to other nations? Were not the French, then, as likely to be contented with his Government as the English had been with Cromwell's? And if they should be so, the Minister might find Buonaparte as insincere as himself in the proposition made; and he, in his turn, might come forth and acknowledge "that he had now no occasion for concealment; that though in 1800 he had offered to treat, it was not because he, but the people of France, wished it; and his old resources being exhausted, and there being no means of carrying on the war without *a new and solid system of finance*, he pretended to negociate, that the assent of the French people might be unanimous, as then he could procure it; and, having obtained his point, he would throw off the mask, and reject our offers with scorn." Even if this should not be the case, would not the very test required (acquiescence of the French in his Government) give him a vantage-ground in the negociation which he did not now possess? Was it certain, nay was it probable, that, when he found himself safely established on his seat, he would treat on the same terms as now? Could we reasonably expect it? These were the considerations he would press upon Ministers against the dangerous experiment of waiting for the acquiescence of the people of France.

The 3d and 4th cases were if the allies should be unable to shake the present Government, or if the pressure of the war should be greater than we can afford to bear; that is, "I will ruin you if I can; if I cannot, and am nearly ruined myself, then I will negociate." Is this language, Mr. Fox asked, for one State to hold to another? or can we think that Buonaparte will grant to baffled insolence, to humiliated pride, to disappointment and to imbecility, the same terms which he would be ready to give now?

The day would come in which the Right Hon. Gentleman must change his tone; when, instead of fulminating the classical thunderbolt, which he had heretofore proudly wielded,

Toto CERTANDUM est corpore regni,

he must descend to a more correct quotation, and admit, in shame and bitterness, that his efforts have been futile, although indeed

Toto CERTATUM est corpore regni.

The House was called upon that night to support the Ministers in refusing a frank, candid, and respectful offer of negociation, and to countenance them in continuing the war. Now suppose, instead of this question, they had been pleased to address his Majesty with thanks for accepting the overture, and opening a negociation; would not the gentlemen on the opposite side have voted as cordially for such an Address? If

the Ministers had breathed a spirit of peace, the benches would have resounded with rejoicings, and with praises of the wisdom of those measures likely to restore tranquillity. He appealed to their consciences, whether they would not have upheld an Address directly the reverse. One exception he would make, the Earl of Fitzwilliam, whose integrity he respected, though he lamented his opinion; and who, he verily believed, would feel himself bound, by the previous votes he had given, to object against all Treaty. Alas! how was the character of that House of Commons degraded, which, after supporting the Minister in his negociation of 1796 and 1797, and in his *solid system of finance*, would again vote with him, notwithstanding their inward conviction that he was wrong, in the same measures, or bring themselves to join him in any measures, however opposite to the former.

In regard to Buonaparte's personal character, Mr. Fox strongly deprecated the acrimonious invectives which had been so liberally used. He would not undertake the defence of this extraordinary man, who finding that the Government of France wanted reform, had reformed it just in the way a military man might be expected to reform it; by seizing all the authority to himself. What, if he had violated his oath of allegiance to the Constitution of the year three! Who ever heard, that in Revolutions the oath of fidelity to the former Government was regarded? or that its violation was imputed as a crime? In such times, men who take up arms are called rebels, and if they fail, they are adjudged to be traitors, but no one thinks them perjured. As for the idle speech imputed to Buonaparte, that the two Governments of Great Britain and France could not exist together, such offences and charges might be reciprocated without end; and we might fight for ever over a miserable squabble about foul words, "Oh pity the condition of man, gracious God!" exclaimed Mr. Fox, "and save us from such a system of malevolence, by which we are taught to consider war as our natural state, and peace but as a dangerous and difficult extremity."

Our own history was replete with instances of the ill consequences of despising proffered occasions to make peace. At Ryswick we accepted the terms we had refused five years before; and the same peace which was concluded at Utrecht might have been obtained at Gertruydenburg. The peace of 1763 was not accompanied with securities, and it was no sooner made than the French began as usual with their intrigues. What security did the Honourable Gentleman himself exact in 1783? He well knew, that soon after it the French formed a plan, in conjunction with the Dutch, to attack our Indian possessions, exciting the natives against us, and driving us out, as they were desirous of doing now; only with this difference, that the then Cabinet of France entered into the project in a moment of profound peace, and when they imagined us to be lulled in perfect security. After making this peace, Mr. Pitt went out, and he(Mr. Fox) came into office. Suppose (continu-

ed Mr. Fox) we had taken up the jealousy which the Right Honourable Gentleman evinces now, and objected to ratify the Treaty he had made, because we could see no security — pleading that France only wished for a respite to attack us again in some important part of our dominions—would he have supported us in our refusals on such pretences? Upon his present reasonings he ought so to have done; the tone he now assumed would lead us to suppose it.

As to security from future projects of an enemy, what security have we ever had, or could we ever have? We have now offered to us the only security which we can ever hope to get. It is the present interest of France to make peace. She will keep it if it be her interest, she will break it if it be her interest: such is the state of nations, and we have nothing but our own vigilance for security. "But it is not the interest of Buonaparte to keep a peace." How are we to know this till we have made one? "Because peace is unfriendly to military despotism." We have heard much about the short-lived nature of military despotism; and yet the Government erected by Augustus Cæsar, which was no other, endured more than 600 years, and though half the Roman Emperors were murdered, military despotism still went on. If Buonaparte should disappear, some one else will succeed, and there will be no difference but in name. Where the power essentially resides, thither we should go for peace. The interest, however, of Buonaparte, undoubtedly requires peace,—a lover of military glory, he may think that the measure of his glory is full, and that it may be tarnished by a reverse, and hardly increased by addition. Peace would secure what he has achieved, and fix the inconstancy of fortune. France too requires a respite, and if his own wishes led him to war, he may yield these to the feelings of his people, and thus consolidate his power by consulting their interests. Mr. Fox had been too much used to hear imputations thrown out upon public characters, to be much influenced by them. He, too, must remind the House of the period in which the venerable Washington, who, more than any other human being, has left behind him the example of a perfect man, was stigmatized in as harsh terms as Buonaparte is at present. If it was on the score of character that we declined to treat, then we were fighting, not for security, not for principle, not even for conquest; but merely for a speculation and an experiment, to discover whether a gentleman at Paris will, bye and bye, turn out better than we now take him to be.

To what point then was this war so pregnant with horrors to be carried? to the re-establishment of the Bourbons? And this hope we cherished from one successful campaign: in which we have gained nothing but a part of what we had lost before. One campaign is successful to us, another to the enemy, and in this way, animated by the vindictive passions of hatred, revenge and rancour, which are infinitely more flagitious even than those of ambition and thirst of power, we may go on for ever: as with such black

incentives there is no end to human misery; and this only to keep Buonaparte some time longer in a state of probation. The field of battle, with all its horrors, which Mr. Fox painted most eloquently, was now but "a political pause." We took up a system calculated to uncivilize the world, to destroy order, to trample on religion, to stifle the heart, not merely the generosity of noble sentiment, but the affections of social nature, and in the prosecution of this system, we spread terror and devastation all around us.

Mr. Fox sat down, after saying, that he asked no Gentleman's support, who would have voted against an Address diametrically opposite to that now moved, and who would not have supported Ministers, if they had come down with a proposition for an immediate negociation. Such votes, in consistency and in conscience, he had a right to ask, and if he obtained them, the House would be unanimous.

The two great political rivals had not, for a long time, been in collision with each other, before this debate; and there were but few occasions on which a greater display of reasoning and eloquence was made by either. On a division there appeared, for the Address, 261; against it, 64.

CHAPTER V.

Insincerity of Buonaparte's Proposal. Reasons which made a continuance of War his Policy. Measures of the Consular Government. Establishment of Præfectures and other Departmental Tribunals Installation of the Consuls. Buonaparte takes Possession of the Thuilleries. Sketch of the State of Neutral Europe. Spain. Russia. Sweden. Denmark. Prussia. Negociations with the Court of Berlin. Saxony. Retrospect of American Affairs. Dismissa. of General Pinckney by the Directory in 1797. *Capture of American Vessels. Convention of Congress. Firmness of President Adams. Farther Attempts at Negociation. Insolent and outrageous Conduct of the Directory. Energy of the Americans. They arm. The chief Military Command offered to Washington. His Opinion on the Conduct of the French. He accepts the Command. Change of Views in the French Government on the Accession of Buonaparte. Death of Washington. Honours paid to his Memory in America, and in France. General Mourning, and Funeral Oration in Paris. Willingness of Buonaparte to negociate. Favourable Terms of the Treaty. Its Ratification. State of the Austrian Councils. Letter of the Archduke Charles. His Pacific Views. Buonaparte makes Propositions through Him. His Retirement from the Command of the Imperial Armies. General Kray succeeds him. Preparations of Buonaparte. Formation of the Army of Reserve. Popularity of the War in France.*

Buonaparte himself has left it on record, that he was insincere in these offers of peace. Peace, he says, at this time would have ruined the Republic. It would have been dishonourable, for it would have been negociated at the conclusion of a campaign of disasters; and it would have been impolitic, for it would have prevented the commencement of another in which all the chances of war were on the side of France. The Russians had quitted the Coalition. The pacification of La Vendée had placed a new and powerful army at the disposal of the State. The nation, for the first time during the progress of the Revolution, reposed entire confidence in their Chief Magistrate. Peace would have brought with it a demand for a reduction of taxes and a disbandment of the army; and since little hope could be entertained of any long-continued tranquillity, France, after descending from her attitude of power, and submitting to be crippled in her resources, would have returned to the field with diminished energy, and shorn of half her might.

For Buonaparte individually to agree to any terms less advantageous than those which his sword had won at Campo Formio, was to wanton with and to desert his Fortune. It was to dim all the splendour of his former Italian conquests, and to diminish that *prestige* by which hitherto he had influenced the imagination of the People, and by the continuance of which alone he could hope to put an end to the many-varied anarchy of Faction, and to establish, on a secure basis, a permanent and definitive system. Under these feelings he awaited the answer of the Court of St. James's with anxious expectation. Its arrival filled him with secret satisfaction, and he remarked to Talleyrand, that no reply could be more favourable to his views. Enough had been done by his offer to give the semblance of pacific inclination to his policy. His advances, though vague and undefined, wore the appearance of frankness and conciliation. He had solicited Peace, and had been content, as it seemed, to forego much of personal glory for its attainment. The English had rejected his proposals, and henceforward he might direct upon them whatever odium should arise from protracted hostilities. Nothing more was wanting to give popularity to the War in France.

The Government meantime proceeded steadily in its internal reforms. In the administration of the Departments a great and salutary change was effected by concentrating the Executive, and by establishing local Councils, under the title of Præfectures. The limits of each Magistrate's power, from the lowest post to that of the First Consul himself, were rigidly defined; and infinite pains were taken so to arrange their respective duties as to prevent the possibility of mutual impediment or collision. In every Department was a Præfect, with three or four Sub-præfects, according to the population, a Council of the Præfecture, and a Council-general of the Department. In the most populous Departments the Præfectorial Council consisted of five members, the Council-general of the Department of twenty-four. In

Departments of the second class, according to the population, the Council of Præfecture consisted of fewer members; that of the Department of twenty. In Departments of the third rate, the Præfect's Council was three; the Council-general of the Department sixteen. The Præfect was charged with the sole administration. The Council of Præfecture decided respecting the claims of citizens against their quota of taxation. The principal attribution of the Departmental general-council, whose session was to last only fifteen days in the year, was to allot to the respective *arrondissements*, or Districts of the Department, the amount of the taxes which they were to pay. The Secretary-general of the Council of Præfecture had the keeping of the papers, and the signature. Each *arrondissement* had also a Council, composed like the Council-general of the Departments, holding its session for fifteen days, and subdividing the quota of taxes to every individual. In towns, villages, and other places where there were Municipal administrations, and the population of which did not exceed 2500 inhabitants, were placed a Mayor and two adjoints. In cities of 100,000 inhabitants and upwards, a Mayor and two adjoints were named for each Municipality; and a Commissary-general of Police, with whom the other Commissaries were to correspond. At Paris the Departmental Council were to perform the functions of Municipal Council. The nomination to the chief of these various offices, such as the Præfects, Sub-præfects, the Councils of Præfecture, the Councils-general of Departments, the Councils of *arrondissements*, the Secretary-general, was the attribute of the First Consul; the inferior Magistracies in each department were named by the Præfect. The salaries of the Præfects were from 8000 livres to 30,000 livres a-year, according to the population. Those of the Sub-præfects from one-tenth to one-fifth of the amount of the Præfects. These, and the Commissaries of Police, were the only officers salaried. In this project the number of Departments was preserved, as in the Constituent Assembly; but the six thousand Cantons were reduced to 398 *arrondissements*, each having a Sub-præfect.

Civil and criminal tribunals were carefully organized in like manner, and upon similar principles; which proportioned the number of Judges to the Departmental population. A new national Bank was formed; and in the midst of these grave statistical arrangements, and the equally active preparations for war, Buonaparte found leisure to indulge the taste of his Parisian subjects for splendour and spectacle, by the gorgeous ceremonial which distinguished the installation of the Three Consuls. The Luxembourg hitherto had been their official residence; but soon after the national acceptance of the Constitution had been declared, on the 19th of February, Buonaparte, accompanied by his two Colleagues, the Council of State, and the Conservative Senate, and surrounded by a brilliant Staff, took possession of the ancient Palace of the Kings of France. Amid the thunder of artillery, the din of martial music, and the ac-

clamations of the populace, he entered the court of the Thuilleries. The garrison of Paris passed in review before him, and after he had admitted the Ministers and public authorities to audience, in the presence chamber of the Bourbons; he may be forgiven if he was intoxicated for a moment, and if it be true that he remarked to one of his officers, "Had I been Louis XVI. nothing should have torn me from this spot!"

While apparently endeavouring to promote an accommodation with the chief belligerents, the new Government of France omitted no pains to conciliate such States as still persevered in neutrality. The Court of Madrid was too weak to require much regard. Revolutionary principles had secretly gained ground in the interior of Spain, and had even succeeded in overcoming the bigoted aristocratical creed of many of the Nobles; so that the views of the Government were less directed to foreign policy than to the supplies of an exhausted treasury, and the control of a disaffected population. Among the Northern Powers, the Emperor Paul was no longer to be reckoned an enemy; his disgust at his former allies was sufficiently apparent; and little doubt could be entertained, that if it were thought worth while to cultivate a friendship which had hitherto proved itself to be so fickle and vacillating, a few months courtship might annex the Russian Autocrat as a partizan to France. The secession of the arms of Russia from the Coalition had a powerful effect upon the Cabinets of Stockholm, and of Copenhagen. Sweden at one time might have entertained hostile dispositions against the French Republic; but she was now unwilling to entangle herself in an alliance which had been just deserted by her gigantic neighbour. Her finances also were disordered, and her subjects were partially disaffected. These domestic embarrassments demanded the convocation of a general Diet, and removed all inclination, even if she had felt ability, to participate in the approaching contest. Denmark was still under the pacific guidance of Bernstorff's administration, or if inclined to more active measures, she had already began to manifest a jealousy of the right of maritime search which Great Britain asserted and acted upon, and which afterwards led to open war.

But the Court of Berlin was evidently that one with which a good understanding was most necessary to Buonaparte. It was little likely that a Cabinet which had been inflexible in its neutrality during the last campaign, when disaster pressed thickly and urgently upon France, would now come forward in opposition to her, when the Republic appeared to have derived great addition of strength from the energy and tried abilities of her Chief. But the First Consul was not content with the cautious abstinence from hostility in which the Court of Berlin had so long persevered; and he was desirous of exciting her to a much more active co-operation. Prussia at this time possessed resources which must have decidedly inclined the beam to that scale into which she chose to throw them. A rigid and severe

economy had recovered her treasury from the distress into which it had been involved by the prodigality of the late Monarch. The Crown had not succeeded in an attempted financial reform, by which it sought to equalize the imposition of taxes, and to distribute universally among all classes that burden of tribute, from the payment of which the Nobles conceived themselves to be privileged, and which consequently fell with additional heaviness upon the mass of the people. The project had miscarried through the resistance of the higher ranks, who strenuously contended for their immunity. But the agitation of it had considerably increased both the immediate popularity and the real strength of the King; the first, by the impression produced, that he regarded the interests of all his subjects indiscriminately; the second, by the just excuse which it afforded him for still farther reduction of an expenditure which impoverished the treasury, and which his Nobles could no longer require him to encounter, while they themselves were unwilling to contribute their share to its support. Particular attention also had been paid by the King to the military establishment, and the losses were already recruited which had been sustained in the three early revolutionary campaigns. With some hope that he might engage the resources of this powerful State in his behalf, the First Consul employed his favourite and confidential aid-de-camp Duroc, in a mission to Berlin. The ostensible object of his negociation was to induce the King of Prussia, to extend as far as the banks of the Mein the line of neutrality, which had been already marked out in Germany, under his guarantee. Two immediate points, of no slight advantage to France, would be gained if she succeeded in this application: a still greater number of the Petty Princes of the Empire would be detached from their Chief; and the future military operations of the Austrians would be materially cramped and circumscribed. The ultimate view, no doubt, was to embroil the Cabinet of Berlin with that of Vienna, and by secretly fostering the projects of ambition and aggrandizement which were hereditary in the House of Brandenburgh, to bribe it into alliance with France. But the Prussian Cabinet was neither prepared to sustain the expence which the proposed extension of the line of demarcation must of necessity bring with it; nor did it place implicit confidence on the assurances of the Consular Government that itself would defray the expence. The agent of Buonaparte was received with distinguished honours, but he advanced not a step in his diplomacy. Even when an ambassador, with fuller powers, was accredited to Berlin, and France sought to commence a more formal and open negociation, no progress was made in the desired object. Every demonstration of the most cordial amity was offered which the Republic could expect or wish; but it was an amity which could not be roused into action, and the King pertinaciously intrenched himself against all solicitation to a more close alliance, behind the barrier of the most cautious and undeviating neutra-

lity; a policy which, in all respects, was followed by the Elector of Saxony; and which, though not meeting the full wishes of the First Consul, was yet of much advantage to his designs.

It was not to Europe alone that the views of Buonaparte were confined, and the death of Washington afforded him an opportunity, which he much desired, of openly testifying a marked respect for the Government of the United States, and thus of diminishing the angry feelings which had been so justly roused in the Americans by the arrogant conduct of the Directory. Washington, on his retirement, in 1797, from his second Presidency, had devoted himself, upon his estate at Mount Vernon, to agricultural pursuits, which he loved, and which had occupied much of his early life. A large tract of land, which exhibited many proofs of having been long deprived of the superintendence of its proprietor, society, reading, and an extensive correspondence, promised a serene employment for the evening of his days: when he was once again summoned to the field and entrusted with the preservation of those liberties which acknowledged him as their author. In the course of 1797, General Pinckney had been accredited by Congress on an especial mission to Paris, in order to enter into full explanations with the Executive of the French Republic: and he was instructed to spare no pains in order to obtain the desired adjustment of any discontents existing between the two nations. The temper which he encountered in France was widely different from that which dictated his Embassy. The Directory inspected his letters of credence, and announced their haughty determination, not to receive another Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States until after such redress of grievances as it was said the French Republic had a right to expect from the American Government. This offensive message was succeeded by indecorous verbal communications calculated to force the American Minister to withdraw; and in the end, by a peremptory mandate, that he should quit the French territory. An audience of leave was granted, but it was granted only to increase the measure of insult; and while expressions of affection were speciously adopted towards the American People, terms of bitter outrage were employed to characterize their Government.

On the retirement of the Minister American vessels were captured wherever found; and under the pretext that they wanted a document with which the Treaty of Commerce had been uniformly understood to dispense, they were every where condemned as prizes.

Congress was convened as soon as General Pinckney's dismission had been regularly announced. The speech of the President Adams was firm and dignified, and breathed a spirit little inclined to tame submission; after exposing the disposition manifested by the language of the Directory to separate the People from their Government: Mr. Adams thus concluded, "Such attempts ought to be repelled with a decision which shall convince France and the world that we are not a de-

graded people, humiliated under a colonial spirit of fear, and a sense of inferiority, fitted to be the miserable instruments of foreign influence, and regardless of national honour, character, and interest." He recommended it to Congress that effectual measures of defence should immediately be provided: nevertheless he did not abstain from one other final attempt at accommodation, in the hope of preventing the desperate extremity of open warfare. Three Envoys extraordinary, at the head of whom was General Pinckney, were deputed to the Luxembourg; and the remainder of 1798, was employed in a fruitless attempt at negociation, which deserves a notice somewhat more in detail than we found room to give it in our last volume *.

On the arrival of this embassy, the Directory affected to take great umbrage at two of the individuals who composed it; who, as they urged, had been purposely selected from a party which had always shewn itself hostile to the interests of France. Under these and similar pretexts no acknowledgment of their diplomatic character could be obtained; and propositions were made to them in direct and explicit terms, by persons, who though not absolutely invested with public official employments, were yet well known to be private official agents, demanding money from the United States as the condition which must precede not only the reconciliation of America with France, but even any negociation by which the differences between the two countries could be subjected to discussion.

To this unreasonable and dishonourable proposal, urged with no common earnestness, and backed by representations almost, if not entirely, amounting to menaces, a positive and unequivocal refusal was given by the Envoys. It was to no purpose that they were presented with a lively picture of the inexhaustible resources and the overwhelming power of France, of the humiliation to which Austria was already reduced, and of the certain conquest of England, which might be anticipated. Before it was too late America was warned to take example by the fate of Venice, to look for safety only in the friendship of the Republic, and to remember, that her displeasure was the never-failing precursor of destruction. The influence of French politics over the population of the United States was strongly represented, and pains were taken to intimidate those who held the reins of power, by threats of exciting disaffection among their subjects. As if there were not already sufficient causes of irritation and disunion between the two countries, the Directory applied for a loan of forty-eight millions of francs, grounding their request on the loan formerly afforded by France to the United States during the war which established their independence. To crown the effrontery of this demand, the intriguing agents who were instructed to propose it, at the same time insinuated, that the loan would not be insisted upon provided 12,000,000 francs were immediately divided between Talleyrand and Barras. The Ambas-

* Ann. Reg. 1799. p. 4.

sadors felt degraded by their unprecedented communications, and they at length refused all further intercourse with the persons who deceived them. In their visits which they made to the Secretary of Foreign Relations, in order to demand recognition in their public characters, they were again, however, exposed to a continuance of similar demands, without advancing one step towards their own object. As a last effort to execute the duties assigned to them, they addressed a letter to this Minister, in which they entered at large into explanation, and proved by a series of illustrative facts, the undeviating amicable disposition of the American Government. This note was answered in bitter terms of crimination, no opportunity was omitted of heaping insult both upon the Envoys and the Cabinet which employed them, and the flag of the United States was the signal of capture and condemnation for every vessel which bore it. In the end, the two Ambassadors, who were considered to be opposed to French interests, received an order to quit the territories of the Republic, and the third, who was supposed to be of a party less Antigallican, was permitted to remain, and insultingly invited to renew a discussion which had not yet commenced.

The resentment manifested by the population of the United States, on the receipt of this intelligence, did honour to the national spirit. The general cry was for war; and there was no reluctance to contribute to its expences. "Millions," it was said, "for defence; not a Cent for tribute." Congress seconded this feeling by prompt and vigorous measures. A regiment of artillerists and engineers was added to the permanent establishment, and the President was authorized to levy twelve fresh regiments of infantry, and one of cavalry, for a service limited during the continuance of the existing disputes with France. A scheme for a provisional army, and a volunteer militia, was also organized, and the Addresses which poured in from every quarter of the States, shewed that the ranks of the latter force were not likely to need recruits.

At this juncture, all eyes were turned once more upon Washington. While He was yet alive, it seemed a natural and an universal conviction, that military power could not be entrusted to any other hands with equal safety to the Constitution, or equal benefit to the service. Washington did not believe that the Directory would proceed to the extent of a direct rupture. He watched their conduct with anxiety, and deemed it most outrageous: but he thought that when they perceived the ardour with which the People of America rose in resistance, they would lay aside the views which probably had been encouraged by a force calculated upon the support of a large party within the United States favourable to themselves. "If I did not view things in this light, (it was thus he wrote to a private friend) my mind would be infinitely more disquieted than it is: for if a crisis should arise when a sense of duty, or a call from my Country should become so imperious as to leave me no choice, I should prepare for re-

linquishment, and go with as much reluctance from my present peaceful abode, as I should go to the tomb of my ancestors."

Towards the close of June, (1798) the expectation of approaching hostilities was much increased, and direct propositions were offered to Washington, by the American Executive. In reply, he expressed his unfeigned surprise at the occasion which seemed likely to call him forth from his retirement. It was reserved, he said, for intoxicated and lawless France, (for purposes of Providence, far beyond the reach of human ken) to slaughter her own citizens, and to disturb the repose of all the world besides. His services, he added, if really wanted, were owing to his Country, for he should disdain to entrench himself behind the cover of age and infirmities. Yet he still doubted the necessity of his resumption of military command; for he could not bring himself to believe that the French, however regardless of Treaties and of the Laws of Nations, however capable of the foulest extremes of despotism and injustice, would venture to invade a Country which had displayed such unequivocal and universal feeling as that which had broken forth from the United States. He attributed the outrages offered by the Directory, to the instigations of agents and partizans in America who had deceived their employers: but the time could not be far distant in which this illusion must be cleared away, and then the wickedness of the French Government, if it persisted, would be equalled by its folly. Before, therefore, he returned a definitive answer, he wished for assurance on three preliminaries: first, full satisfaction of the national opinion as to the propriety of his re-appearance in public life, after the solemn farewell which he had already taken: secondly, entire conviction that his Country desired to commit to him the command of her armies: and lastly, such an organization of those armies as should afford well-grounded hope of honour to themselves and to her leader.

The President had already nominated Washington to the chief command of all the armies raised or to be raised in the United States, with the rank of Lieutenant-General, and the Senate had unanimously confirmed this appointment, before the arrival of this last communication at the seat of Government. The terms in which the commission was conveyed, sufficiently manifested the anxiety which the President felt that it should not be rejected. The Secretary at War was instructed to proceed in person to Mount Vernon. There, in the manner most inoffensive to the feelings of the veteran Patriot, and with all the respect due to him, to lay the proposal before him, and to obtain his opinion and advice on all matters connected with the formation of the new army, and the fitness of individuals for peculiar military situations. "If the General should decline the appointment, all the world, said the President, will be silent, and respectfully acquiesce. If he should accept it, all the world, except the enemies of his country, will rejoice. If he should come to no decisive determination, I shall not appoint any

other Lieutenant-General, till the conclusion is known."

Washington accepted the commission with one reservation, that he should not be called into the field until the army was in a situation to require his presence, or till the urgency of affairs rendered it indispensable. With his customary disinterestedness also, he would not permit the appointment to bring with it any immediate charge upon the public purse, but he declined all emoluments, till he should be placed in circumstances which might expose him to increased expenditure. These circumstances never occurred. Washington had reasoned correctly on the probable consequences of the imposing attitude assumed by his Country; indirect pacific overtures were made, and a willingness to accede to reasonable terms was expressed on the part of the French. Their Government had been new modelled. The Oligarchy which had sought to drive the United States into open war, had finished its mad and desperate career, and power was now in the hands of one who had taken no part in the former designs, and whose policy it was to cultivate peaceful relations with the Transatlantic friends of ancient France.

But Washington did not live to see the negociation completed, which had already commenced with the First Consul. An inflammatory complaint terminated his existence on the 14th of December, (1799) after an illness of but few hours. He died in the full possession of his intellects, and without a struggle. From the commencement of the attack, and through every succeeding stage, he believed that its conclusion would be mortal, and he submitted to the means attempted for his recovery more from duty than from any reliance on their efficacy. Almost his last words addressed to the Physician who supported him, were, "I am dying, and have been dying for several hours, but I am not afraid to die;" and shortly after, when it was with much difficulty that he could be understood by his attendants, he expressed an earnest wish that they would permit him to close his eyes without farther interruption.

Thus with the same calmness and simplicity which marked all his former moments, terminated the blameless and illustrious career of Washington. He was born on the 11th of February, (O. S.) 1732, and consequently was in his sixty-eighth year at the time of his death. It is needless to pourtray his character here. It is to be traced in the history both of his own country and of England, for the preceding quarter of a century: and no Revolution of equal magnitude with that which he undertook to guide, has ever produced a character of more unspotted integrity, and more singleness of Patriotism. The profound and unfeigned sorrow with which the news of his loss was received by his fellow-citizens, sufficiently evinced both his claims to their gratitude, and their promptness of acknowledgment. His remains were deposited with military honours in the vault of his family, at Mount Vernon. Congress, on the arrival of the intelligence of his decease, immediately adjourned till the following day; and when it again met, an Address of

Condolence was voted to the President. A general mourning of thirty days was recommended throughout the States, a public funeral procession and oration was ordered, and a marble monument, commemorative of the great events of his military and political life, was decreed to be erected in the City which bore his name. Under this it was resolved, that with the permission of his widow, his body should silently repose. But the ebullitions of national feeling are for the most part transient. Republics are proverbially ungrateful, and none has ever been more so than that of the United States to the memory of her greatest Citizen. Twenty-four years have elapsed since his death, and his remains still moulder without any public record in the vault to which they were first consigned. Succeeding Legislators have been reluctant to appropriate the requisite funds to the purpose, and have obtruded in their defence a delicacy to the widow which they never felt, and the impolicy of the precedent in a case which confessedly can never occur a second time.

In North Carolina, after a pompous decree, it was determined that a place should be appropriated for a statue of Washington in the Hall of Assembly, and Canova was requested to execute it. The dimensions of the Saloon intended to contain this Statue, were conveyed at the same time to the Sculptor; and from these he found it impossible, without a violation of proportion, to place the figure erect. He avoided this difficulty, however, by clothing it in Roman costume, and placing it in a Curule chair. After the statue had been deposited in its barn-like receptacle, the patriotic Committee of this independent State, transmitted 450 dollars, raised by private contribution, as a fitting remuneration to the greatest artist in Europe. This petty sum did not defray the expence of conveying from Carrara the marble which he had used. Canova immediately returned the money with a request that it might be appropriated to some Charitable Institution; for himself, he added, the honour of having been employed on a statue of Washington, was more than a sufficient recompense.

On receiving the news of Washington's death, Buonaparte put on mourning himself, and commanded that all the colours and standards of the Republic should be decorated with black crape for ten days. An Order of the day, (February the 9th) gave still greater publicity to his feelings, "Washington is dead! That great man fought against tyranny, and established the liberty of his Country. His memory will always be dear to the French people, as well as to all freemen in both hemispheres, and especially to French soldiers, who, like him and the soldiers of America, fight for equality and liberty." So constantly is mankind the dupe of words, that in the commencement of a military despotism, marked not indeed by as much cruelty, but by far heavier pressure of authority, than distinguished any of the Oligarchies which preceded it. LIBERTY and EQUALITY were still the intoxicating catch words which the populace was content to drink in with greedy and deluded ears. The day on which this

Order was promulgated, was distinguished by great military pomp. The trophies won by the Army of the East, were paraded in the *Champ de Mars:* and in the presence of all the Civil and Military Authorities of the Capital, a funeral oration, in memory of the departed hero of America, was pronounced by M. Fontanes.

These public marks of esteem removed, as they were intended to do, all doubts in the minds of the American Ministers, as to the sincere desire of accommodation entertained by Buonaparte. Messrs. Ellsworth, Henry, and Murray, had already landed in France, invested with full powers; and the First Consul immediately appointed three Counsellors of State, Joseph Buonaparte, Roederer, and Fleurieu, to conduct the Treaty on the part of the Republic. The conferences took place successively at Paris and at Morfontaine; and many points arose in these of nice and difficult adjustment. It was not easy to decide in the outset, the relative position of the two countries, whether they were at war or at peace. Neither of them indeed had as yet made a formal avowal of hostilities; but the Americans, by a Bill passed as far back as 1778, had annulled the privileges acquired by France, twenty years before. They refused to repeal this Bill, and the French affected to consider this refusal as tantamount to an open declaration of war; for they contended, and with some shew of reason, that a nation cannot lose rights conceded by Treaties, unless by her own consent, or by the consequence of war. The Americans at the same time, demanded an indemnification for the naval losses which had been sustained by them from the French. On their part, in return, they promised to make good the similar losses which France had suffered from them: but the balance was greatly in favour of the United States, and it was but little suited either to the inclinations or the finances of Buonaparte, to discharge the account. He avoided the demand with singular ingenuity, and embarrassed the Transatlantic Plenipotentiaries by the following dilemma. "We are either at war or at peace. If we are at peace, and our present situation is merely a state of misunderstanding, France ought to make good all the damage her privateers may have done you. You have evidently lost more than we, and it is incumbent on us to pay you the difference." Thus far the American Envoys unreluctantly went hand in hand with their diplomatic brethren; but they were not a little startled by the clause which succeeded. "But in that case, things ought to be restored to the state in which they previously stood, and we ought to enjoy all the rights and privileges which we possessed before 1778. If, on the contrary, we are at war, you have no right to require indemnity for your losses, and we have no right to insist on privileges granted by Treaties which the war has broken off."

Long discussions were occasioned by this representation, and the question itself, as it affected the past, was referred in the end, to an ulterior Convention; and it was agreed that the future only should be looked to in the Treaties

under agitation. To the progress of this Treaty, the brilliant successes of Buonaparte, upon the narrative of which we are about to enter, and the animosity between England and the Northern Powers, which had long been gathering, and was almost ready to break forth into open violence, materially contributed. Neither was it likely, even without these additional motives, that the United States would refuse the terms proposed by France. The rights of Neutrals were much enlarged and fully recognized by them. The flag was permitted to cover the lading: no goods were esteemed contraband excepting warlike stores: and even the search for these was subjected to many restrictions; it could only take place within gun-shot of a ship of war; not more than three men were allowed to board the neutral, and in no case could any of her crew be summoned on board the searching vessel: a certificate justifying the flag was to be deemed sufficient: even if contraband goods were found, none but those goods were to be confiscated; no ship under convoy was exposed to search: the right of blockade was to extend only to such places as were really and absolutely blockaded; and the ships and privateers of each country, in their respective ports, were to be treated as those of the most favoured nation.

The pride of the Americans was effectually soothed and gratified by these terms, which in the crippled state of her naval power, it cost France nothing to grant. On the 30th of September, a Treaty to this effect was signed at Paris, and a few days afterwards, the First Consul was present at an entertainment given by his brother, Joseph Buonaparte, to commemorate the reconciliation of the two countries. Many ingenious emblems and devices recorded the principal events of the American war, and the arms of the two Republics were blazoned together in heraldic union. The First Consul proposed a toast "To the *manes* of the French and Americans who perished in the field of battle, fighting for the independence of the New World;" and if this called to mind the remembrance of former offensive alliances, another proposed by Lebrun, bore yet more strongly upon that which was desired for the future.—"To the union of America with the Northern Powers to enforce respect to the freedom of the seas." The ratification of the Treaty was not exchanged till the middle of the following year, and the American President then expunged the Article which proposed the claim of America for a restitution for her losses during peace, as an equipoise to the privileges asserted by France, from the negociations of 1778. By this annulment, upon the probability of which Buonaparte had doubtless calculated at the time at which he proposed it, he was relieved from a burdensome demand which he had neither means nor inclination to satisfy.

The change of Government in France produced as little effect upon the counsels of the Austrian Cabinet, as it had done upon those of Great Britain. In the beginning of December, 1799, a Letter was addressed to the anterior Cir-

cles of the Empire, under the name of the Archduke Charles, which breathed a more hostile spirit than that Prince himself was supposed individually to feel. It spoke of the regret with which he perceived, that false hopes of pacification had arisen from the recent events in France, and that the Princes and States of the Empire in consequence of these hopes had relaxed in the performance of their several duties. Peace, it said, was only to be gained by being fully prepared for war. Every new faction which had swayed France, had in turn held the same delusive language which was now adopted; by their plausibility they had won over popular opinion to their side, and with Peace in their mouth, they had uniformly refused to treat on equal grounds, and had in truth been the perpetual authors of new aggression. Peace, according to the meaning which France gave to the word, was nothing short of the extermination of her enemies. The Letter then entered into a review of the revolution of the 9th of November, and denied that it was such as all at once could inspire confidence, either in the sincerity or the stability of its chief agent. The Government which it had created, was not yet wholly purged from those who had sworn eternal hatred to all States not constituted on the model of their own, and neither the temper of the people, nor the language of the rulers, had assumed a tone which was genuinely pacific. Victory still formed the burden of all public documents, and there was no remission in warlike preparations. Even if the sincerity of the new Government was not to be impeached, there was no assurance that its power was sufficiently consolidated to remove all fear of its overthrow; and Peace if concluded with it, might in the end prove only a disadvantageous armistice. Prudence, therefore, imperiously demanded vigour and activity on the part of all who had been opposed to Republican France; and it was necessary that the States of the Empire should still keep their arms in their hands, and preserve an imposing attitude till Peace was absolutely signed.

Notwithstanding the appearance of this Letter, which almost anticipated the chief arguments used by the English Ministers, in the debates in their Parliament on the negociation, it was well known that the Archduke Charles was favourable to Peace. He saw that the unfortunate termination of the Swiss campaign, and the disasters in Holland, had effectually alienated the impetuous and uncertain Sovereign of Russia from the interests of the Coalition; and that even the sacrifice of just national pride, which Austria was contented to make by the offer of investing Suvaroff with the chief command of the Army of the Rhine, could not propitiate the exasperated Monarch. He saw also that the Circles of the Empire were not to be roused from their lethargic indifference to the common weal; that cowardice in some, and private interest in others, bound them by secret ties to the general enemy. Perhaps also the extensive military knowledge of this Prince, led him to appreciate more distinctly than others did, the talents of the great General who had seized the

dominion of France; and after reviewing the comparative military resources of that country and of his own, he was willing to make an honourable and disinterested surrender of that personal ambition, which might prompt him to dispute the prize of glory with the first Captain of the age, in order to obtain that seasonable repose which he conceived was requisite for the well being of the Empire.

Be this as it may, the wishes of the Archduke Charles for Peace were well known to Buonaparte; and with a view of embarrassing the Court of Vienna, and of making it a partaker with the English, in the obloquy attendant upon continued hostility, propositions were submitted through him to the Emperor, at the same moment in which they were offered to Great Britain. It is not probable that they were made with more sincerity in the one case than in the other, for in the impossibility under which France laboured of paying her soldiery, her existence depended upon conquering, in an enemy's country, those resources which her own could not supply; and the prospects of gain in this kind, if denied in England, might be extensively opened in Germany. The general ground of the Treaty of Campo Formio, was the proposed basis of negociation; but the English Ministers had already guaranteed to the Emperor the possession of Italy, and a continuation of large subsidies: the contingents of Bavaria and Wirtemburgh were on foot, the first, to the number of 12,000, in the pay of England; the new levies readily came forward at the summons of the recruiters, and the population of Hungary voluntarily tendered its services for the campaign; above all a false notion existed, that France was as destitute of men, and the *materiel* for war, as she was known to be of money. For a time, indeed, a semblance of hesitation was preserved: Couriers frequently passed from Moreau to the Archduke, and a French Aid-de-Camp was permitted to reside at the Austrian head-quarters, although his farther progress to Vienna was forbidden. Yet, however sincere Prince Charles might be in his effort to forward the negociation, the influence of the Empress and of the Minister Thugut were most powerfully and effectually opposed to him. The delay in refusing the First Consul's propositions, arose from no real intention of ultimately accepting them; but either from a wish to delude the French Government, and thus to gain an additional time for preparation, or by awakening suspicion in the breasts of the English Ministers, to raise the price already demanded for co-operation. All doubts however were at length removed, by the Message of the King of England to Parliament, (February 13) in which he announced that a Coalition was formed with the Emperor of Germany, the Elector of Bavaria, and other Princes of the Empire, and asked supplies, to make good his engagements with those Powers. The retirement of the Archduke Charles from the chief command of the Austrian armies speedily followed. The measure was perhaps necessary, but it by no means contributed to increase the popularity of the war in Germany.

The Archduke was deservedly a general favourite, both on account of his disposition and talents; his military successes in the two last campaigns, had established him no less in the hearts of the people than of the troops who served under him, and he received the most touching marks of affection from both, on his surrender of office. The Government of Bohemia, with which he was invested, prevented any open appearance of disgrace; and the colourable pretext under which his dismissal (for such in truth it must be considered) was veiled, was his recent misunderstanding with the Russians. General Kray replaced him in his command, and arrived at his head-quarters at Donau-Eschingen, on the 17th of March.

The gauntlet was now thrown down, and Buonaparte took it up with avidity. He had sufficiently persuaded the French that the sacrifices which they were now called upon to make, were not for the gratification of his own ambition, but for the national honour: that Peace had been tendered, and rejected, and that victory alone could expiate the insult. In a Message communicated to the Legislative body, on the 7th of March, disappointment and indignation were strongly marked. "Frenchmen," said this Message, "you have been anxious for Peace; your Government has desired it with still greater ardour. Its first steps, its most constant wishes, have been for its attainment. The English Ministry has betrayed the secret of its horrible policy. To dismember France, to destroy her Marine and her Ports, to strike her out from the Chart of Europe, or to lower her to the rank of secondary Powers; to keep every nation on the Continent divided from each other, in order to gain possession of the trade of the whole, and enrich herself with their spoils; to obtain this iniquitous triumph it is that England scatters gold, becomes prodigal of promises, and multiplies her intrigues." After assuring the Legislative body that neither the gold, the promises, nor the intrigues of England, should ever influence the Powers of the Continent, the Message further declared, that if any Power remained refractory, the First Consul, who had promised Peace, would put himself at the head of the Armies to march and obtain it; but that in the midst of battles and triumphs he would invoke Peace, and swear to fight only for the happiness of France and the repose of the world.

A decree in the beginning of the year had already directed the formation of an Army of Reserve. Its numbers were now fixed at 60,000 men; its *depôt* was to be Dijon; 30,000 Conscripts were called out to complete it, and these and all the veterans who were yet able to serve, were ordered to join their regiments before the 5th of April. The command of this Army was intrusted to Berthier, who had fulfilled the duties of Minister at War with unexampled energy. By the principles of the recent Constitution, the Consuls were essentially Civil officers; and the First Magistrate of the Republic was forbidden to command an Army in chief. This prohibition, however, was easily evaded; no provision opposed his being pre-

sent with his troops, and the Army of which Berthier was nominally General in Chief, was in fact, as we shall see, commanded by Buonaparte. "The happiness of France, and the repose of the world," were the watch-words, by which strong appeals were made to the enthusiasm of the people, and the Government was obeyed not only without a murmur, but even with ardour. The harsh measure of Conscription operated indiscriminately upon all conditions of rank and fortune, but the very equality with which it acted, rendered it popular. Never was an Army more speedily created, or more completely equipped; 40,000 horses were collected in less than two months: a park of Artillery was not less rapidly formed; and while the Allies were trumpeting throughout Europe the inability and destitution of the Republic, the finest and best arranged force which France had produced in the course of the Revolution, was already prepared for the field.

CHAPTER VI.

Power of the Austrians in Italy at the commencement of 1800. *Election of Pius VII. to the Papacy. Flourishing state of the Austrian Army. Melas advances on the Ligurian Appennines. Wretched condition of the French Army. Massena assumes the command of it. He revives the spirits of his Troops. Their Numbers and Positions. The English under Lord Keith blockade the Genoese coast. Description of the Fortifications of Genoa. Importance of its possession to both the Belligerents. Commencement of Hostilities. The French beaten before Savona; their Line is intersected, and their Posts driven in. They are recovered on the following Day. Retreat of Suchet. Battle of Voltri; the Austrians defeated by Soult. Farther Success of the French at L'Eremita. Defeat of Massena at La Stella. His personal dangers. His Plan of Junction with Soult; frustrated by the disorder of his Troops. He despatches Gen. Fressinet to Soult's assistance, who decides the Combat already related at L'Eremita. Massena again defeated at Cogoletto. He is rescued by Oudinot. Continued operations and various success of Soult. Affair of Massena at La Stella. Defeat of Soult at Sassello. Difficulties of Soult. His able Retreat and Junction with Massena. Massena retreats to Genoa. Reasons for his halt at Voltri. Second Defeat of the French at that place. Their Retreat covered by the bravery of Mouton. Mission of Oudinot to Suchet. Suchet recovers the Heights of Sette Pani. He attacks San Giacomo, is completely defeated, and obliged to retreat. Operations of Miollis near Genoa during Massena's absence. Distress and discontent of the Inhabitants. The French retire within the Walls. Proclamation of Melas to the Genoese. Counter-Proclamation of Massena. The Austrians are defeated in a Reconnoissance. Melas intrusts the continuance of the Siege to Ott.*

General Attack by the Austrians. Their success at first; in the end they are defeated. Repulse of the French at La Coronata. Repulse of Miollis. Success of Soult at Monte Creto. The defeated Division refuses to advance to his support. Second unsuccessful attack on Monte Creto. Soult is wounded and taken Prisoner Famine in Genoa. Popular Movements. Misery of the City. Bombardment. Vigilance of the Blockading Squadron. Brilliant exploit of Franceschi. The want of Food begins to be felt by the Soldiery. Experiments to produce a Substitute for Bread. They fail. Horrible condition of the Austrian Prisoners. Anxiety and excitement of the French. False hopes of Relief. Terms proposed. Massena wishes to cut his way out. The Plan rejected. Negociation. Favourable Terms. Summary of the Siege. Evacuation of the City. It is occupied by the British and Austrians. Examination of Buonaparte's Criticism on this Siege.

At the close of his last glorious campaign, Melas was left in entire possession of Italy. From Rome to Milan, from the Isonzo to the maritime Alps, the whole country had submitted to the Austrian arms, and such of the treasures and resources of Sardinia, of Tuscany, and of the Pontificate, which had escaped the ravages of war, were employed for the recruit and restoration of the troops which had delivered these fine countries from the yoke of France. The Cabinet of Vienna, more fond of winning than of restoring, earnestly sought and readily found sufficient pretexts to prevent the return of the rightful Sovereigns to their dominions. The unsettled state of public opinion, the acknowledged disaffection of many of the Provinces, personal hazard from conspiracies, and the impolicy of a premature restoration, which might create the necessity of a second abandonment, were powerful and unanswerable pleas; and each received additional strength as the approach of renewed hostilities became more decidedly evident. Under these circumstances the Grand Duke was content to remain at Vienna, the King of Sardinia at Florence, and the new Pope to possess, in seclusion at Venice, the airy and unsubstantial title to which he had been recently elected.

On the announcement of the death of Pius VI. the Cardinals, who had been dispersed during his imprisonment, assembled at Venice. There, in the little Isle occupied by the Monastery of St. George, they entered into Conclave in November 1799, under the protection of the Emperor. Their deliberations, always protracted, were, on this occasion, of more than customary length; for the tiara, however much its splendor was diminished, still continued to be an object of ambition to the wearer, and of political importance to that Court by the influence of which it was to be bestowed. One exception was found in the Holy College itself; and the Cardinal Bellisoni, after having obtained the requisite number of

voices, refused the seat of St. Peter, and contributed his own suffrage, and won over those of many of his brethren for Chiaromonti, Bishop of Imola, kinsman of the deceased Pontiff. At an early hour of the morning of the 13th of March, (so long had their debates continued) the choice of the Conclave was announced by the Chief Cardinal Deacon from the windows of the Convent of St. George; and the bells of the City and the artillery of the fleet and arsenal of Venice announced the accession of Pius VII. to the triple Crown. His coronation was solemnized on the 20th of the same month, with such attention to customary pomp as the impoverished coffers of the Holy See permitted in a foreign territory; and the new Head of the Church, (who brought comparative youth to the cares of a falling Sovereignty, for he had only recently entered upon his fifty-ninth year) was amused with the hope of entering upon possession of the Vatican.

Melas had at his disposal in Italy, scarcely less than 120,000 men. He was master of all the fortresses, from that of Bard in the valley of Aosta to Coni. The sea was open to him through the English: his supplies were plentifully and regularly furnished: and above all he had the reputation of victory. Nothing appeared beyond the power of his arms. The corps of emigrants, headed by the Prince of Condé, had quitted the service of Russia, and had engaged in that of England. It was now traversing the German Alps with the intention of embarking at Leghorn in Lord Keith's flotilla: and as soon as the approaching successes, which it was not doubted must attend the Austrian movements in the Ligurian range, permitted Melas to pass the Var, this band of faithful exiles was to form the *nucleus* of a fresh Royalist army in Provence. The most brilliant dreams of triumph played before the Austrians. Genoa and Nice seemed already won; Toulon was opened to the English arms, and the standards of the Imperialists floated in imagination on the Towers of Marseilles; while, before winter should close upon their career of victory, they were to be cantoned on the Rhone and the Durance.

With these objects in view Melas put himself in motion at the beginning of March. His cavalry, parks of reserve and heavy artillery, which, until he was able to pass the Var, would only have proved incumbrances, were left on the plains of Italy: 25,000 foot were placed under Generals Wucassowich, Laudon, Haddich and Kaim to guard the fortified places and debouches of the Splugen, Saint Gothard, the Simplon, Mont Cenis, Mont Genevre and Argentieres; and with the remainder himself approached the Ligurian Appennines. His right, under Baron Ulsnitz, marched on the Bormida. Field Marshal Ott advanced the left to Bobbio, and made a demonstration towards the coast by Sestri de Levante, both in order to deceive the French, and also to communicate with the English squadron. The centre was distributed in the neighbourhood of Acqui, at which place the Austrian General fixed his headquarters.

Seldom has there existed a stronger contrast between the condition of two hostile armies than that which the French presented with regard to the Austrians at the close of 1799. Beaten in the field, and expelled from all their garrisons but one, they occupied a line of 143 leagues for the most part on scarcely habitable mountains. Here, during the extremity of a severe winter, no less than five and twenty passes, each on an average requiring for its complete defence a force of 3000 men, were to be observed and protected; and for these and all other services, they never could present, in all, more than 60,000 firelocks and 2000 cavalry. From the close of September cloaks, accoutrements, shoes, and ammunition, had never been supplied. The hospitals contained 12,000 wounded. There were not horses enough for the conveyance of 20 pieces of artillery, and the military chest was drained to the last franc. On the mountains, without clothing, without fire, without tents, often without food, many expired from cold and hunger. In the few miserable villages which afforded a mockery of shelter to the rest, the soldier, after having pillaged the hovels of the unhappy peasants of the little spoil which they could afford, considered himself fortunate when he could obtain, in quarters, a fourth part of his ordinary rations. Such was the wretchedness of the army of which Massena had accepted the command.

The choice of this officer was in the highest degree politic. Exclusive of his high general military reputation, he brought with him recollections which could not fail to reanimate the drooping spirits of his comrades. Zurich was fresh in their memories; and they saw with delight the conqueror of that day once more at their head. The ground upon which they were again about to fight had heretofore been the path to victory, and it was no difficult task to persuade the buoyant and sanguine temper which distinguishes a French army, that the same country could not again be trodden without similar results. As the rigour of winter subsided, provisions and supplies were obtained with less difficulty. Marseilles, Toulon and Antibes were still open; and the change which these ports were enabled to effect from famine to comparative abundance, materially strengthened the confidence which the troops were already well inclined to repose in the new Civil Government. Their past sufferings were attributed to the tyranny of the extinguished Directory. The comforts which were now beginning to flow in upon them were the result of the paternal vigilance of the First Consul; whose principal anxiety was doubtless called forth by the wants of his faithful soldiers. All the intelligence which they received from the interior of France confirmed their impression of the vigour, the activity, and the skill of the great military Chief who now swayed the State: and in swelling the tide of general popularity upon which he was borne up, those were not likely to be the last who remembered him as their companion in arms.

In this feeling all bitterness arising from former privations and defeats was forgotten; and however inferior in position and in appointments, the French were preparedto meet their antagonists with an equal emulation, and scarcely with less confidence of victory. Their distribution was as follows: The left consisted of 12,000 men, in four divisions, under the command of Suchet. The three first respectively occupied Rocca Barbena; Settepani and Melagno; San Giacopo and Madonna: the last was in reserve at Fiscale, and upon the heights of San Pantaleone. Soult commanded 15,000 men in the centre, which had only three divisions. That of Gardanne defended Cadibona, Vado, Montelegino, and Savona, and extended its flanks to the heights of Stella. That of Gasan observed the passes in front and rear, and upon the Bochetta. That of Marbot was in reserve. Miollis, with the right, covered the eastern coast from Recco, by Monte Cornua to the Col de Toriglio, at the beginning of the valley of the Trebia. Five thousand men were left in reserve at Genoa itself, as the head-quarters; 4000 more, under Garnier, observed the defiles from Argentieres, which were still choked with snow, and protected the communication with Saorgio, Nice, Montalbano, Vintimiglia, and the batteries on the coast. In the course of March, Lord Keith, who commanded in the Mediterranean, had declared all the ports and coasts of the Republic of Genoa in a state of actual blockade, and had forbidden neutrals from trading on sixty leagues of coast from Vintimiglia to Sarsana. He continued to cruise before Genoa itself, and by his vigilance he rendered the communications with Provence, which had hitherto been little interrupted, precarious in the extreme.

Frequent skirmishes marked the approach of the Austrians; and as they advanced, the neighbouring peasants of the valley of Fontana Buona rose and joined them. The vengeance of the French was prompt and terrible. The division of Miollis entered the valley, burned and ravaged five of its villages, and seized hostages from the inhabitants.

Genoa, the city of Palaces, rises over a vast semicircular tract of crags, rocks, and declivities, which crown the harbour below, and is backed by an almost inaccessible branch of the Appennines detached above the Bochetta. It is surrounded by a double wall. The interior incloses the town, and is about six miles in circuit. It is well planned and strongly flanked: on the south it is bounded by the sea, and extends from the mouth of the Polcevera to that of the Bisagno. The west side commands the valley of the first of these rivers, in which is situated the suburb of San Pietro d'Arena. The east side, in turn, is itself commanded by Monte Ratti and Monte Faccio, and was therefore defended by three outwarks: Quezzi, an unfinished fort upon Monte Valpura, Richelieu upon the Manego, and Santa Tecla between Monte Albaro and La Madonna del Monte. These two sides meet in an acute angle at Fort Eperon; beyond which is a level, called Deux Freres, com-

manded by another fort, Diamant, about three-quarters of a mile distant. The outer wall includes a much more extensive range; it is skilfully laid out, and embracing the neighbouring hills, surrounds an area of little less than thirteen miles. Each of these ramparts was well lined with artillery, and the arsenals were abundantly stocked with all kinds of ammunition. On the northern and western sides the town is secure from bombardment; and until the three outworks on the east have fallen, no attempt can be made on that quarter. Genoa had long and closely adhered to the alliance of France; and her policy was as much dictated by interest as by inclination. If she had declared against the Republic, she would have found a dangerous neighbour in the great naval arsenal of Toulon; and the sums which she had been compelled to lend, and for which she faithfully continued to receive interest, if not wholly forfeited, would at least have been much endangered by any shew of resistance. This spirit of calculation had opened her gates to the French at an early date of the Revolution. The Austrians had never been popular, and the dislike of the people to the Imperial Court had been carefully fomented by the Senate since the convention of Montebello. At the period of which we are treating, Genoa, in the spirit of its Government, in its political opinions, and in its popular attachments, was devoted to the cause of France.

The possession of this city was the great object to which the hopes of the Belligerents were for the present directed in Italy. To the Emperor, if he could once attain it, it opened the key of the maritime Alps and of Swisserland. To the French, on the other hand, it was the sole rallying point which remained on the south of the Alps; it afforded means for effecting a powerful diversion, and it was a secure and convenient depôt for any army destined to act in Piedmont. Italy was not wholly lost to the one, nor was it wholly gained by the other, while Genoa remained in the hands of its present masters.

For ten days before the commencement of open hostilities, the Austrians were actively employed in mustering and reviewing their forces, and in reconnoitring the positions of their enemy. At length, on the fifth of April, they made a partial attack with varied success, and on the following day the attack became more general. The Austrians moved simultaneously from the principal *debouches* of that chain of the Appennines which extends from the frontiers of Tuscany to the French Alps. The first division of the French was driven from Monte Cornua and the posts in its neighbourhood; General Ott, victorious on all points, occupied Monte Faccio and Monte Ratti, and invested the three forts of Quezzi, Richelieu, and Santa Tecla. The posts occupied by the French second division were forced back, in like manner, by very superior numbers; and the third division also, after a murderous conflict of three hours, was compelled to retreat upon Cadibana. On this point an ineffectual attempt was made to rally. The Austrians, availing themselves of their first success,

poured on with such haste and impetuosity, that the village was carried as soon as it was attacked. Soult here, by an act of great personal bravery, preserved the fugitives from entire destruction. He had made a forced march from Cornegliano on the preceding night, and arrived on the field of battle only to witness the discomfiture of his comrades. Springing forward into the hottest of the fire, he seized a standard, and rushed on to meet the Austrian charge. He was speedily followed; and though his Adjutant-general fell by his side at the moment, for a while he arrested the progress of the conquerors. The approaches to Savona were disputed inch by inch, till pressed both in flank and rear, Soult at last was compelled to retreat. The troops of both armies entered the suburbs of Savona together, and skirmished in its streets till evening. The French then remained masters of the town during the greater part of the night; they strengthened the garrison of the citadel both by men and provisions, of which latter it stood in great need, and finally retired upon Vareggio, in order to cover Genoa. The day was sanguinary, for the fight in most parts had been hand to hand; the bayonet, the butts of muskets, and even stones had been much more employed than firearms. Many men fell on both sides, and the result of the attack was the intersection of the French army, and the separation of Suchet on the left from the main body.

During the heat of this contest, an English frigate approached the great and populous suburb of Carignano, into which it threw several shots. The hills surrounding the town blazed through the night with the fires of the Austrian bivouacs; the tocsin was rung in all the neighbouring vallies, and every method was employed to impress the inhabitants with terror, and, if possible, to rouse them to insurrection. The safety of the French army depended in great measure upon the tranquillity of the citizens of Genoa; and it was highly important to Massena, that they should be relieved from the alarm of immediate danger, and should recover their confidence in his protection, before he undertook operations which might require a temporary absence from the town. The night, therefore, was spent in preparations to recover the posts which had been lost. Ott had advanced too precipitately from the main body of the Austrians, and a brilliant and rapid movement of Miollis in his rear, early on the following morning, deprived him of the hard won laurels of the former day. Monte Faccio and Monte Ratti were reoccupied by the French, who triumphantly escorted into Genoa, once more relieved from its feuds, the fruits of a success which had been little anticipated by the terrified burghers. Fifteen hundred prisoners, among whom was Baron d'Aspres, (one of the best Generals of the Austrian army, who had been taken, after a gallant resistance, at the head of his own regiment;) several pieces of cannon, and seven stand of colours, were eagerly hailed as substantial testimonies of victory.

Suchet, on the same day, was attacked by the Austrian General Ulsnitz. The position of Mount

St. Giacomo and its neighbouring heights had been previously turned, and the assault was now so well concerted that the French commander, if he had resisted farther, must have been deprived of all hope of at any time regaining his interrupted communications. The only retreat open to him for the present was on France; and, in order to secure this, he took the line of the Borghetta, retiring upon La Pietra and Loano. The French division at Rocca Barbena maintained its ground, and repulsed the Austrians beyond the Tanaro.

Massena was now unwilling to confine himself to his original line of defence, and determined to anticipate the attacks which he must otherwise apprehend from the Austrians. Having confided the defence of Genoa and its approaches to Miollis, he put two divisions of his army in motion to compass three essential objects; to raise the blockade of Savona, to re-establish his communication with Suchet, and to resume his first line of posts. For these purposes Soult marched on Voltri, and Massena himself on Montenotte. Thence uniting on the west of the Appennines, they were to force the Austrian centre and bear down on the right towards Savona and Vado. The project was well concerted, and might have been completely successful but for a counter-movement of the Austrians at the same moment. The short period during which Melas had been permitted to retain the outposts which he had forced with so much difficulty, had sufficiently assured him of the activity of his opponent; and he resolved to meet him with corresponding promptitude. It was true that he had carried the chief point which he had proposed to himself in the outset, and had separated one body of the French army from the remainder; but in order to prevent the assumption of offensive operations by his enemy, it was necessary to invest Genoa more closely, and to contract the fearful interval of fourteen leagues, which removed his left from his centre. To facilitate these movements Count Hohanzollern was ordered to attack and occupy the Bochetta; an important service which he performed with distinguished gallantry. Hence he was instructed to move to the right of Marcorolo, and to effect his junction with the centre near Voltri.

These opposite movements took place simultaneously on the morning of the 9th; on the 10th, Soult having reached, and being prepared to quit Voltri, learned that the flankers of Hohanzollern were already within three miles of his position, he advanced on Marcorolo to meet them, and a body of 3000 men awaited him and accepted battle. The result was favourable to the French. The Austrians were successively driven from each eminence which they occupied, with considerable loss. Two pieces of cannon and 600 prisoners remained in the hands of the victors; and the remainder of their opponents were destroyed or dispersed in the marshes about the torrent de la Proto. This successful combat saved the rear of the French, but like all partial actions it deranged the general plan; and however unavoidable in

itself, it prevented Soult from assisting in those operations which Massena had arranged for the succeeding day.

Soult, continued to push forward in the direction of Sassello. Here he again overthrew a considerable Austrian division, forming the rear-guard of General St. Julien. Three pieces of cannon, 600 prisoners, and a large convoy, were his prize, but he was again delayed by his success.

St. Julien had been despatched to take the French right in flank, and had arrived at Verreria, when he learned the discomfiture of his rear. This loss paralyzed his operations. Separated from his own centre he had no retreat but by Ponte Ivica, through La Galera, or over Monte Notte by Santa Justina. On the former of these defiles he was attacked and defeated on the 11th, by a division under Mouton, with the loss of seven standards and 2000 prisoners. The action was renewed on the mountain L'Eremita, and here the French, fatigued by the former combat, were in the face of superior numbers. In many places they waded up to their knees in snow; and they were dispirited by consciousness of comparative weakness, and by the want of provisions and ammunition. The appearance of General Fressinet, who had been despatched by Massena to Soult's assistance, decided this bloody engagement in favour of the French, almost at the very moment of their defeat. Fressinet after a march of five hours, gained a wood on the left of the field, and here kept in play an Austrian column which was endeavouring to gain the rear of the French. The fire of his musquetry assured Soult of the support he so much needed, and enabled him to rally his troops. When they had again formed, Fressinet *debouched* from a wood behind which he had hitherto masked his fire, and the bayonet rapidly decided the contest.

During these successful operations on his right, Massena had been by no means equally fortunate. On the 10th he impatiently expected the arrival of Soult, but in spite of his delay he resolved upon advance. The army moved in two columns. That on the left was led by Massena himself. It consisted of not more than 1500 men, who on approaching La Stella found themselves in the presence of several columns of the enemy, marching immediately in their front. These were the divisions of Brentano and Bellegarde, forming the left and centre of the Austrians. They rapidly extended themselves upon the heights, crowning all the eminences with their troops, opening a most destructive fire, and repeatedly charging. The hope of Soult's appearance determined Massena to defend his ground while there seemed to be the least chance of ultimately maintaining it; and it was not until an engagement of eight hours endurance had thinned his scanty force, and he perceived to a certainty that his position was already turned, that he determined upon retreat. Leaving the conduct of this movement to General Fressinet, who had not yet been ordered to unite with Soult, he himself endeavoured to re-

join his right. His pass lay over frightful precipices among an irritated peasantry, whose knives were raised against every straggling Frenchman whom they encountered. Almost all his officers were wounded. Three only of his personal staff were left about him; and himself bitterly affected by his dangers and his losses, in vain sought death in the most hazardous part of the battle. One Brigade-General out of two, two Adjutant-Generals out of three, and three Aides-de-camp out of five, had fallen almost by his side, and his repeated exclamations were, "Is there no ball for me?" —"Will death have nothing to do with me to-day?"

With the utmost difficulty he succeeded in falling back upon the positions which he had occupied in the morning, on the mountains behind Varaggio; and there, finding himself on the left flank of his pursuers, he made a demonstration which checked their progress. At night-fall all his troops were posted in front of Cogoletto, and here he conceived a plan of unusual boldness, to quit the coast, lean towards the right, and having discovered the route of Soult, with whose operations he was still unacquainted, but whom he could scarcely fail to meet in that direction, to effect a junction with the force under that General. Then he intended either to manœuvre on the different divisions of the Austrians, or else, having united himself with his centre and right wing, to fall back in one body for the defence of Genoa. The night, it was calculated, would allow four hours of concealment, in which he might gain upon the Austrians, and these four hours were enough to ensure the success of his enterprize.

Two in the morning was the hour fixed for breaking up; but at the appointed moment the Chiefs of divisions represented the utter impossibility of effecting any movement till sunrise. They had been unable, it seems, to make their regiments form. Many of the soldiers had already taken the road across the mountains to Genoa; the rest were harassed and famished; and no certainty could be obtained that any of them would follow. At day-break these reports were fully confirmed. Little order prevailed among the ranks, and the whole morning passed away before the divisions could be mustered. Then it was, that Massena, unable to complete his original design, yet perceiving the necessity of reinforcing Soult, determined himself to remain at Cogoletto, and to detach General Fressinet on that service. Before mid-day on the 11th this division was on its march. An Austrian column filed off in the same direction at the same moment, and during a passage of four miles the two bodies were moving on parallel eminences within cannon shot of each other. Fressinet's object was, as much as possible, to cover his march, and by favour of the mountains he at length escaped the notice of the Austrians. The result of his seasonable appearance during the engagement at L'Eremita has already been detailed.

The Austrians soon perceived the weakness of the division which

remained on the left, and profiting by Fressinet's departure they commenced a brisk attack upon Cogoletto soon after he had quitted it. The French were posted on the right bank of the river which flows by that village. They were soon turned, and their retreat upon their reserve quickly became a rout. Every effort to rally them was ineffectual. From the beach they were annoyed by the cannonade of a flotilla of English gun-boats, by which all their movements had been observed; and their confusion was increased by a vigorous charge of a division of the Szeckler hussars. At one time a whole demi-brigade was put to flight by five-and-forty cavalry. Massena then placed himself at the head of the few officers about him, and while endeavouring to lead his troops back was surrounded and cut off. It was with considerable difficulty, and not without some loss, that Oudinot succeeded in disengaging the Commander-in-chief. One officer, Coutant, having pressed too forward to the rescue, escaped by riding boldly through the boats with which the beach was covered. The troops in the end were rallied, and took post at Arenzano.

Still no advices had been received from Soult. Six officers had been despatched in succession to inform him of Massena's retrograde movement. Not one of them had reached his destination. Some lost their way and wandered among the mountains; others were betrayed by their guides, or intercepted by the Austrian posts. It became necessary during this suspense that Massena should not be inactive. Offensive operations, on however small a scale, were peremptorily demanded. If Soult had been successful, they would assist his progress; if he had been beaten, they would facilitate his retreat.

That General, meantime, had continued in almost constant action. L'Eremita had been attacked and regained by the Austrians after the battle of the 11th; but the position was too important to be yielded without an additional struggle. On the 12th Generals Fressinet and Poinsot were ordered to retake it. As they advanced up the height their ammunition failed. Soult made a virtue of necessity, and issued an order which under pain of death forbade the firing a single shot. His instructions were scrupulously obeyed, and the post was carried by the bayonet, in spite of the difficulties of approach from the depth of the snow, and the disposition of the numerous crags, which at almost every step formed, as it were, a retrenchment for the defenders. The positions in front were gained, but those on the back defied all efforts, and the assailants were repulsed from them at every successive attempt with considerable loss.

The 13th and 14th were passed by all parties in manœuvres. On the 15th Massena observed a strong column inclining towards the left of La Stella, and disappearing among the defiles of the mountains. Wishing to prevent the completion of this movement, which evidently was directed against Soult, he ordered Oudinot to attack in the direction of Savona; meaning to follow up any

success, if it should prove decisive, but on no account intending to hazard a general action. The Austrians were picked troops, and they speedily drove back the enemy. Massena, who had posted himself in reserve, advanced to the assistance of his own men, and checked the pursuit. A fire of musquetry was continued during the remainder of the day; in the evening the original positions were resumed, and the French transferred themselves to the front of Varaggio.

On this day also, for the first time during his present expedition, fortune had proved treacherous to Soult. The peculiarity of his position, the want of bread, the failure of ammunition, and the movements of the Austrian army, compelled him to risk the chance of a general engagement. The Austrians were in possession of Sassello, whence his rear was threatened, and were retrenching themselves strongly at Moglia and Ponte Ivica. To retake the first town, and to force their enemy's works, were the two objects of the French, and all that bravery could compass was effected by them. The Austrians were superior in numbers, in position, and in resources, yet if victory was never doubtful, it was never easily to be won; and it seemed as if the obstinacy of the assailants increased in the same proportion with the very disadvantages under which they attacked. Fressinet was twice wounded, and the loss on both sides was larger than in any previous engagement of this campaign. In the end the French retired upon their first position.

Retreat was now inevitable; the horrors of famine were rapidly increasing, and superior numbers as rapidly gathering round. With the hope of amusing the Austrians, and of diverting pursuit, a feint was made upon Sassello; but the necessities of the French were evident, and Bellegarde was not deceived. He made dispositions for an attack, and having directed a column to file off towards Varaggio, by which he must, without doubt, outflank his enemy, he addressed a summons of surrender to the French Commander, grounding his proposal upon their well known want both of provisions and cartridges, and upon the superiority of the Austrian force by which he was blocked in. Soult's reply to this flag deserves remembrance. "With bayonets, and men who know how to use them, nothing is wanting." This firmness overawed Bellegarde, whom confidence had also rendered negligent. He carelessly omitted to occupy a position in the rear of Verreria, the possession of which would have rendered hopeless any attempted junction between the two divisions of the French. Soult perceived his error, and under the protection of a thick fog drew back his troops upon this advantageous line. He thus outflanked the left of the Austrians, and covered Voltri. During four hours, till ten in the evening, the opposing forces were within short gunshot of each other, and an action appeared unavoidable. It was not, however, the interest of the French to provoke an engagement, and the Austrians deemed their enemy's position too formidable and imposing to be attempted

without farther preparation. Under cover of night, the French, overpowered with hunger, and scarcely able to proceed from excess of fatigue, were still kept in continued motion. They drew off without molestation through Larca and Arenzano, and before reaching the last of these places, were united with Massena's own division, which with similar good fortune had effected its retreat from Cogoletto. About noon of the 17th, the two divisions took up a position at Voltri, where for the first time for many days they enjoyed a short repose, and received provisions and ammunition. Massena departed for Genoa, to which place his return had become imperiously necessary, and the command in the field devolved upon Soult, who had added fresh laurels to his former high reputation, by the skill, bravery and patience, which he had displayed in the course of this brilliant expedition.

The military policy of halting at Voltri has been questioned, since it presented no advantageous defences; but there were many reasons which decided the French General in his choice. It was doubtful, from the distressed condition of the troops, whether an orderly retreat could have been continued farther, and the first appearance of insubordination or confusion would have been the signal for utter destruction. A small quantity of corn was still left in the town, and hopes were entertained that a still larger convoy might be secured by an unexpected *coup de main* on Portodino: which, in spite of his dangers and necessities, the active and vigorous spirit of Massena had projected as an episode to his retreat; and which it is most probable would have been completely successful, if the superiority of the Austrians in numbers had not permitted them, without losing a moment, to act at once on every quarter.

With the intention of cutting off all farther retreat upon Genoa, Melas on the morning of the 18th led one division to Sestri, which was intended to force the French right, and then attack it in rear; while a second division, under Bellegarde, occupied the troops in front of Voltri. The attack in front was vigorously effected. The Austrian charges were too impetuous to be resisted, although the ground was contested most bravely and bloodily. The bridge of Voltri was more than once gained and lost by the assailants. The entire rear-guard of the French at one time was captured; it was afterwards recovered, and in its turn made several prisoners. But the French in the end were beaten on all sides. The right was thrown into disorder, the left gave ground, and the centre was speedily surrounded. If the movement projected by Melas himself had been performed with sufficient rapidity, not a portion of the vanquished could have escaped; but the French on arriving at Sestri found no enemy to oppose their retreat. During the night fresh troops poured in who had escaped from different parts of the field. Many stragglers were lost amid the precipices; and some who had kept together in larger bodies, were engaged with the Austrians as they passed along the heights, on which the

battle was continued by the uncertain glare of torches. Mouton, whom we have before seen distinguished for his valour, held out with the centre during the night. He had been early cut off from the remainder of the army, and being prevented from receiving orders, he considered that obstinate resistance was the only course agreeing with his honour. His firmness materially assisted the retreat of his comrades; and towards midnight, after terrible conflicts, a heavy loss, and the capture of his standard, he succeeded in extricating himself and rejoining the main body. The heights of St. Andrea and Polcevera received the fugitives.

The farther operations of Suchet and Miollis remain to be mentioned before we proceed to Genoa, which may now be considered in a state of blockade. After the action of the 15th before Savona, Massena, anxious to communicate with Suchet, had employed Oudinot on this difficult and dangerous mission. The Captain of a privateer undertook to convey to Loano this distinguished officer, upon whom peril acted only as an additional incentive; and after a few hours sail, he escaped the vigilance of the English cruizers, and delivered his orders. He found Suchet still actively employed, and prepared to second the movements of the Commander-in-Chief by a vigorous diversion. On the morning after the loss of his posts at Sette Pani and San Giacomo, he had made able dispositions to recover them. Notwithstanding his inequality of force, he held as an incontrovertible military principle, that defence alone was never to be adopted in a mountainous campaign; but that a series of petty movements and unremitting attacks, though not always successful, must contribute to the perpetual disquiet and annoyance of his enemy, and therefore must disconcert his plans, and forbid the pursuit of any systematic design.

With these views he fortified the heights of St. Spirito, behind Borghetto, as a *point d'appui* in case of discomfiture; and on the 10th he recovered, after desperate fighting, chiefly at the point of the bayonet, amid frightful snows and projecting rocks which concealed the opponents from each other till they joined hand to hand, the redoubts of Melogna and Sette Pani. Eighteen hundred prisoners, among whom were 55 officers, remained in the hands of the French, but the Austrians were not to be driven from the upper platform of St. Giacomo. Suchet continued to strengthen and advance his posts as occasion offered, and awaited some favourable opportunity which might permit him to strike a more decisive blow He had scarcely 5000 disposable men under his command, and his opponent Ulsnitz, with very much greater numbers, occupied a position difficult of access, strongly protected on the land side, and so scarped as to be impregnable towards the sea. The French General was well aware of the difficulties of his situation, and the little chance of success, which his own inferiority of means presented. But the orders of Massena required a prompt and direct effort, which might effectually call off the full attention of the Austrians, and an attack upon the

formidable works occupied by Ulsnitz was accordingly planned for the 19th.

That General having received considerable reinforcements, had fixed the same day for the recovery of his outposts. While quitting his retrenchments he was met by an unexpected attack, and so vigorous was it, that he at first was compelled to give way. The French General Compans, though severely wounded, penetrated into and stormed the Austrian line. After great effusion of blood, the tri-coloured standard was twice planted on the summit of St. Giacomo, and as many times it was overthrown. Ulsnitz had brought up his reserve, and the French in turn gave way with tremendous slaughter. Not less than a fifth of Suchet's whole force lay dead upon the field, and he was reluctantly compelled to preserve the remainder by a hasty retreat upon Melogna, San Pantaleone and Borgo Finale.

The troops which had been left in Genoa and its immediate vicinity, under the command of Miollis, had been almost daily engaged during the absence of Massena, and for the most part with success. The heights of Torriglia had been attacked by the Austrians on the 9th. Their column was surrounded, and lost 300 prisoners. On the same day the French were dislodged from their post at Bochetta. St. Martino d'Albaro was successfully defended on the 14th. Here Brun, who acted as Chief of Brigade, received a ball through the right arm; but he would neither quit the field nor even permit the wound to be dressed till the close of the action. On the 17th the line between the forts Diamant and Richelieu was thrice attacked. The assailants were not only repulsed, but they lost their own post of Monte Croce. Not the least difficult part of Miollis's duty had been to repress the increasing spirit of discontent which naturally prevailed in Genoa, as the terrors of a siege, and the pressure of scarcity became more immediate. However strongly the majority of inhabitants were attached to the French, there was still a party, and that not a small one, whose abhorrence of the yoke of the Republic had been distinctly manifested; and who were restrained from shaking it off only by the arm of power. The rich groaned under perpetual requisitions. All monies found in the Post Office and the Banks had been seized after loans had ceased to be productive; and scanty indeed was the sum, not exceeding 100,000 livres, which this act of unprincipled violence produced. The Ligurian Government had been suspended; and a French deputation invested with the fullest powers, both Civil and military, supplied its place. All corn and biscuit which could be discovered was conveyed to the public granaries, there placed under a strong guard, and doled out in inconsiderable ratios. The rabble murmured at the necessary preference which the soldiery demanded and received in this dispensation of failing supplies; and the Austrians found ready agents, (and one among them, Assereto, not more ready than powerful,) whom distress or disgust brought over to their support.

The fifteen days of warfare

which we have been recounting, had cost the French a third of the brave men who were engaged in them. The army, now compelled to restrain itself to the single defence of Genoa, was formed into two divisions and a reserve. The first was given to Miollis, and ranged on the eastern side from the sea to Deux Freres. The second, under Gauzan, was posted on the western side, occupying St. Pietro d'Arena, the left bank of the Polcevera as far as Rivarolo, and connected on its right with the advanced posts of Deux Freres. The reserve was quartered in the City itself. The strictest rules of discipline were laid down, and in order to secure the active employment of every Frenchman under arms, each Citizen was employed as a cannoneer, and had a fixed post assigned to him at the batteries. The Italian refugees within the walls were formed into a legion, and to this were appended some hundreds of Poles who had been taken prisoners in the Austrian ranks, and who obtained their liberty at the price of serving against their former masters.

It is from the 21st of April that the formal investment of Genoa may be dated. The position still occupied by the French, rendered its entire blockade a matter of no slight difficulty, and Melas could have little reason to expect that troops which had hitherto resisted with such obstinate perseverance, were now likely to afford him an easier conquest. His great hope was founded in the misery which was known to reign within the walls, and the little chance that any effectual relief could be afforded from France, before the extremities of want should render a capitulation necessary to preserve the unhappy remnant of the famishing garrison. The streets of Genoa were every where placarded with addresses, which his agents sedulously distributed, and the citizens eagerly perused. By these the Genoese were assured, that the object of the Austrian invasion was not conquest, but the restoration of liberty; that to shake off the French yoke, to respect property, and to defend religion, were the first wishes of the Emperor. A provisional Government was promised, selected from the wisest and most virtuous natives, and established under the guarantee of the victorious army. Freedom to their ports, and protection to their commerce, were held out as boons consequent upon their adherence to the Imperial cause. This was the only refuge which they could now fly to from the miseries which they had so long sustained, but which under other auspices would soon give place to abundance and tranquillity; for the Austrians did not more declare themselves the conquerors of the foes of Genoa, than the patrons and supporters of the Genoese.

Massena replied by charging the Austrians with attempts upon the fidelity of his followers, and by bitterly inveighing against Assereto, whom he stigmatized as a deserter, treacherously seeking to enslave his country under those masters to whom he had bartered his own honour. He spoke of his own resources, of the certainty of speedy relief from

France, and of the approach of the First Consul. To prove his own determination to resist to the uttermost, he printed a copy of the answer which he had sent to a summons from Melas *, and in conclusion, he pointed out the several reasons which had induced the Cabinet of Vienna to make large sacrifices for the attainment of Genoa. These, he added, were vengeance for the brave resistance offered to her invasion in 1746, and jealousy of a rival commerce. But his arms, he concluded, should avert this prospect of destruction, and the cause of Liguria should ever be inseparable from that of France.

Melas, unwilling himself to abide the tedious, though not uncertain progress of a wasting blockade, when a more active field was open to his powers, determined upon entrusting this service to General Ott, and placed 40,000 men at his disposal. Before, however, any division of his forces should take place, he wished to strengthen the besieging army by bringing its line of posts within a narrower compass. This was not to be done without driving in the enemy. Long before dawn on the morning of the 23d, a general attack was commenced, in appearance, on the whole outworks from Bisagno on the east, to the Polcevera and San Pietro d'Arena on the west. This last point was the true object of attack, and in order to divert the attention of the besieged, a feint was at the same time made on the fort of Deux Freres. The regiment of Nadasti by sunrise had fully accomplished the task committed to it. It penetrated through some gardens in front of S. Pietro, surprised and drove back the battalions by which it was garrisoned, and availed itself skilfully of this advantage to attack the rear of a position on the coast. These gallant troops, however, were but ill supported. They were too far advanced to maintain themselves singly, and assailed on all sides by a superior force, they were driven back in confusion, or compelled to lay down their arms. The attacks on Deux Freres and Bisagno were intended only as diversions, and occasioned nothing more than a useless effusion of blood.

After this unavailing reconnoissance, Melas, with one-third of his infantry, and the greater part of his cavalry, drew off, to effect a junction with the force opposed to Suchet. The narrative of his farther operations in that part of the theatre of war must be postponed for the present, for the deep interest of the memorable siege in which we are now engaged would be much diminished, if it were presented to the reader otherwise than as a whole.

The week succeeding the attack of the 23rd was passed in comparative repose. Massena was busied in regulations of internal police, in fruitless endeavours to diminish the pressure of famine, and to encourage the drooping

* "*Monsieur le Général, j'ai reçu la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'ecrire, par laquelle vous m'offrez une capitulation honorable. Je ne suis pas encore en cette extremité ; il me reste assez de troupes pour vous prouver que je puis me defendre, quand même le Général Suchet serait battu, ce que j'ai bien de la peine à croire.*"

spirits of the inhabitants, and in more fortunate attempts to maintain his communications with the other divisions of the French army. He despatched frequent missions, and some of them with success, to acquaint the First Consul with his critical situation; and he had the good fortune to secure the return of Oudinot from his perilous expedition to Suchet. The intelligence which he brought had little in it that was consolatory. He had been present at the hard fought action of the 19th, and he confirmed the defeat of the French, which report had already been more than whispered within the walls of Genoa. It was little in accordance, however, with the policy of Massena, to permit this report to gain strength. He profited by Oudinot's arrival to announce a victory. Instead of the loss of 1000 men, which Suchet was believed to have suffered, the capture of 300 prisoners was claimed for him. He was said to have received and to continue to receive daily reinforcements. The armies of the Rhine and of Reserve were already in motion; the latter was preparing to enter Italy; Mont Cenis was retaken, Savona was provisioned, and in less than fifteen days Liguria was to be wholly delivered from the presence of the enemy!

The first general attack concerted by Ott and Hohenzollern, after the departure of Melas, took place on the last day of April. Military observers have remarked, that in its leading features it strongly resembled the attack on the 13th of June, 1746, when Schulemberg commanded the besiegers, and Boufflers the besieged. It was two in the morning when the firing commenced from all the batteries and gun-boats. The advanced posts of the French were driven in, and numerous columns, supported by bodies of reserve, pressed on from every side. Monte Rati and Fort Quezzi were carried. Fort Richlieu was invested. In the village of S. Martino d'Abaro, the Austrians, establishing themselves in the houses of the outskirts, poured murderous vollies of musketry from the windows, and the little garrison fled in disorder. The General in Chief, whose exertions were unremitting, and who was always to be found in the post of greatest need and danger, succeeded in rallying them: but about the same moment the position of Deux Freres was forced by a vigorous and unexpected assault. This important post commanded the works on Fort Eperon, and afforded an advantageous site for the attack on Fort Diamant. The defence of the last had been committed to Bertrand, (afterwards so well known for his attachment and fidelity to Buonaparte), who resolutely maintained his post, though four times summoned by Hohenzollern, with the threat of being put to the sword in case of refusal. St. Pietro was next carried, and the tide of victory till late after mid-day, every where set strongly in favour of the Imperialists. A severe storm which raged during the whole engagement did not diminish the ardour of the combatants, and the artillery both from the land-batteries and the English flotillas which skirted the coast, continued to thunder in defiance of heavy torrents of rain.

Massena early perceived that his defences were most vulnerable on the east, and that the occupation of Deux Freres (which already had been won) and of Madonna del Monte, which the Austrians were preparing to attack, were, notwithstanding the show of general assault, their real objects, preparatory to a bombardment of the town from these spots. Bringing up his reserves he determined, therefore, to attack in turn. After a series of dreadful conflicts, the forts which had been lost in the early part of the day were severally recovered, and the French remained masters of the field, and of 1600 prisoners. The citizens, who in the morning had seen the Imperial troops established under their walls, before nightfall counted 2000 of them dead; and after an alternation of fortune which has rarely occurred in the same day, victory completely inclined on the side of the besieged.

The same success was not obtained on the 2d of May, when Massena wished to follow up his advantage, and dashed at the artillery and magazines which the Austrians had collected, especially at La Coronata. He was every were repulsed, his Staff suffered severely, and he himself was in frequent hazard of his own personal safety. Till the 11th, little more than the ordinary occurrences of a siege took place. The batteries occasionally were opened, and the flotillas threw their bombs, but no other progress was made by the assailants than that which the diminution of provisions within the walls was tacitly effecting. The distresses of the garrison were materially increased during this interval by the destruction of an aqueduct which supplied most of the mills with water: it was cut off by the armed peasantry: in six days, by the ingenuity of the French engineers, mills, driven by horses, were constructed; and the want was most ably, though, after all, but partially supplied.

Salvoes of artillery from the Austrian lines on the morning of the 10th, announced that Melas had defeated Suchet, and Ott formally communicated the distressing intelligence to his enemy. Massena replied on the following morning by a vigorous sortie. One division, under Miollis, attacked Monte Faccio in front, while Soult, with another, was instructed to turn it. The first attempt failed; after a slight advantage in the beginning, the French were driven back upon the Sturla. The outposts were piled with bodies of the combatants, but the Austrians forming in close column chased the attacking party down the heights, and though the reserves moved forward to their support, all attempt to rally them was fruitless. Soult was more fortunate. By the route of Olmo, Prato, and the bank of the Bisagno, he stormed the camp of Monte Creto, and with little more than 5000 men he gained the rear of the Austrians by a bold and decisive march, which led him four leagues from the gates of Genoa. His advanced guard under D'Arnaud, after surmounting a variety of obstacles, had already climbed the summit of El Becco. With a single ladder they had crossed more than one profound and steep ravine under a destructive fire; and for two hours they found

themselves unsupported, at a distance from their main division, and in the face of an enemy unfatigued and greatly exceeding them in number. The seasonable arrival of Soult put an end to this period of danger, and changed the probable fortune of the day. He formed three close columns, and sounding the charge, rushed on both flanks of the Austrian post at once, and threw it instantly into confusion. Every thing was won in a moment. Pressed by the bayonet the fugitives cast themselves from frightful precipices, or laid down their arms. More than 1000 prisoners were captured on this position.

A singular instance of generous military feeling is related to have occurred during this action. Before the commencement of the campaign, when Massena first assumed the command of the army of Italy, disorganized by misery, the 24th regiment of the line had manifested strong symptoms of mutiny, and was dishonoured by very frequent desertions. The 25th light infantry, in which discipline had been far better maintained, was ordered to disarm the suspected troops, who in consequence had sworn hatred and vengeance against their comrades. The chance of battle placed these two regiments in close connection with each other during the movements against Monte Faccio; and joining ranks they fought as one body, distinguished from each other only by an honourable rivalry of valour.

After the repulse of Miollis, Massena had no direct communication with Soult, and it was with considerable difficulty, and after a long interval, that he could prevail upon the flying troops to form on S. Martino d'Abaro. Here wine was furnished and ammunition distributed to them; nevertheless, when ordered to resume an offensive position, which was judged necessary for the support of Soult, whatever might have been his fortune, deep murmurs were heard through the ranks, and unequivocal symptoms of disobedience were visible. Their officers and the Staff of the Commander in Chief were insulted and reviled, and it was not till Massena himself appeared, and with unshaken firmness seized and punished the ringleaders summarily, that order could be restored. They then advanced and covered the retrograde movement of Soult, who fell back with 1500 prisoners as a testimony of his success.

The victory of this day procured some scanty supplies of cattle and vegetables, but grain was still wanting, nor was there any hope of procuring it but by obtaining a more distant range from the walls. The condition of the troops demanded a short repose, but on the morning of the 13th they were again led out to action. The importance of the intrenched camp of Monte Creto, as the key of the whole Austrian line, had been ascertained in the last engagement during its short occupation by Soult, and it was upon this, accordingly, that the grand attack of the French was directed. It was a last effort, suggested by Soult himself, and however desperate, it was not without a chance of compelling Ott to raise the siege. Ott, on the other hand, equally sensible of the great value of this

position, and perhaps apprehensive of the enemy's design, had concentrated a large part of his troops in its immediate neighbourhood. In the opening of the attack the Austrians gave ground, and, after a slow advance and continual fighting, the divisions which composed Soult's advanced guard reached the desired post, which they found defended by numerous field-works, manned by a line of fresh battalions, and supported by large bodies in reserve. Soult himself, with the main force of his division, had climbed the mountain of Aspino, notwithstanding a vigorous resistance, and found himself in a posture to assist the attack of Monte Creto by a movement in flank. Gautier, with the advanced guard, was already engaged, and had carried some redoubts, when Hohenzollern in person led the reserve to the charge: the shock was dreadful, the soldiers fought hand to hand; Gautier fell, and his men gave way in disorder. They were supported by the second line, which penetrated to the camp, and fired the barracks before it was repulsed. At this moment Soult was advancing to the rally when a ball broke his right leg; the ground was naturally steep, and had been rendered more than usually slippery by the violence of a storm which raged during the greater part of the action. It was one of those unexpected tempests by which mountainous ranges are sometimes desolated. Torrents of rain deluged the heights, and a thick darkness, broken only by the lightning, almost removed the opposed troops from each other's view, though scarcely farther distant than the bayonet's point. Drenched and wearied, sliding at every step, and without power to protect their arms from moisture, the soldiers were unable either to renew the fight or to rescue their wounded General, and he remained in the hands of the Austrians. Under cover of the storm fresh divisions of Imperialists had marched along the vallies. The French had been engaged on the right with equal ill-success, and it was with defeat on all sides, an appalling loss, and a broken spirit, that they sheltered themselves from pursuit within the walls of their beleaguered city.

This was the last engagement without the defences; and little now remains but to describe the wretchedness which was found within. In his three great actions Massena had lost a third of his remaining force, most of his superior officers were disabled, and his second in command, in himself a host, was wounded and prisoner. Savona had fallen. No supplies could reach the town by sea or land. Wine and brandy at first were in abundance, but the free use of these liquors rather increased than diminished the raging appetite for more substantial and less stimulating food. The horses long since had been killed and eagerly devoured, and from the tenth day of the siege four ounces of bread, an allowance which was latterly diminished to one-eighth of this quantity, was the utmost portion which an individual could receive during twenty-four hours. During the action of the 13th, while few troops were left to secure the tranquillity of the city, 4000 women assembled

in the streets, ringing hand-bells, and vociferating for bread and an end to their miseries. The Commandant was obliged to buy a temporary repose by a distribution of money; and Massena, on his return, endeavoured, by fresh proclamations, to persuade the starving population that he was victorious in spite of his recent defeat; that plenty was already at hand, and that the French themselves were by no means wanting in the example of patient endurance. Despatches also were printed and circulated, which announced a victory on the Rhine, and the assumption of the command of the Army of Reserve by the First Consul in person. Whatever burst of enthusiasm these last events might excite among the soldiery, was not likely to be equalled among the citizens, who saw but little corroboration of the assurance of approaching supplies in domiciliary visits, and a fresh seizure of the small remnant of corn which was still left in the stores of those who sold bread. For three days not a single loaf was to be obtained, and at the close of that time the exorbitant price at which it was sold placed it out of the reach of any but the rich: a pound of bad bread cost thirty francs, a pound of meat six francs, a fowl thirty-two francs. Night gave no respite to the miseries of the day, for with darkness commenced a bombardment from the gun-boats. At dawn fresh groupes of a rabble, ferocious at all times, but with all their evil passions now heightened by the frenzy of want, mingled with drunken women and fanatical priests, raised the savage yell *Viva, Viva, Maria*, so much dreaded under the ancient aristocratical Government, and now used as the watchword against the French. To add to the general distrust, the Ligurian troops shewed manifest symptoms of insubordination, which, instead of being repressed, were encouraged, if not originated by their officers: and an epidemic sickness, caused by foul air and want of food raged among the populace.

Monte Faccio was evacuated on the 19th; it was too far advanced to be maintained with safety when every man who could mount guard was needed in the city. On the morning of the 26th the whole English fleet assembled before Genoa: it was joined by a fresh squadron, so that the sea appeared covered by the multitude of gallies, sloops, and ships of war. At nightfall the bombardment recommenced, and a Genoese galley, moored in the port, was boarded and captured. To supply its place as a protection to the harbour, two rafts, each mounting as many cannon, were hastily constructed, and anchored at the entrance. Notwithstanding the closeness of the blockade a few vessels from time to time escaped the vigilance of the cruisers A Maltese quick-sailing cutter bore Ortigini, with assurances of speedy succour from Buonaparte, and a remittance of 900,000 livres: and Franceschi, an Aid-de-Camp of General Soult, who afterwards attained a high rank in the French army, distinguished himself by a noble act of personal intrepidity. Having quitted Genoa for Paris on the 24th of April; he had been intrusted, on return, with des-

patches by Buonaparte, of whose passage over St. Bernard he had been an eye-witness. In an open boat, rowed by three men only, he had passed undetected through the English flotilla, and under the very stern of Lord Keith's ship. He was yet a league from shore, when day broke, and he was instantly perceived and fired at. One of his rowers was wounded, and his only chance of escape was by ordering the men to row back while he committed himself to the waves. Fastening his despatches round his head, he stripped and plunged in; when recollecting his arms he swam back; and, having taken his sword between his teeth, he gained the coast when nearly exhausted, and delivered his papers in triumph to Massena.

Genoa, at the commencement of the siege, numbered 160,000 * inhabitants; a great proportion of its population was in extreme indigence, and from time immemorial had been accustomed to receive a daily supply of bread from its Government. This allowance had now decreased to a single ounce, and an edict of the French Commander diminished it still farther to half as much. As a substitute he dealt out herb soups. The physicians were consulted on such materials as might be eaten without ill effect, and eventually all the medicinal herbs found in the various druggists shops were thus consumed. Long since all the refuse of the lay-stalls, cats, dogs, and still more loathsome animals had been eagerly devoured. The French themselves hitherto had been able to subsist, coarsely indeed, but with food enough to support nature; but it was now announced that the bread, bad as it was, would be exhausted in two days. Various experiments were made in the vain hope of supplying this want. All the almonds, linseed, starch, bran, wild oats, and cocoa, which could be collected, were mixed together. The composition made from them is described by one who partook of it, to have been most execrable and disgusting. It formed a heavy, black, and bitter paste, which could neither be kneaded nor baked, which resembled turf steeped in oil, and which speedily produced an access of fever in such as had been induced to swallow it. The green ears of corn growing in the fields between the inner and outer ramparts, were dried in ovens; but they were too young, and after exuding a thin milky liquor, they shrivelled almost to nothing.

In this extremity, the Commander in Chief set an example of endurance by rigorously partaking of the same food as the rest of the army. His bill of fare on the night before the evacuation has been preserved. It consisted of two soups, one of herbs, the other of horse-flesh; a dish of boiled horse-flesh and some green kidney beans without sauce. After the close of the Treaty persons are described to have been seen in the streets of Antibes and Nice, stupified at the marks of abundance

* The average population of Genoa, at the time of this siege, was from 100 to 120,000. The suburbs and neighbouring villages from which numerous fugitives had taken refuge within the walls, had added half as many again to the original number.

which they beheld in the bakers shops. Among the most pitiable sufferers were the Austrian prisoners, a body amounting to not less than 8000 men. Considerable misunderstanding had prevailed respecting them. Ott refused to establish a cartel of exchange; and it was believed by the French that several who had at first been sent back had again taken arms in breach of their parole. Their residence within the walls was dangerous both to themselves and to the French in the present disturbed state of popular feeling; for at one time they might be exposed to assassination, at another they might assist in insurrection. Accordingly they were confined on board vessels in the harbour, and were included in the list of persons whom the Ligurian Government was instructed to support. It is easy to believe, that even before the extremity of famine commenced, these miserable captives were not very equal partakers in the public distribution; but, as the scarcity increased, their condition became too horrible for description. Every article of dress was converted into food by the fury of hunger, and their cries and yells of agony rang through the ears of both armies. Massena proposed that they should receive daily sustenance from their own camp; and pledged himself that none of this should be devoted to the use of his own troops: but this was a pledge upon which, coming as it did from those who were known to be themselves starving, policy forbade any reliance to be placed, and the proposition was rejected. It is scarcely possible that war could produce a more horrible necessity than this abandonment of humanity towards his own troops which the Austrian General deemed himself compelled to practise. Many of these unhappy victims perished in slow torment, and many others, profited by the few opportunities of getting on deck which were permitted to them, to seek a less painful death by their own hands beneath the water.

Perpetual fears of insurrection, rumours of plots and intended risings and massacres, rapid alternations of hope and fear from the contradictory accounts of Buonaparte's progress, and from the frequent cannonading heard from the walls, the objects and results of which were equally unknown, all tended to increase the anxiety and distress of the French. A single remarkable instance of the effects produced by this painful excitement may sufficiently prove its extent. One morning an Aid-de-Camp announced at head-quarters, that a cannonading was heard on the side of the Bochetta, and a fire of musquetry on that of Campo Freddo. Relief was supposed to be assuredly at hand. All the officers, says an eye-witness, ran to their horses; some congratulated, some embraced each other; astonishment gave way to enthusiasm, and this soon changed to delirium. Massena hastily ascended the eminences in front of the *tenaille* to observe the movements of the Austrians, who it was believed were actually engaged with another French army. But the three camps were in their customary repose, and a distant storm faintly dying away, explained the source of the false hope

which had represented to itself a cannonade.

A last reconnoissance was made on the 28th of May. It was directed on Monte Faccio and Monte Ratti. The troops fought as bravely as on the early days of the siege; but their efforts were without success. The Austrians had strengthened their lines with numerous fresh works, all of which they defended with the uttermost obstinacy. At the price of many valuable lives, and the severe wound of General d'Arnaud, who commanded the attacking division, the French acquired the distressing certainty that no change indicative of the abandonment of the siege, had taken place in their enemy's lines; and that their force had been largely augmented by bands of peasants and mountaineers, inspired with the bitterest thirst of vengeance against their invaders.

The day had now arrived beyond which Buonaparte knew that it was impossible that Genoa could hold out. It might be fairly doubted whether he considered its preservation necessary for his ulterior plans. The diversion which it had caused might be all he looked for, and while Melas was parcelling out his army to cover the siege, the First Consul might be marching on to complete his projects. The lives of 6000 sick and wounded, of a large Staff of officers, and of the remains of a faithful and gallant army, were in imminent peril of total destruction by longer resistance; and honourable terms were offered by the British and Austrian Commanders. Massena assembled a Council of War, and proposed as a last effort to cut his way out. His plan was to march along the eastern coast, on which he was certain to meet with provisions, and having refreshed and organized his troops at Leghorn, to proceed at once on Naples. The unanimous reply of his officers was that *they* would follow, but that no others could be relied on, for that the soldiers were no longer able to sustain either an action or a march. Mutiny indeed had already shewn itself in the ranks, some corps had broken or thrown away their arms, and their posts had been deserted by the sentinels.

On the 30th of May, negociations commenced, but they were stormy and tedious, although time was no less precious to the Austrians than to the French. Adjutant General Andrieu was the bearer of Massena's reply to Ott's proposal. In the antichamber of the Austrian General, he met a Staff Officer, who had just arrived in haste from the head quarters of Melas. He had brought with him an order (which of course was not divulged) to raise the blockade, and to move with the utmost expedition on the Po; announcing, at the same time, that Buonaparte was then marching on Milan, and that not a moment must be lost in providing for the safety of the army. The first *projet* offered was that the garrison should return to France, but that Massena himself should remain prisoner of war. The proposition, though in some degree ungenerous, indirectly manifested the high esteem which his valour had excited. "You alone, General," said Lord Keith in his letter, "are worth 20,000 men." This offer

was peremptorily refused, and the discussion was continued, notwithstanding the hourly increase of misery within the walls, where 15,000 souls already had perished from famine, and the streets were piled with dead, until the morning of the 5th of June *. The chief negociators then met in a little chapel on the middle of the Bridge of Cornegliano, between the posts of the two armies. On the part of the French appeared Massena, with a few inferior officers; Lord Keith as Commander in Chief of the Combined Naval forces in the Mediterranean, represented the British; General Ott and General Saint Julien the Austrians. The deliberations were long, and were managed with considerable address on the part of the French. Lord Keith anxiously sought to manifest the deep feeling of admiration with which he had been impressed by the heroism of the defence, and it was to these generous sentiments, as much as to his own unbending spirit, that Massena owed great part of the indulgence with which he was considered. It was, indeed, to the English Admiral that he more particularly addressed himself; for he did not scruple to avow his belief that the surrender of the City was far more to be attributed to the severity of the naval blockade, than to the skill or valour of the Austrians. "Only permit a small supply of grain to arrive in Genoa, Admiral," was his pointed remark, "and I give you my word, that these gentlemen," waving his hand to the Imperial Generals, "shall never set a foot there;" and again, "My Lord, if England and France could ever come to a proper understanding, they would govern the whole world."

At seven on the evening of the 26th, the Treaty was signed, and hostages were exchanged. Notwithstanding the favourable terms (and seldom has a siege terminated with a higher tribute to the defenders†), it was not without bitterness and reluctance that Massena affixed his name to them—"Give me," he said to the Genoese who filled his apartments, "provisions for four or five days only, and I will instantly tear this paper to atoms!" It was expressly stipulated, that the word capitulation should not be employed, and that the French army should evacuate the town with their arms and baggage, part marching by land to Voltri, part being conveyed by sea to Antibes.

Thus ended the defence of Genoa; a defence not exceeded in military history. The city had been closely beleaguered sixty days; fifteen of these were employed in difficult marches and continued sanguinary engagements, amidst a rough and mountainous country; forty-five in actual investment and

* The troops under Massena, had formed a correct estimate of the firmness and pertinacity of his disposition. After the fall of Savona, when some vessels were observed carrying off part of the garrison, a grenadier in Genoa remarked to one of his comrades, that they themselves should soon follow, "Follow!" answered the other, "before he will surrender, the General in Chief will oblige us to eat even his boots!"

† State Papers, p. 392.

siege. The loss of human life, during these operations, was most terrific. It is not easy to calculate that of the Austrians; but of the 10,000 French who remained, little more than 3000 were able to perform their duties on the evening which preceded the evacuation. Even of these, some were helped to their posts, and many of them were allowed to be seated while on guard. The second in command was wounded and taken prisoner. Out of three Generals of Division, one died of an epidemic disorder, and one was wounded. Four Brigade Generals, out of six, were wounded. Six Adjutant Generals were wounded, one wounded and taken, and one killed, out of twelve. Among the Staff Officers, two were killed, seven taken, and fourteen wounded. One of them thrice in a single day, and twice afterwards. Eleven Chiefs of Company, out of seventeen, were wounded, killed or taken; three fourths of the Subalterns suffered in like manner; and in one particular regiment, (the 2d of the line,) which counted 97 officers at the commencement of the siege, two only were unwounded at its close.

Two Hungarian battalions mounted guard at the gate of la Lanterna, on the 6th of June, and on the following morning, while the first division of the garrison, 8110 strong, marched in the direction of Voltri with arms and baggage, but without cannon, Massena, with his staff, and the remainder of the troops who were able to accompany him, embarked on board five privateers, upon the surrender of which Lord Keith had not insisted, and made sail for the port of Antibes. He was permitted to take with him 25 field pieces. The sick and wounded remained in the hospitals under the care of French medical officers. Ott, on breaking up, committed the city to Hohenzollern, with 10,000 men; Lord Keith took possession of the port and maritime establishments, and, from the numerous convoys which poured in, abundance dissipated in a few days the horrors of the recent famine. The intemperance resulting from this sudden change, was almost as destructive as the former privation had been, and it is said that for the three months which succeeded the siege, the mortality was almost as great as during its continuance; scarcely less than 100 of the inhabitants perished every day.

The conduct of Massena, in this defence, was highly extolled at the time; it has since been severely criticized by Buonaparte*. That great master of the Art of war contends, that although the Austrian army was more than double that of the French, nevertheless, that if Massena had not committed a fatal error in his mode of defence, the positions which he might have occupied were so strong, that he ought eventually to have triumphed. He maintains that immediate concentration round Genoa, and the protection of that city itself, were the only objects required by the general plan of the campaign, with which Massena was well acquainted; and that there were posts sufficiently

* Mem. of Hist. of France, during the reign of Napoleon, i. 230.

advantageous for 30,000 men to have kept 60,000 in check. Again he adds, Genoa opened its gates after it was saved. Massena knew that the succouring army was on the Po, and that it continued in an unbroken train of success. The very terms granted by the Austrians should have created a suspicion of the hazardous condition in which they were placed, and have induced the French General to break off the negociation. The former part of this judgment is one which no one was ever more competent to pass than Buonaparte, and which, therefore, there must not be any hesitation in admitting. On the latter it may be more equitable to pause. Of the degree of peril to which his troops were actually reduced, and the utmost point to which he might venture to protract it, the Commander on the spot was the person best qualified to decide. The details of misery and horror into which we have been reluctantly compelled to enter above, sufficiently prove that it was no light apprehension, nothing short of positive extremity which induced the gallant Massena to incline his ear to propositions of surrender; and the fair fame which he won at the expence of such fearful danger and suffering, must not be wrested from him on the authority of conjecture, reasoning in a calm and distant retrospect.

CHAPTER VII.

Berthier joins the Army of Reserve. Italy, its destination. Policy of Buonaparte in concealing this object. The Existence of the Army disbelieved. Secret preparations. Correspondence between Buonaparte and Berthier. Buonaparte quits Paris. His interview with Necker at Geneva, and with the Engineer Marescot. The Army enters upon the Alps. Occupation of St. Remy. Passage of the Artillery. Perils of the descent. The Vanguard of the French victorious at Aosta and Chatillon. Buonaparte passes the St. Bernard in person. Anecdote of his Guide. The advance of the Army checked by Fort Bard. Description of the Fort. Lannes is repulsed in an Assault upon it. Panic of the French. Buonaparte reconnoitres the Fort. He decides upon passing the Rock of Albaredo. The French repulsed in a second Attack upon the Fort. They attain possession of the Town of Bard. Passage of the Army over Albaredo. Of the Artillery through the Town of Bard. Blockade and Capture of Fort Bard. Astonishment of the Commandant when he learned the Passage of the French Artillery. The Austrians driven from Ivrea. Delusion of the Austrian General. Defeat of the Austrians at Romagna. Successful Operations of the French on the right. Reasons which induced Buonaparte to march upon Milan. He prepares to cross the Tesino.

In order to present an unbroken narrative of the siege of Genoa, we have been compelled, in some degree, to outrun the operations which were occurring at the same time on other parts of the theatre of war. So also now in completing our history of the Italian campaign, we are under the necessity of keeping back the military events on the Rhine, which preceded, or were simultaneous with the movements of Buonaparte. Every portion of the great picture cannot be placed before the reader's eye at the very same moment; and in determining the order in which its several divisions shall be presented, we have been guided by a wish both to preserve the distinctness and to concentrate the interest of our history.

It will be recollected, that a Consular decree of the 7th of January, had directed the formation of an Army of Reserve; the basis of which was to consist of all the veteran soldiers not employed in other services, and whose numbers were to be completed by a levy of 30,000 conscripts. The command of these troops was conferred on Berthier, who quitted Paris, in order to assume it, on the 2d of April. The reconquest of Italy was the darling object of Buonaparte's ambition, and in order to secure the success of this great enterprise, it was necessary not only to conduct it with speed, but to involve it in the profoundest secrecy.

The plan which he meditated, was to *debouche* from the Alps unexpectedly, in the rear of Melas; to cut him off at once from Austria, and thus, by a single battle, to throw, as it were, for the mastery of Italy. On his own superiority in military skill, on the freshness of his troops, and on the surprise of the Austrians, Buonaparte confidently relied for the completion of his wish.

But how were the movements of an army so numerous as this extensive project demanded, to be concealed from the eyes of Europe? Public attention was forcibly riveted upon the First Consul himself; and the great anxiety, both at London and at Vienna, was to ascertain the quarter to which he in person was about to be directed. There could be no doubt that the Army of Reserve was the force which was preparing to act under him; and from its numbers and its positions, the most solid information was to be gathered. The policy employed by Buonaparte was bold and original. He ostentatiously divulged his real design; and by taking pains to declare that Italy was his object, he created a doubt whether this in truth was more than a feint to divert the Austrian army from the blockade of Genoa. Again, through numerous messages to the Legislative Board and Senate, through various public decrees, through all official documents issued by his Government, and through other incidental and collateral channels, Dijon was announced to be the great point of concentration for the Army of Reserve. In this city, accordingly, a large staff was assembled at the beginning of April; and here also, in the course of the same month, between 5000 and 6000 conscripts and invalids were gathered together, the majority of whom were neither armed nor clothed. The spies of the hostile powers were completely

deceived; and this display, which was got up for the purpose of misleading them, was successful beyond the hopes of him who directed the measures. His agents were diligently employed in circulating little manuscript bulletins, in which, among many scandalous personal anecdotes, inserted to give greater poignancy and a more plausible appearance to the leading matter, pains were taken to disprove the existence of any Army of Reserve at all. This proof was founded upon seemingly elaborate statistical calculations. It was shewn how much the population of France had been drained in former campaigns; how large a portion of her youth had perished in Italy, or had been forced to the Rhine. From 12,000 to 15,000 conscripts, it was said, were the utmost number which the new despotism, with all its efforts, could levy; and this assertion was much strengthened by a belief, that if more could have been assembled, the besieged in Genoa would have been reinforced long ere their present distress bore so hardly on them. The print-shops in the great Capitals of Europe abounded with caricatures ridiculing this vaunted army. One in particular has been mentioned by Buonaparte himself, as eminently displaying the spirit of the times. It represented a boy of twelve years of age, and an invalid with a wooden leg. They were both at drill, and underneath them was written, "*Buonaparte's Army of Reserve.*" At the head-quarters of Melas, this incredulity was obstinately persisted in till the last moment. The Army of Reserve was deemed only to exist on paper, in the vain hope of scaring the conquerors from the possession of Genoa, which was gradually falling into their grasp. "The French," said the Austrians, "calculate too much upon our simplicity: they wish to make us realize the fable of the Dog, who dropped his prey for a shadow."

Meanwhile, the real army was secretly formed at various places of rendezvous, all bearing upon one grand point of concentration, yet no where presenting any apparent connexion with each other. The pacification of La Vendée had been completed; and the large and disciplined force which hitherto had been required in those troubled districts to overawe the Royalists, by the secession of some of the Chiefs of that party, and by the destruction or the submission of others, was disengaged from intestine war, and could be directed against a foreign enemy. In like manner, the unaccustomed tranquillity of Paris, and the popularity of the Consular Government, superseded the necessity of any corps of observation in the neighbourhood of the Capital; and thus, also, a considerable body of men, who, during a long series of turbulence, had been employed as a military police, was enabled once again to enter actively into the field. The park of artillery was formed of guns and waggons sent piecemeal from distant arsenals and fortresses; and the commissariat was actively employed in securing depôts of provisions on the destined line of march, which lay, for the most part, through a country utterly incapable of supporting an army. One hundred thousand rations of biscuit were despatched to Toulon; two millions were pro-

vided at Lyons; and a like number having been sent to Geneva, were embarked on the Lake, and arrived at the same moment with the army, as a most seasonable supply, at Villeneuve.

We shall perceive hereafter, how little accordance as to the general plan of the campaign, was entertained between Buonaparte and Moreau, as commander on the Rhine. The latter, it is true, succeeded in obtaining some modification of his original instructions; but even before the close of April, the First Consul, on learning the issue of Massena's early engagements, and the intersection of his army from the division of Suchet, impressed upon Berthier the necessity of urging the Army of Reserve into Italy with the uttermost speed*, and of acting without reference to the course of affairs on the Rhine. He calculated that Massena had yet provisions for thirty days, and that before the lapse of that time, communications might effectually be established with him. He pointed out the separate advantages of entering Italy by St. Bernard or the Simplon; which from the first, he considered to preponderate on the side of the former; and he exulted in the proud anticipation, that the Austrian Army, whether before that time it should be victorious or vanquished, could in no way sustain the unexpected shock of the 40,000 French, who were preparing to pour down upon them from the Alps.

Four divisions of infantry, to each of which two regiments of cavalry were attached, were already on their route. A division of cavalry, consisting of nine regiments of all arms, followed. Three more divisions of infantry, and a second division of cavalry, continued in the mean time to assemble at Dijon, and to file off on the steps of their comrades. The chief cause of delay arose from the transport of artillery; and in this department the activity of Marmont was indefatigably exercised. At the beginning of May, the leading divisions were quartered on the banks of the Lake of Geneva, at the entrance of the Valais, and in the neighbourhood of Lausanne: and Berthier, impatient to give breath to the signal of attack, eagerly pressed the First Consul to assume the command in person. There were orders, he said, wanting to secure the concert of the three armies, which could be given by Buonaparte only, and even by him only from head quarters; for the deliberations in the Cabinet of the Thuilleries, were far too slow for the field of battle. The First Consul still delayed, and postponed from day to day, his long announced departure; thus more securely veiling his ultimate design, which hitherto had derived no credence from his repeated declarations, when they were compared with his seeming inactivity. He could not yet sufficiently depend upon Moreau for the reinforcement which he deemed it necessary to draw from him, and without which, Berthier more than once represented the impossibility of taking the field with effect. The correspondence

* "*Il est nécessaire que l'armée de Reserve donne à plein collier en Italie, indépendamment des operations de l'armée du Rhine.* Buonaparte à Berthier, April 24.

between the First Consul and this his favourite officer, was marked by proofs of the most affectionate confidence. "In a single hour," he says on one occasion, "after I shall receive your assurance that my presence is necessary, I will leave Paris;" and then in his own hand he adds, "I am grieved to find that the residence at Dijon, makes you melancholy. Cheer up your spirits*." Buonaparte waited till Moreau's position enabled him to furnish 15,000 men, without a shadow of hazard to himself, and he then despatched orders to him, so imperative and so precise in their nature, that they could not, in any way, be eluded. Carnot, the Minister of War, was charged to convey in person, a requisition from the First Consul, for a detachment to that amount, which was to be placed under the command of General Moncey, in Swisserland, and thence to undertake the passage of St. Gothard.

Having arranged these previous military dispositions, and regulated also the course of civil administration during his absence, the First Consul quitted Paris on the 6th of March, and reviewed at Dijon the few soldiers and conscripts who were there assembled. These he destined to form the *nucleus* of a second Army of Reserve, under the immediate command of General Brune. On the 8th, he proceeded to Geneva. Necker was then resident in that city, and asked, and obtained, an audience of the First Consul. In the brief memorandum which Buonaparte has left of their conversation, he states, that the Ex-minister talked much about public credit, and of the morality necessary in its administration; that he suffered his wish and hope of again having the management of the finances of France committed to him, to appear most evidently; although he betrayed an entire unacquaintance with the existing system. Buonaparte continues his note of this remarkable interview, with an observation, by which, no doubt, he intended strongly to characterize both the injudicious flattery of Necker, on a subject of which he must have been profoundly ignorant, and his own detection of the unsuccessful artifice. "He praised the military operations going on under his eyes most highly." After this, the concluding sentence can be no matter of surprise. "The First Consul was but indifferently pleased with his conversation."

His interview with General Marescot was far more gratifying. This able and enterprising officer had been for some time employed in reconnoitring the chain of Alps, from Mont Cenis to the Splugen; and in conjunction with General Mainoni, had precisely laid down all the communications from north to south, between the valley of the Rhone and those of the Tesino, and the other chief rivers which swell the current of the Po. A French detachment for more than two months, had occupied the *Hospice* on the Great St. Bernard. The Austrians had also advanced a small post as near the convent as they could venture to push it, without hazarding a skirmish; but the French were masters of the summit. Marescot had carefully no-

* *Je vois avec peine que le sejour de Dijon vous donne de la melancolie : soyez gai.* Buonaparte à Berthier, April 25.

ticed the easiest and the most difficult paths; those which were passable by troops, and those in which the avalanches were most to be dreaded. His narrative was framed on close observation, and profound military knowledge. Buonaparte listened to its details with unusual patience. He did not once interrupt the speaker, and in conclusion, without asking explanation on any point, he put this single question as to the Great St. Bernard: "Can it be passed." "Yes," replied Marescot, "it is possible." "Well, then, let us set off," was the answer with which the First Consul terminated a conversation, by which the fate of Italy was decided*.

On the 13th of May, Buonaparte reviewed, at Lausanne, the real vanguard of the Army of Reserve. It consisted of six veteran regiments, completely equipped and appointed, under the command of General Lannes. The object of the expedition could now no longer be concealed, and its success in a great measure depended upon its rapidity. The several divisions, amounting in the whole, to 36,000 fighting men, with a park of forty guns, moved on in *echelon*, to St. Pierre, a village at the foot of St. Bernard. From Lausanne to this spot, there is a road passable by artillery. When the mountain is all crossed, the road again becomes practicable from St. Remy to Aosta; so that the chief difficulty was to be encountered in the ascent and descent of the St. Bernard itself.

St. Pierre was entirely deserted when entered by the vanguard of the French, and the desolation of the scenery was, if possible, increased by the recent vestiges left by the inhabitants who had abandoned it. Terrified at the approach of a numerous soldiery, they had concealed themselves among the snow and glaciers, in retreats which could neither be approached nor even discovered by strangers to the country. It was requisite that St. Remy, a village at the opposite foot of the St. Bernard, six leagues from the *Hospice*, should be occupied; and here, for the first time, on the 16th of May, the French were in presence of an enemy of whom they never lost sight, till after the great day of Marengo. The outposts of the Austrians were much inferior in force; but their retreat was secured by the nature of the country, and they gave way only step by step.

The First Consul slept on the night of the 16th, at the Convent of St. Maurice; a house of convalescence, belonging to the monks of St. Bernard, at a very short distance from Martigny. From this point, he superintended the passage of the army during the four succeeding days. The whole of the

* The daring spirit which was requisite for this enterprize, cannot be more clearly exhibited than by a reference to the brief *data* upon which its possibility was founded. The following is the notice relative to the pass of Great St. Bernard, which is given in Marescot's *Precis de l'itineraire des principaux passages des Alpes en Italie.* "*Le Passage du Grand St. Bernard, est moins difficile dans la belle saison que celui du Petit St. Bernard. On y monte par Martigny, dès l'entree dans la Vallais; on descend sur l'Aosta à Ivrea en passant sur le fort de Bard. Ce chemin offre différentes passes ou chiuse très resserrées; cependant par le moyen des traineaux et d'autres précautions, on y peut passer de petites pièces d'Artillerie.*"

artillery and ammunition had been collected at St. Pierre, and upon the safe transport of these depended the very existence of the French after the perils of the mountains should be overcome. At the foot of the ascent, all the mules which the neighbourhood could furnish had been provided. Upon these were placed camp forges which had been expressly made with a view to this particular mode of carriage, and small cases, hastily manufactured from the green fir of the mountain, containing ammunition and cartridges. Still the cannon themselves remained, and these could be conveyed only by the labour of man. For this purpose, a number of trees had been hollowed into troughs, and in these the guns were fixed by their trunnions. Five or six hundred men, according to the weight of metal, were appointed to drag each piece; the wheels were carried by hand on poles, and the axle-trees and empty caissons were fastened in sledges. Each field-piece, with its necessary ammunition, required the labour of a whole battalion. One half drew the gun and its appurtenances; the other half was laden with their own equipments, and those from which it was requisite their comrades should be disencumbered. Knapsacks, musquets, cartridge-boxes, canteens, kettles, and more especially five days provisions in bread, meat, salt, and biscuits, which could not have been otherwise obtained in these desert and inhospitable regions, completed the burden which each private carried to little less than seventy pounds.

So promptly had these arrangements been made, and with such enthusiasm were they executed, that the march of the artillery caused no delay. The safety of its guns was a point of honour with each regiment; and one entire division, rather than leave them behind for the conveyance of those in the rear, preferred to bivouac on the summit of the mountain, amid snow and extreme cold, to descending without them into the plain, which they had ample time to reach before night-fall. The ascent from St. Pierre to the summit, occupied six hours of perpetual struggle, among frightful precipices, and an almost unbroken mass of snows. Occasionally, the men could only advance in single file; and then on the most difficult spots the charge was beaten. At other times, the regimental bands were heard during the whole passage, and the soldiers lightened the toil and animated each other by loud and boisterous songs.

When the columns halted to take breath for a moment, the troops eagerly allayed their thirst by biscuit soaked in the melted snow. On arriving at the *Hospice*, each individual was refreshed with wine, which had been previously stored in the monastery. But at this point, the greatest danger in fact commenced: the rapidity of descent, the slippery nature of the footing, and the deep crevices occasionally formed by the partial melting of the snows, presented obstacles scarcely to be overcome. A single false step was often fatal. Those who fell, unless they recovered themselves immediately, dragged their horses with them,

and both perished together amid the more frightful abysses.

Down this terrible descent, Lannes pressed forward with the vanguard, with scarcely a moment's delay. A few hours sleep at the foot of the gigantic barrier which he had traversed, refreshed his wearied troops, and he then marched them against a Hungarian battalion which occupied Aosta. This detachment endeavoured in vain to defend the entrance of the town, which was carried by the bayonet. On the following day, the 17th, he pursued his march to Chatillon, three leagues on the south-east. Fifteen hundred Croats were drawn up midway in a strong position, at the junction of two vallies, on the left bank of the Doria Baltea; Lannes succeeded in turning their right, and then directing a brisk attack in front, he overthrew them, and captured nearly 300 prisoners and the single piece of cannon with which their post was furnished. The fugitives were pursued to the very drawbridge of the fort of Bard, in which the assailants found a new and unexpected obstacle.

During the passage of the army, which occupied four days, the 17th, 18th, 19th, and 20th of May, Buonaparte still remained at the convent of St. Maurice. On the last of these days, he himself entered upon the passage. He rode a mule belonging to one of the inhabitants of St. Pierre, pointed out by the Prior of the convent as the most sure-footed beast in the country. The First Consul's guide was a tall, robust youth, who conversed freely with him with all the confidence becoming his age and the simplicity of a mountaineer. He entrusted to the First Consul all his little troubles, and all his dreams of happiness to come. On their arrival at the *Hospice*, Buonaparte, who had till then shewn no intention of rewarding the peasant, wrote a note and gave it him, with an instruction to deliver it according to its address. This note was an order for certain arrangements, which were made immediately, and which realized all the hopes which the astonished youth had conceived in his brightest fancies, by the purchase of a piece of ground and the erection of a house *. He was known ever afterwards in his village, by the name of Buonaparte.

The First Consul remained but an hour in the convent of the Hospitallers. He is described to have been moody and silent, directing such few inquiries as he uttered to military points, upon which his hosts were little competent to answer, and on parting briefly commending their benevolent institution. The cold was extreme; the descent was far more difficult for the horses than the ascent had been, and down one almost perpendicular glacier the First Consul performed it *à-la-Ramasse*. It is said, that, at one moment, he was half over the brink of a precipice, and that he was saved only by the skill and intrepidity of his guide. That night he slept at Etroubles, and on the following morning he transferred his head-quarters to Aosta.

It was here that he first learned the check which his vanguard had unexpectedly received. Threading a fine valley, in which they found

* Napoleon, Memoirs, Vol. i. 268.

inhabitants, houses, verdure and spring weather, the troops already fancied that Italy was in their possession, when their advance was suddenly stopped by the cannon of Fort Bard.

Midway between Aosta and Ivrea, an isolated, conical rock rises on the left bank of the Doria Baltea. The river here pours a rapid and dangerous torrent, and the narrow valley through which it roars over its deep bed, is almost wholly closed by the barrier of the rock of Bard. On the summit stands a fort strongly constructed, and surrounded with a double wall. All the most favourable points for batteries had been well seized by the engineer who built it. Its cannon were so mounted, that no spot in its neighbourhood was unexposed to its fire; and the little town of Bard, through which the only road passes, was absolutely under its command. Two mountains, twenty-five toises distant from each other, rise on either side of the fort; and to protect the garrison (amounting to nearly 400 men) from the fire of these heights, if they should be in possession of an enemy, *casernes* had been excavated from the rock itself, which were bomb-proof and wholly unassailable.

The fort was reconnoitred closely, and Marescot pronounced that it was impossible to carry it by assault. Other engineers reported, at the same time, that there was no passage except through the town, at its foot. Lannes, notwithstanding this discouragement, resolved to attempt a *coup-de-main*. The grenadiers advanced to the attack by moon-light, but they were received by a shower of balls, every one of which carried death with it, and which it was impossible to return with effect. The panic communicated itself rapidly from rank to rank. It reached even to the rear, and orders were given to stop the farther passage of the artillery over the St. Bernard. All was supposed to be lost, when Buonaparte hurried on from Aosta, and hastened to reconnoitre in person this formidable obstacle.

On the left bank of the Doria, immediately opposite the fort, the rock of Albaredo commands at once both it and the town. The First Consul ascended this height, and perceived that it might, after great labour, afford a pass. Fifteen thousand men were immediately directed to smooth its approach; and meantime, as a last effort to avoid the extraordinary difficulties which this line of march, at best, must present, a second assault of the fort was resolved upon. Marescot still deemed it impregnable, and a most characteristic anecdote is related of the First Consul respecting the attempt. Having given his last orders to a superior officer, whose bravery had placed him at the head of the leading division, and while Berthier was making the necessary dispositions in another quarter, he turned to the chief engineer, and observed, "That officer is ignorant of what awaits him: the attack will fail." His own judgment, and his reliance on that of Marescot, had convinced him, that according to all the principles of art, he must be repulsed; but war has its chances as well as its rules; and the importance of the object was so great, that it became necessary to admit these chances into calculation, even

at a sure and certain expense of human life.

Three divisions, of 300 grenadiers each, supported by large reserves, marched to the assault. Two of these divisions were entrusted with a real and combined attack; the third was only to attempt a diversion, and to distract the attention of the garrison by a demonstration on the right bank of the Doria. The troops moved on at midnight. Each of the two divisions scaled the rock, and arrived at the outer palisade at the same moment. The Austrians were chased from work to work by the bayonet, till they retired within the fort. Upon this all farther attempt was unavailable. Murderous showers of grape and canister-shot swept the foot of the rampart. Grenades thrown from the walls, and huge stones rolled over the summit of the precipices, overwhelmed the French, who were every where exposed and unprotected. The General of brigade, Loison, was mortally wounded; and after a great effusion of blood on the part of the assailants, while the garrison was comparatively unharmed, a retreat was sounded, and the French gave way.

The town of Bard remained in their possession; although all hope of winning the fort, unless by blockade, was given up; for the commander, now summoned for the fourth time, replied, that his instructions and his honour equally forbade surrender, and that he should defend himself to the very uttermost extremity. Incessant labour in the course of three short days, had made a sort of track (for road it could scarcely be called) up the rock of Albaredo. It might be climbed, though not without infinite difficulty; and the descent on the opposite side was equally precipitous, and perhaps more dangerous than that of the St. Bernard. Yet over this mountain, where no horse, and scarcely any human foot, but that of a few goatherds, had ever trodden before, the infantry and even the cavalry of the French army effected a safe passage. During part of this fearful ascent, they were exposed to the cannon of the fort. By almost incredible efforts, they succeeded in raising a light four-pounder through a cleft in the rock, to a height of eight hundred yards, and with this, which commanded the fort, they answered the Austrian fire. The troops, in single file, climbed slowly up the rock. The cavalry were still more fatigued than the infantry; for in many places the acclivity could only be broken by a few rugged and slippery steps, and the horses were obliged, like the native goats, to leap from stone to stone. Many of these animals missing their footing, or overpowered with toil, fell, and were dashed to atoms among the precipices.

The view of the fort and of the surrounding country from the summit of Albaredo, was extensive, and the First Consul passed many hours on its *plateau*, after ascending it on foot. On one occasion, fatigue obtained the mastery over him, and rendered faint by the extreme heat of the weather, he slept on the ground while the divisions were passing before him.

The artillery was still to be transported, and every moment which delayed its passage, was now attended with infinite peril;

for Lannes, who nearly a week before had pushed on with the vanguard to Ivrea, might be attacked before he had a single gun to bring into the field. It was plain that Albaredo was impracticable for ordnance, and the skill and activity of Marmont undertook, at all hazards, and with whatever cost, to effect its passage through the town of Bard itself, under the very walls of the castle. At nightfall, every possible precaution was taken to conceal all suspicion of this most unexpected and extraordinary enterprise from the knowledge of the garrison. The road was covered with litter and dung, to deaden the sound of footsteps. Haybands were twisted round the wheels, and the cannons themselves were concealed under branches of trees and straw. Thirty men, harnessed, one before the other, to each gun or tumbril, awaited in the profoundest silence, some favourable moment for advance; and then traversed a space of several hundred toises within pistol shot of the fort. Occasional discharges were made by the garrison, who perceived some movement, without divining its real object; and notwithstanding the extreme darkness of the night, the operation was obliged to be conducted so close to the walls, that it was necessarily attended with very considerable loss to the French; for there was scarcely a shot which, however fired at random, could fail to strike some object. Several nights were consumed in this most stupendous work, till the whole park of artillery had reached its destination.

Thus, then, was overcome a more formidable obstacle than the Great St. Bernard itself. Buonaparte was well aware of the existence of Fort Bard; but all the maps and information which he had obtained, led him to suppose that it would readily be taken. After the main body of the army had passed, the blockade was entrusted to a brigade of conscripts under General Chabran. Several guns were mounted by the besiegers from time to time, upon different parts of the heights, but they produced little effect from their distance. A single piece was at length raised on the belfry of the church of Bard. This commanded the fort, and battered it in breach. A tower above its gate was soon demolished, and the garrison, pressed for want of provisions, cut off from the Austrian army, and without hope of succour, surrendered, after a brave defence, on the 1st of June.

The officer who commanded the fort, was overwhelmed with astonishment when he learned, after his surrender, that the entire French artillery had passed under his walls. So confident was he that his resistance had disarranged the project of the French, that he had despatched letter after letter to Melas, informing him that he saw from his works more than 30,000 men and 4000 horses, with a numerous staff, inclining to the right. That these perhaps might succeed in crossing the summit of Albaredo; but that he might feel implicit assurance that not a single gun nor waggon should pass the defile while the fort could be defended. He added, that his garrison could hold out for a month, and that up to that time, therefore, since the French would not have

received their artillery, it was not probable, even if they had traversed the whole range of Alps, that they would hazard a descent into the plains of Italy.

It was not, indeed, Buonaparte's plan to have hazarded this descent, if he had failed in transporting his artillery. He would, in that case, have *debouched* on Ivrea; a movement which would have rendered a corresponding one necessary on the part of the Austrians, and would have demanded sufficiently close observation to distract them from other operations. The French would have had little to fear even without their park of ordnance, for the positions which they would have assumed while covering the siege of Bard, were easily defensible without batteries. The fort would have been pressed more vigorously, and therefore would have fallen earlier. No heavy disaster was likely to result from this delay; but, nevertheless, all the hopes of triumph which Buonaparte had indulged, and which in the end he realized, must have been destroyed by the complete derangement of his plan of campaign.

The army pursued its march without opposition till it arrived at Ivrea. The Austrians here were busily employed in repairing and constructing works; 4000 men had been thrown into the town, and larger reinforcements were hourly expected. Lannes directed an attack, at the same moment, upon the town and the citadel. For two days his success was doubtful, and even on the third, when the walls of the fortress had been scaled, the town still continued its resistance. It was attacked at its three gates at once; and so great was the impetuosity of the French, that the Austrians with difficulty gained the bridge of Chiusella, and retreated, leaving numerous dead on the field, and 300 prisoners and fifteen pieces of cannon in the hands of the victors. The town of Ivrea likewise afforded them very seasonable and plentiful supplies.

Thus master of the key of the plains of Italy, Lannes received orders to push instantly forward to Turin. Even at this period the Austrian Generals were unaware of the full strength of the army which was opposed to them; and in the movement of Lannes, they saw nothing but a desperate attempt to divert them from the prosecution of the siege of Genoa, and from their projected invasion of the southern provinces of France. The report of the presence of Buonaparte with the army was treated as a wild and extravagant fable. It was said confidently that there was some adventurer who resembled him, or perhaps it might be one of his brothers, who had drawn together a few Italian refugees, without artillery and without cavalry. Little did they perceive the cloud which had been gathering upon the Alps, and which speedily was to roll down for their destruction. When apprised of the capture of Ivrea, and of the subsequent advance of Lannes, Kaim and Haddick assembled 6000 infantry and 4000 cavalry; with these they took up a strong position at Romagno, on the right bank of the Chiusella, with the intention of covering Turin.

Though his enemies were intrenched and protected by a deep

river, Lannes did not hesitate to attack them. On the 26th of May, the vanguard under his command moved forward on the bridge of the Chiusella, which the Austrians, as in contempt, had neglected to destroy. The division which advanced upon this bridge, was met by a continued fire from four pieces of artillery, which swept the passage. The French brigade wavered, when their commander, Macon, threw himself into the river, swam across, and, followed by some of his bravest men, succeeded in turning and gaining possession of the bridge. The French rushed over, and as the engagement became general, the Austrians gradually gave way, and retired upon the road to Chivasso. Their cavalry, indeed, for a time, was able to act with much effect upon the plain. It succeeded in disengaging the artillery, which was already captured; and by several brilliant charges, occasioned severe loss to the French, who were scattered in disorderly pursuit, till itself, in the end, was checked by the arrival of the French reserve, and was compelled to follow the steps of its discomfited comrades.

On the right wing, Gen. Thureau had distinguished himself by an equally successful affair on the 23d of May, near Suza. He had overthrown the Austrians, driven them from the intrenchments, and occupying the heights of Bossolino, he menaced Turin, and held himself in readiness to co-operate with the future movements of the grand army. The whole Army of Reserve had now descended from the Alps, and occupied a line from Suza to Bellinzona. The First Consul reviewed the vanguard at Chivasso on the 28th, and marked with especial distinction the soldiers who had fought at Romagno.

Lannes pursued his advantage, and threatened Turin, from which he was distant but a single march, and in which city the headquarters of the Austrians were fixed. But Turin was not the object of Buonaparte. The Austrians were too strong on that post, to be encountered by an army which, as yet, had no certain retreat, if beaten; for Fort Bard still held out. On the other hand, if Milan could be gained, its occupation presented every possible military advantage. There were the chief magazines, depôts, and hospitals of the Austrians. On the left, Gen. Moncey's division was advancing from Swisserland; in the rear were the secure passes of St. Gothard and the Simplon; beyond which, in the Valais and Sion, were collected all the stores of the army. Here, also, the French were at liberty to choose their own course. If Melas determined to give battle, they would fight him to advantage, for their own retreat was secure, and his uncertain and hazardous. If he retired, and attempted to join the army before Genoa, he might be overtaken before he reached Alessandria, and compelled to fight with the same inequality of chance; for his communications with Austria were cut off; and, if defeated, he might be destroyed at the foot of the Alps. Even if the French determined to remain inactive, their position at Milan, between the Po, the Adda, and the Tesino, was so impregnable, that without a battle they would thus have re-conquered Lombardy, Piedmont, and the ma-

ritime Alps, and could scarcely fail of raising the siege of Genoa.

With these views, Buonaparte determined to advance upon the Tesino, and issued his orders accordingly. The cavalry under Murat, favoured by the movements of Lannes, passed the Sesia with slight resistance, and entered Vercelli. Two thousand Italian refugees, after defeating an Austrian corps at Varallo, on the Upper Sesia, secured the valley of Domo d'Ossola, and the pass of the Simplon; and Lannes, continuing his march on the Po, deceived the Austrians into a belief that he was observing the troops which were on their march from Nice to Turin; then suddenly passing the Doria on the night of the 30th of May, he joined the head-quarters at Vercelli, and advanced to Novarra.

Before, however, we proceed to relate the invasion of the Milanese, it will be necessary to retrace our steps for a short period, and to give a rapid sketch of the brilliant manœuvres by which Suchet, with his handful of men, detained and occupied Melas from the time in which the Austrian General had quitted the blockade of Genoa. It is to the vigour and perseverance of Suchet, that much of the ultimate triumph of Buonaparte must be attributed; and however splendid and imposing may be the remembrance of the great victory, by which the First Consul changed the destinies of Italy, nevertheless, the minor transactions, without which this battle might not have been gained, or might have been comparatively barren in its consequences, demand this just share of attention also.

On the military skill exhibited in this celebrated passage of the Alps, the present is not the place to enlarge. The reader who wishes to compare this stupendous enterprize with the similar achievments of other Generals, will find a faithful guide in Polybius, for the march of Hannibal, whose steps (whatever they might be before) were trodden by Buonaparte from Aosta to Chivasso. Mont Genevre was passed by Charles VIII. in 1494, the first who attempted the conveyance of artillery across the Alps. The historian Paulus Jovius, who has related the expedition of this Prince, is much fuller on that of his successor, Francis I. twenty years afterwards; and a vivid description of its perils may be seen in Guicciardini (xii). Mount Cenis was crossed more than once by the Dukes of Berwick and Savoy, in the wars of Queen Anne *. The French passed St. Genevre, with their artillery, in 1734 †; and even as late as 1793, a detachment of the Piedmontese army marched over the Great St. Bernard to Martigny; and in order not to violate the neutrality of the Vallais, laid aside their arms, and transported them in covered carriages.

* Berwick's Memoirs.

† St. Simon.

CHAP. VIII.

Objects of Suchet in maintaining his position at Settepani. He avoids an attack by falling back on Loano. Is beaten thence, and retires to Oneglia. Occupation of the Col de Tende by the Austrians. Battle of Oneglia: defeat of the French. Farther retreat of Suchet. He succeeds in passing the Var. Precautions before his retreat. The Austrians enter Nice. Military defects and advantages of the line of the Var. The Austrians repulsed in an attack upon the Tete du Pont. Buonaparte informs Suchet of the passage of St. Bernard. Manœuvres of Suchet. Melas receives intelligence of the advance of the Army of Reserve, and marches for Piedmont. Ulsnitz is left in command. He is a second time repulsed from the Tete du Pont. Ignorance of Melas as to the real state of the Army of Reserve. Ulsnitz repulsed in a third desperate attack on the Tete du Pont. The Austrians abandon their lines. Objects of Ulsnitz in his retreat. He occupies the line of the Roya. Suchet turns the Austrian position on the right at the Col de Tende. Ulsnitz retreats up the Valley of the Tanaro. His rear-guard is cut off. Disappointment of Suchet on the surrender of Genoa. He is joined by part of the garrison. He takes up cantonments near Savona and on the Bormida. Melas fixes his head-quarters at Turin. He summons Ott from Genoa. Ott delays in order to secure the capitulation. Buonaparte passes the Tesino after a sanguinary action. He enters Milan. Astonishment of the Lombards. His endeavours to tranquillize political animosities. Surprize of Placenza by Murat. Of Pavia by Lannes. Melas names Alessandria as his general rendezvous. Skirmish at Belgiojoso. The French cross the Po. Advance of Ott. Battle of Montebello. Ott retreats to Voghera. Error of Dumas in his account of this battle. Buonaparte remains in his former position. Irresolution of the Austrians. Uncertainty of the French as to the movements of Melas. They advance, and pass the Scrivia to Marengo. Arrival of Desaix. His interview with Buonaparte. He is appointed to command the centre; and is detached on the left of the line. Anxiety of the French. Numbers and positions of the two Armies. Battle of Marengo. The French are driven back at all points. Steadiness of the Consular Guard. It saves the division of Lannes. The French rally in a defile. Melas believes the victory won, and leaves the command to Zach. Desaix arrives with his division. Saint Cyr turns the left flank of the Austrians. Advance and death of Desaix. The division of Zach compelled to lay down its arms. Advance of the whole French line. Disorder and flight of the Austrians. Their total defeat. Loss of both sides. Desperate situation of Melas. He negociates. Convention for an armistice. Suchet re-occupies Genoa. Surrender of the Fortresses in Piedmont and Lombardy. The Austrian Army permitted to retire behind Mantua. Buonaparte returns to Milan. Re-

organization of the Cisalpine and Ligurian Republics. Massena appointed to the chief command in Italy. Buonaparte re-crosses the Alps. Lays the first stone of the Place Bellecour at Lyons. Returns to Paris.

It is by no means easy to present to any but a military eye, a distinct view of the operations which we are now about to detail. The leading features of a great battle by which the fate of a campaign is decided, or the gradual progress of the assailants in a siege, are readily apprehended; but the frequent advance and retreat upon the same line, the alternate occupation and evacuation of posts, and the movements and manœuvres practised by two armies which are endeavouring to retain each other in sight rather than to encounter, offers little but confusion, or a barren list of names and places, to the general reader.

The object of Suchet, after his repulse from the heights of St. Giacomo, was to amuse and detain his enemy as long as possible; thus giving time for the relief of Genoa, and for the advance of the Army of Reserve: and diverting a large portion of the Austrian force, both from the active prosecution of the siege, and from the occupation of positions which might impede the projected passage of the Alps. His communications with Massena had been interrupted since the battle of Voltri; and ignorant of the intentions of that General, he still persisted in retaining his positions of Settepani and Melogno. From these he continued to act upon the offensive, and to harass the Austrians by repeated petty attacks; in some of which, as in that on the redoubts of Murialto, which he carried by the bayonet, he was eminently successful.

Meantime, Melas, having entrusted the blockade of Genoa to Ott, had fixed his own head-quarters at Legine, a village between Savona and Vado; and from this point, immediately upon his arrival, he directed a combined attack upon the French on the 28th of April. The troops which had accompanied him from Genoa moved upon Melogno and Settepani—the division of Ulsnitz advanced against Calessano: and of two other divisions, the first under Lattermann marched on Borgo Finale, and the last was instructed to follow Gorupp and Kaim to the heights of St. Bernardo, and even to push its *reconnoissance* as far as the Col de Tende. Suchet, however, had been advised of his danger, and he fell back in time to avoid a combat. The news of the close investment of Genoa had reached him, and he had been informed also of the movements of the Austrians in the upper vallies of the Tanaro; so that he employed the three last days of April in taking up a more concentrated position in the rear of Settepani and Melogno. His right occupied Loano, Borghetto, and the lines of Santo Spirito: his left rested on San Bernardo and Rocca Barbena.

Strong as this position was in many points, it evidently could not long be maintained in the face of an enemy superior in numbers, and manœuvring unmolested

on the opposite heights. Loano was attacked and carried on the first of May, when a demonstration was at the same time made along the whole French line. On the following day the French left was driven from Rocca Barbena, and their centre was at the same time forced back upon Concento. The left, thus cut off, extricated itself by dint of extraordinary bravery, re-established its position at Zucharello, and thus prevented Bellegarde from piercing the entire line; a success which at one time the operations of the day had induced him confidently to expect. Borghetto alone was still occupied by the French right, who maintained it in spite of the vigorous attack from Lattermann, supported by the cannonade of the English fleet.

During the night Suchet continued his retreat. Still leaning with his right upon the coast, he halted at Oneglia and Porto Maurizio. His left was at La Pieve and pushed its flankers to the source of the Tanaro; and the two wings were connected through Toria and San Bartolomeo. The advance of the Army of Reserve, as far as Geneva and the re-occupation of Mount Cenis by Thureau's division was already known, and Suchet indulged the hope that Melas in the end might be compelled to draw off, at least some part of his forces, for the defence of Piedmont.

But the security of the French in their new position materially depended upon their being able to retain the Col de Tende, which Lesuire protected with about 1800 men. The few unimportant skirmishes which took place during the next four days were, for the most part, disadvantageous to the Austrians; but they covered the advance of Gorupp with greatly superior forces on the Col de Tende whence, on the 6th of May, he chased Lesuire as far as Saorgio.

About an hour before day-break, on the 7th, a general attack was directed against the whole French line, to bear upon which, Melas brought about 16,000 men into the field. Suchet's principal strength was in his centre. This was gallantly defended. In the village of Cesio the battle raged during five hours with copious bloodshed: for the men fought chiefly with the bayonet. The left was early cut off, and after ineffectual efforts to re-establish its communications, gave way to Acquarone. It was here that Suchet endeavoured to restore the fortune of the day by bringing up his reserve. But his line was broken; the Austrians already had possession of Acquarone, and he was compelled to retire still farther on the Taggia, in constant action, and endeavouring to profit by the slightest obstacle which could retard his pursuers, and prevent them from interposing between his routed divisions and the coast. In this object, upon which the very existence of his little army depended, he was at length successful, through the firmness of his right wing, which defended Porto Maurizio with the utmost valour. The advance of Lattermann, with an overwhelming superiority of force, was long delayed by the destructive fire which a handful of men continued to pour from some loop-

holed sheds which they garrisoned to the very last extremity.

If the Col de Tende had not been forced, Suchet might have occupied the line formed by the course of the Roya from that range of mountains to Vintimiglia, as his last position before crossing the ancient frontier of France. But Melas had anticipated this probable defence, and in order to prevent its adoption, he had already, as we have seen above, mastered the heights of the Col de Tende before he attacked the valley of Oneglia. Suchet, therefore, had no choice but that of precipitate retreat; he hastily provisioned the fortresses of Vintimiglia, Villafranca, and Montalbano, rallied his scattered troops on the Roya, and on the 11th of May betook himself from Nice, with the intention of effecting the passage of the Var.

The combat of Oneglia had been most bloody, but the loss of the French during the three days which succeeded was not so severe as might have been expected, under the hot and close pursuit of a victorious enemy. The passage of the Var, however, in the very presence of the pursuers (for the Austrians entered Nice on the day of its evacuation) offered no slight difficulties. The divisions of Melas pressed on from all quarters, and surrounded the rear-guards which were left to cover the retreat. Not one of these, however, was taken. They cut their way through the Austrians; and Suchet, beaten, but not dispirited, conveyed his whole force in safety across the river on the 12th of May, leaving on the Italian bank a small detachment only, which might be sufficient for the defence of the *Tete du Pont*. This he had entrenched; it was protected by heavy artillery, for which he had sent to Antibes, and manned by gunners procured from the coast. Of his three remaining garrisons, that of Montalbano was the most important. The castle of that place stands upon a height separating the gulf of Villafranca from the roadstead of Nice, and thus commands both those towns, and the whole course of the Paglione. On this fort Suchet had established a telegraph; so that, having left a *vidette* in the rear of the Austrians, he was rapidly acquainted with their movements, whether towards Genoa or Turin. A second telegraph was placed on the right bank of the Var at Gilette, and a third at the head-quarters at St. Laurent. The intelligence thus conveyed could not be intercepted, and afforded the most important advantages.

The enthusiasm of the Austrians was at its height on their entrance into Nice. They who had seen the French armies at the gates of Vienna, now, in return, themselves for the first time set foot on the territory of the Republic. A cruizer announced the approach of the English force which had embarked from Minorca for the investment of Toulon: it was expected that the whole peasantry would rise *en masse* to join the invaders; and the Var, which had always been esteemed one of the weakest barriers of France, was not likely to oppose more than a brief obstacle to their advance, even if Suchet, which seemed doubtful, should be obstinate enough to defend it at all.

But the Var, though naturally

presenting many points of facility by which an able general would be sure to profit in his attack, and distracting its defenders by the menaces which an army approaching it might equally direct against both the great arsenals of Toulon and Marseilles, and also against the interior of France by the valley of the Durance, nevertheless was not to be abandoned in haste. Despatches from the First Consul had announced the successful opening of the campaign on the Rhine under Moreau; and, what was still more important to the immediate question, had given assurances of his own advance amid the Alps, and his preparations for a descent, which might soon be expected to occupy the attention of the whole Austrian force in Italy. The line of the Var, from the very circumstance by which it was exposed to danger, had long attracted the close attention of engineers, so that the field upon which Suchet had to act was amply prepared. From the first entrance of the French into the County of Nice, in 1792, numerous batteries had been constructed on the right bank, exclusive of the formidable *tete du pont* before mentioned: all these bore upon the bridge, which is 300 toises in length, and all were carefully and skilfully adapted to the different varieties of ground. The line itself was short, and therefore required but few men for its defence: the left rested upon difficult mountains, the right upon the sea. The river in its front was a torrent, which, though generally fordable, sometimes swelled to an alarming height in a very few hours. In the rear were assembling all the disposable forces from Marseilles and Toulon. The fortified places, Colmar, Entrevaux, and Antibes were in a good state of defence, and by the 15th of May full 14,000 men might be expected to muster under the command of Suchet.

But before this force was completely gathered together, the Austrians, after a few days repose, on the 13th, attacked the *tete du pont*. The three divisions of Ulsnitz, Lattermann, and Bellegarde were employed in this operation, which completely failed. The action was most obstinately contested; but the Austrians, at length overwhelmed by a terrific cross-fire from batteries which they little expected to find mounted with guns of such heavy calibre, gave way in disorder. Rochambeau, to whom the defence of the *tete du pont* was entrusted, pursued his advantage, and followed up his enemy to their entrenchments. The great strength of these works, and the care with which they had been constructed, secured the retreat of the Austrians; but, at the same time, the adoption of precautions so unusual with an army acting on the offensive, impressed Suchet with a confident belief that Melas did not long intend to remain before him in person, but that drawing off with his reserve he would leave only a corps of observation to guard the defiles of the Col de Tende and the route to Genoa. He was soon confirmed in his suspicions by the telegraphic advices from Montalbano. Buonaparte at the moment of the passage of the St. Bernard forwarded peremptory instructions to Suchet to amuse Melas as long as might be in his power.

Suchet, accordingly, manœuvred on his left wing. He repassed

the Var at Malaussene, and by some bold movements in the direction of the Col de Tende, he attracted the attention of the Austrians to that quarter. Melas, indeed, felt persuaded that his opponent could scarcely have been desperate enough to resume the offensive without the support of considerable reinforcements, and he determined, therefore, to renew his own attacks before the French could meet him with greater equality of numbers.

Before this second attack, however, he had received intelligence which he could no longer doubt of the passage of the St. Bernard; and on the 21st of May he had commenced his march, with two divisions, to the plains of Piedmont, by Sospello and the Col de Tende. The command on the Var devolved on Ulsnitz, who, at break of day on the following morning, directed an imposing mass against the impregnable *tete du pont*. Six regiments of infantry, and eleven battalions of grenadiers, were supported on their right by a strong field battery of flying artillery, from which eleven pieces threw a continual discharge of grape. A frigate and two pinnaces anchored at the mouth of the Var, enfiladed both banks, and covered the approach of the storming party to the very foot of the works. Formidable as this attack appeared, it was successfully resisted, and the Austrians, after a severe conflict, were driven back to their lines, not without considerable havoc.

Melas was accompanied by 6000 men; he entered Coni on the 23d, and Savigliano on the following day. Here he first learned the capture of Ivrea. This intelligence was a proof, not to be denied, of the progress of Berthier, whom the Austrians still believed was at the head of the army of reserve. The presence of Buonaparte himself was not credited even at this late moment, and Melas continued to flatter himself that the amount of the force before him was grossly exaggerated; that the boasted army by which he was menaced could not exceed 20,000 men at the most; and that these could readily be checked by the junction of his own troops with those under Kaim, so as to occasion only a short postponement of his ulterior designs upon Provence.

Ulsnitz made one more attempt on the *tete du pont* of the Var; but the unusual preparations which were observed in the Austrian lines did not escape the little garrison of Montalbano, and Suchet was advised by the telegraph of the projected attack. No precaution was omitted by the Austrians to ensure success. Heavy guns and gobians were disembarked from the flotilla; the redoubts and out-works were strengthened, fresh batteries were constructed, and all the approaches to their own entrenchments were carefully barricaded. At three in the afternoon of the 17th, twenty pieces of cannon opened a well-sustained fire, which was continued and answered by the French till ten at night. On its cessation, during the first pause of silence, the Austrian grenadiers rushed on with loud shouts in the direction of the bridge; but their impetuosity was arrested by an overwhelming discharge of musquetry and grape, reserved till they were almost within reach of pistol-shot. The attack was renewed about an

hour afterwards with increased vigour. Two hundred sappers at the head of the leading column, armed with fascines and grenades, forced their way to the first *abbatis*, but here they were stopped, and perished to a man.

All farther progress on the Var was hopeless, and on the night which followed this repulse the Austrians abandoned their lines. On the morrow, the French attacked, in turn, the rear-guards which covered the retreat, and captured four pieces of cannon and 300 prisoners. Rochambeau followed up the pursuit, and hemmed in a detachment which had already been exposed to the fire of the garrison of Montalbano and Villafranca.

The force under Ulsnitz consisted of 15,000 men, almost all infantry, picked troops, and well supplied with stores and provisions. His present object was a junction with Ott, and his movements were necessarily to be determined by the state of affairs before Genoa. If Massena still held out, it was not possible to interpose too many obstacles before the advance of Suchet to his relief, and the Austrians were bound to retire slowly towards the blockading army: if, on the other hand, Ott was master of the city, it was only necessary to leave a small corps of observation before Suchet, which might act in unison with the now friendly garrisons of Savona and Genoa; and then to lose no time in crossing the Appenines and joining the other divisions which were assembling on the plains of Alessandria.

The line of the Roya, therefore, was the first obvious position which presented itself to Ulsnitz, as covering both Genoa and the Col de Tende from the side of France. Hither Melas had despatched some officers of engineers and a numerous body of sappers. It was a position well known in former campaigns, and strong both by art and nature; for the chain of posts ran along commanding heights, and the Roya is a torrent the most bold and rapid of any stream which flows between the Alps and Appenines. The Austrian line occupied about twenty-five leagues; the right on the Col de Tende, the centre at Broglio, the left at Vintimiglia.

The disposable force with which Suchet was able to advance did not exceed 9000 men, and it was requisite, by daring and boldness, to deceive the Austrians into a belief that his numbers were far greater. He knew, from the circumstances of the campaign, that Ulsnitz must be compelled, however gradually, to continue his retreat; and for his own, even in case of a reverse, it was always secured by the *tete du pont* at the Var. In order to strengthen this barrier by additional works he had left such troops as were unfit or unable to accompany his forward movement.

His grand object then was to turn the right of the Austrians, and thus to carry their posts on the Col de Tende. In order to cover this movement, it was necessary to direct a feigned attack at the same time on Vintimiglia. For this latter service not more 1000 men could be spared; about four times that number was destined for the other two columns. Without an intimate knowledge of the narrow

field upon which this action was fought, the reader can gain little information by being told the points which were valorously defended and carried. The posts on the Col de Tende were successively stormed by the French, or evacuated by the Austrians when they found themselves unsupported. More than a thousand prisoners fell into the hands of the conquerors, the camp-equipage of generals Belgarde and Gorrupp was among the booty, and it was not without difficulty that these officers themselves escaped capture.

Thus, on the 3rd of June, Ulsnitz finding his right defeated, and being hard pressed by the division of Rochambeau, which advanced on Vintimiglia, abandoned his wounded, baggage, and thirty pieces of cannon, and precipitately retired by the Corniche. Having reached Oneglia, he moved upon La Pieva, there intending to concentrate his troops, to protect the evacuation of the Riviera di Levante, and to cover the retreat of a numerous convoy of 5000 mules, which were filing off in the direction of Ceva. The rapidity of the French columns disturbed his intended halt, and he was obliged to continue his march, which, though full of difficulty, was successfully effected. His rear-guard, indeed, on the 5th, was overtaken by the three divisions of Menard, Mengaud, and Clausel, who captured 1500 men and six stands of colours, and pursued the fugitives up the valley of the Tanaro; with this exception, the loss on the Austrian retreat was inconsiderable.

Suchet had no farther obstacle before him in his course to Genoa. He was already in fresh possession of his old position at Finale, Melogno, Settepani, and San Giacomo; his rear was secure, and the blockade of the fort of Vintimiglia, into which Ulsnitz had thrown 200 men before his final retreat, could detain but a few battalions. Massena might almost hear his signal cannon, and, in fancy, Genoa was relieved. But the fate of the besieged city had been decided on the very day which raised these brilliant hopes of Suchet to their height, and at the moment in which the last division of Austrians was overthrown at La Pieva, the capitulation of Genoa was signed. On the 6th, Suchet reached Savona, where he was joined by 8500 men under General Gazan, whom the terms of the Convention had permitted to quit the captured city by land. Savona was in the hands of the Austrians, and round this town, and on the banks of the Bormida, the French took up their cantonments.

We have thus brought down our narrative of the operations of the divisions under Suchet some days later than that of the corresponding movements of the army of reserve, to which we now return. During the last week of May, Melas had fixed his head-quarters at Turin, and there awaited the farther progress of the French, uncertain, indeed, as to their precise line of march, but anticipating no very distant attack. Gradually awaked to a sense of his increasing danger, and at length compelled to admit the presence of Buonaparte himself with his army, he hastily summoned Ott from Genoa, and instructed him to move by forced

marches to the occupation of Pavia. This order arrived while the negociation for the surrender of Genoa was yet pending; Ott was ignorant of the real state of the campaign, and of the paramount importance of strengthening Melas at all hazards. The great object for which the Austrians hitherto had been contending, and to the attainment of which so many lives and so much time had been devoted, seemed now within his grasp; and he attributed the summons which Melas directed to him not so much to the difficulties of his situation, which rendered support indispensable, as to wearisomeness of the blockade and despair of ultimate triumph. He could not, therefore, resolve to abandon Genoa at the moment at which its gates appeared to be opening to him; and blind to the future disgrace and discomfiture which he was purchasing by this short-lived conquest, he persisted in treating with Massena till the period had gone by (and so critical was the point, that it depended upon a very few hours) in which he might, perhaps, effectually have turned the fortune of the campaign.

When Buonaparte moved upon the Tesino, the only troops which were prepared to oppose him were the corps of observation which had been left against the *debouches* of Swisserland, and the divisions of cavalry and artillery under Laudon, which were useless in a siege, and which, therefore, had not been employed before Genoa. The bed of the Tesino is wide, and its course extremely rapid. The Austrians were sufficiently apprized of the intention of the French, notwithstanding the extreme rapidity of their movement, to destroy their flying bridge; and the stores of the army did not afford materials for constructing another. A few old and leaky boats (it has been said not more than four in number), rowed by the shovels of the pioneers as oars, afforded the only means of crossing; and the passage was to be effected in the face of a terrific cannonade, and of a fire of musquetry heavily directed from thick osier beds on the opposite bank. Gerard, the adjutant-general, was the first to throw himself across, and his gallant example was speedily followed. The French attacked in three points at once, and their onset was most impetuous. At one place, a small island in a bend of the river commanded the Austrian flank, and on this Murat succeeded in planting a single piece of artillery and a few companies of grenadiers. Their fire enfiladed the line and compelled it to give way. The pursuit was continued as far as the village of Turbigo; the main street of which, by its breadth, afforded particular facility for cavalry. In this the Austrians rallied; 8000 horse, under the command of Laudon himself, hastened to their support; and a brilliant and vigorous charge protracted the combat for some hours longer and increased the effusion of blood. It did little more; for the French had already passed their masses of infantry across the river, and had formed under the protection of the canal of Milan. The ground, which was deeply intersected and covered with wood, was un-

favourable for cavalry unless in particular situations, and Laudon was in the end compelled to evacuate Turbigo, leaving 400 dead and 1200 prisoners.

The Tesino was passed at two other points, at Sesto Calende, near Arona, into the citadel of which the Austrians were driven, and at Buffarolo, on the great road to Milan. Thither the First Consul advanced; and on the 2nd of June he entered the Capital of Lombardy. To the latest moment of his approach the Austrians were undecided as to their course of action; whether they should defend or evacuate the city. The advanced guard of the French was much harassed in its march, and the ferment by which a great city is naturally agitated when the lapse of only a few hours transfers it into the possession of new masters, had by no means subsided when Buonaparte reached its gates. The Austrians in retiring threw 2000 men into the citadel, and the cannon from its ramparts played upon the consular guard as it entered. The First Consul accompanied the van, and he has recorded the astonishment of the Milanese when they witnessed his arrival. His person was well known and soon recognized, and it was one of the first which presented itself to the crowds as they poured out, excited either by enthusiasm or curiosity, to meet the advance of the French. The citizens would scarcely believe the evidence of their senses. It had been reported that Buonaparte died on the Red Sea, and no Milanese supposed that he was really in existence.

During the six days which he remained in Milan, from the 2nd to the 8th of June, the First Consul was actively engaged in reorganizing the Cisalpine Republic. His chief efforts were directed to tranquillize and moderate the resentment naturally excited in that party which once again under his protection had become dominant, and which from a remembrance of its own recent degradation might be expected to feel a strong desire for vengeance. In order to check this dangerous reaction, he personally received every deputation which presented itself, and forcibly impressed upon the leading citizens of all classes the necessity of a general oblivion and amnesty.

The magazines and hospitals which had been deserted by the Austrians in their hasty abandonment of the city were invaluable acquisitions, and provided the army with many articles essential to their complete equipment, of which the difficulties of their long march over the Alps, and the rapidity of their subsequent movements, had entirely deprived them. The brief repose which Buonaparte allowed to the troops was not wholly unbroken. Strong reconnoitring parties scoured the country in various directions. On the north, one detachment, on the line of the Lago Maggiore, fell in with the vanguard of Moncey, whose division of 15,000 men, though advancing slowly, was reviewed by the First Consul under the walls of Milan on the 6th and 7th of June. Murat on the first of these days pushed forward to Piacenza. There he surprized the *tete du pont*, and captured the greater part of the boats which composed it. But a more valuable, or at least a more curious booty, was found in a despatch

from the Ministry at Vienna to Melas, which was intercepted at the same time, and which betrayed a scarcely credible ignorance of the real situation of Europe. The existence of the army of reserve was still peremptorily denied. Melas was instructed to continue his operations in Provence with undiminished vigour, in the hope that a victory gained in that quarter might recal the French army of the Rhine from the heart of Germany, into which it had already penetrated. It was added, that the First Consul at one time had advanced as far as Geneva, but that an insurrection in Paris had compelled him to return without loss of time to his Capital.

While the main body of the French army, after passing the Tesino, had spread itself over the plains of Lombardy, as far as the banks of the Adda, General Lannes with the van-guard followed the left bank of the Po from Chivasso to Cesale, repulsing such detachments of the Austrians as ventured to cross the river. By forced marches he gained upon the division which Ott had ordered to garrison Pavia, and presenting himself most unexpectedly at its gates, he not only occupied the city, but surprised a large convoy of military stores and 200 cannon, among which were 30 pieces of field artillery completely mounted: an inestimable prize to an army which it was evident was most probably at the eve of a great and decisive battle.

The fort of Bard capitulated, and the troops employed in its blockade moved downward on Ivrea, which was already filled with provisions, stores, and baggage. Melas still lingered at Turin, ignorant of the course which the French had taken towards the Adda, and considering the capture of Genoa as the paramount object of the campaign. The intelligence of the fall of that city, and of the occupation of Milan by Buonaparte, arrived at the same moment; and the Austrian General found that the attainment of that which hitherto had formed his chief wish but little diminished the embarrassment of his situation. Piedmont was no longer defensible, and he wisely resolved upon the abandonment of the few petty garrisons which he still maintained in that country. If he could keep possession of the line between the Po and the Appenines these fortresses were no longer requisite; and if he was compelled to retire upon Mantua they must inevitably be lost. Exclusive of this general policy, no additional numbers, however small, were to be neglected which he could possibly connect with his disjointed force. Alessandria, therefore, was named as the gathering point for all his divisions. Thither he hastened himself by Asti. Ulsnitz retiring before Suchet advanced to the same place up the valley of the Tanaro; and Ott, who had broken up from Genoa after its surrender, *debouched* by the Bochetta upon Piacenza and Tortona; and although his van-guard was beaten by Murat, he took up a good position in front of the French at Casteggio and Montebello.

Murat, in the mean time, had followed up his advantage at Piacenza, and it was in this second skirmish that he captured 2000 prisoners from the van-guard of

Ott. Lannes had crossed the Po at Belgiojoso, and his bivouac on the right bank had been beaten up by a large body of Austrians. For a time he was in considerable danger. His assailants were much superior in numbers, and they were also well supported by artillery. But the whole of the van, and a large supplementary division of the French army, effected their passage during the combat, and the Austrians gave way upon Stradella. They were not pursued; for the French reserved themselves to protect the passage of their remaining force.

The Po was now securely crossed, and the Austrian line was thus intersected. Ott, however, had come up from Genoa in three marches; his infantry was excellent, his grenadiers were the flower of the Austrian army, and their strength was computed on the whole at not less than 18,000 men. Lannes was in position in front of Stradella when, on the morning of the 9th of June, he was attacked by this formidable detachment. The possession of the heights gave the Austrians the advantage of a commanding fire, and the first part of the combat was decidedly favourable to them. On the right, some ground indeed behind Casteggio was won for a moment by the French, but it was speedily retaken, and they were driven back from it in disorder. Too confident in pursuit, the Austrians were checked in turn; and after a most bloody and ferocious contest, in which they were led not less than five times to the charge, they were compelled to retire upon the heights of Montebello. Lannes, meantime, had directed his centre directly upon Casteggio, and both this division and his right were seriously engaged. Ott omitted no effort to regain his lost ground towards Casteggio. That village was twice taken and re-taken. The Austrian cavalry profiting by the cover of some hedges made repeated charges with considerable success, while showers of grape thundered from a long line of artillery. These were answered by the cannon of the Consular guard, and so near were the gunners of the two armies at one time that scarcely twenty paces separated the muzzles of their cannon.

The battle had raged for six hours. Lannes was master of Casteggio, but Ott still obstinately maintained his second line at Montebello, the town from which the action takes its name. It was about mid-day when the French reserve, under Victor, arrived on the field, and the contest was renewed with increased fury. The men fought principally in standing corn, which sometimes concealed the opposite ranks from each other, till their very bayonets touched. From one strong battery the French were thrice repulsed; but a detachment had manœuvred on its left, the post was turned, and on the fourth attack it was carried both in flank and front; the corps which defended it was overthrown, and the French pursued them along the heights to the entrance of Montebello. Ott, after this honorable and sanguinary resistance was obliged to retreat upon Voghera, he had 3000 killed and 5000 prisoners. Six cannon and numerous colours swelled the triumph of the conquerors, and Buonaparte, who had hastened to the field on the first intelligence of the attack, but who did not reach it till the vic-

tory had been decided, describes the ground to have been entirely strewed with dead, Lannes himself to have been covered with blood, and his troops, though worn out with fatigue, to have been intoxicated with joy.

It has been stated by a military writer, to whose volumes all narrators of these campaigns must be deeply indebted for the fidelity of their details*, that the action of Montebello was sought by the First Consul, that, adopting a policy which he often practised with success on other occasions, he determined to attack the Austrians, and to weaken them by a partial engagement before Melas could unite his scattered divisions. From Buonaparte's own Memoirs, however, it appears that his design was far otherwise, "Lannes," says Napoleon, "was in position, and expecting reinforcements every moment, he had no inducement to attack; but the Austrian General brought on the battle at day break." The French at first had only 8000 men under arms, and had it not been for the seasonable advance of Victor, who was three leagues from the field at the commencement of the action, the combat must have terminated most destructively to their army.

In corroboration of this statement, it may be remarked, that for three days succeeding the battle of Montebello, the French, though victorious, remained in their position at Stradella. The First Consul was employed in concentrating his army, and in rendering its retreat secure, if such a step should be found necessary. For this purpose two bridges were thrown over the Po, and their approaches were protected by strongly fortified *tetes du pont*. The line occupied at this time was peculiarly adapted to the situation and *materiel* of the French army, which was much inferior to its opponents, both in cavalry and artillery. The marshy and impracticable plains on the banks of the Po, and the large villages constructed chiefly of great houses of solid masonry, rendered useless the operations of those branches in which the chief strength of the Austrians consisted. It was no longer necessary to press forward for the relief of Genoa, which was known to have fallen. Every hour added an increase of numbers to the French ranks, and of strength to their present position. Suchet was in motion, he had been instructed to advance upon the Scrivia, so that he might *debouche* by Cadebona on the Austrian rear; and the Tesino, in case the Austrians should attempt to establish themselves on that river, was amply protected by a corps of not less than 10,000 men, partly composed of the division of Lapoype and partly of the garrison of Milan.

The inaction of the French was the result of sound military policy, that in which the Austrians persisted arose from the irresolution consequent upon defeat. The head quarters of Melas were at Alessandria, and his position had become most critical. He was cut off from his line of operations and from his magazines, and placed between the two armies of Buonaparte and Suchet; the advanced posts of the

* Dumas, *Precis des Evenemens Militaires*, tom. iii. p. 292.

last had already crossed the mountains and began to be felt on the rear of the right flank of the Austrians. After much hesitation, and a vehement discussion in a Council of war it was resolved, that a strong detachment should be sent against Suchet, while the main body of the Army should still remain to cover the line of the Bormida and the citadel of Alessandria.

But this design was counteracted by a forward movement of the French. Buonaparte had been surprised and alarmed at the unexpected tardiness of the Austrians. Up to the afternoon of the 12th, no intelligence could be procured, and it was then apprehended either that Melas had directed his entire force to crush Suchet in detail, or else that he had moved either on Genoa or the Tesino.

It was obvious, that in any of these cases the plans of the French must be determined by those of their opponents, and in order to ascertain what these plans were, it became necessary that the army should again put itself in motion, and advance in strong *reconnoissance*. Accordingly in the evening it quitted Stradella and took up a position on the Scrivia. Tortona wes surrounded; the head quarters were fixed at Voghera, and as in the progress of the march none but a few piquets of Austrian cavalry were visible, little doubt remained upon Buonaparte's mind but that their army was no longer before him.

On the 13th at day break, he passed the Scrivia, and marched to San Giuliano in the midst of the great plain of Marengo. Still no Austrians were to be discovered. The light cavalry swept the plain from the Bormida to the Scrivia, and the First Consul in person accompanied the reconnoitring parties of horse guards and light artillery. One point alone, the village of Marengo, was found occupied by the enemy, with a detachment of 5 or 6000 men. They were briskly attacked at once in front and flank, and routed and pursued to the Bormida. There the approach of night, the strength of the reserved entrenchments, and the fire of twenty pieces of cannon, arrested the progress of the French. Their scouts could learn little more than that the Austrians had no bridge on the river, and that Alessandria was not occupied by more than an ordinary garrison. Of Melas himself they brought no intelligence at all.

Before he quitted Stradella, the First Consul received an invaluable acquisition to his Staff in the person of Desaix. Having returned from Egypt, this gallant soldier disembarked at Toulon, and there while performing quarantine, he learned the successful operations on the Rhine, and the passage of the St. Bernard. Burning to distinguish himself once more under the eyes of his old comrades in arms, he received with delight a summons from Buonaparte to abridge his tedious quarantine, and to join him instantly at head quarters. He arrived on the evening of the battle of Montebello, and the whole night was spent in conferences with the First Consul.

There have been few, if any, confidential interviews between great men of which the particulars can

be collected by the annalist, with such apparent vouchers for their correctness. Buonaparte himself has stated the subject of their conversation and its outlines. It turned principally upon Egypt; and a letter, written by Desaix the night before he quitted Toulon, is still extant, detailing at length his opinions upon the campaign in that country. From these two sources, materials the most ample, if not the most accordant with each other, may be derived. The First Consul inquired respecting all that had passed since himself had quitted the army of the East; the campaign in Upper Egypt, the negociations of El Arisch and the battle of Heliopolis, (points for which we must refer to our subsequent pages,) all excited his curiosity. "How," asked Buonaparte, "could you put your name to the capitulation of El Arisch?" "I did it," replied Desaix, "and I would do it again, because the commander in chief was unwilling to remain in Egypt; and because in an army at a distance from home, and beyond the influence of Government, the inclinations of the commander in chief are equivalent to that of five-sixths of the army. I always had the greatest contempt for the Grand Vizier's army, which I have observed closely. I wrote to Kleber that I would undertake to repulse it with my own division alone. If you had left me the command of the army of Egypt, and had taken Kleber away with you, I would have preserved that fine province for you, and you should never have heard a word about capitulation; but, however, things turned out well, and Kleber made up at Heliopolis for the mistakes which he had been committing during the six months before."

Such is Buonaparte's report; but in many points it is not corroborated by Desaix's letter to Dumas. In that he delivers his recollections of Egypt in terms of unqualified horror. It is no wonder, he says, that our painful campaign in Upper Egypt is generally unintelligible, for it did not resemble any thing which has been hitherto known. It could not be termed warfare; it was a difficult chase, in which unsupported infantry was perpetually endeavouring to face a bold and well equipped cavalry, which fought or abstained from fighting just as it pleased. Constantly reinforced and covered by enormous deserts, the springs and pastures of which were known only to themselves; the Mamelukes might be surprised and dispersed, but they never could be decisively beaten. No pursuit was less than 500 leagues, and the French were engaged more than once in traversing this fatiguing distance. The recital of our campaign, he concludes, is a history of our patience and of our sufferings, not of our military combinations.

Desaix's arrival was most welcome to the First Consul, who immediately gave him a high command, and intrusted him with two divisions of his centre. On entering the plains of Marengo, in his uncertainty as to the real position of the Austrians, Buonaparte ordered this corps to move upon his left, in order to observe the road from Novi to Alessandria, and to endeavour, if possible, to

connect itself with Massena and Suchet, both of whom were supposed to be advancing. The night of the 13th was passed by the French in extreme anxiety. The First Consul wished to visit the head quarters of the preceding day, at which he hoped to receive intelligence from his now widely dispersed divisions; but the Scrivia had overflowed its banks, its passage was impossible, and he was content to fix his bivouac in the most central position which offered, at Torre di Garafola, between Tortona and Alessandria. The day had been wet and cold, the troops were drenched with rain and exhausted with fatigue, and the night closed in upon them cheerless and uncertain of the morrow.

During the night between the 11th and 12th Melas became acquainted with Buonaparte's movement on the Scrivia; and he then immediately recalled the detachment which had been ordered against Suchet. The two following days were passed in stormy discussions at the Austrian head quarters; but whatever opinions were declared, as to the causes of the critical situation in which their army was placed, one single resolution prevailed among the chiefs, that it was only by a decisive battle that either their honor or their safety could now be consulted. In case of victory, every thing, it was thought, would be gained, since they were already masters of Genoa: if the battle were lost, dreadful as their situation would be, they would not have failed in their duty. Ott, Ulsnitz, Haddick, and Kaim, had joined their forces with those of the General in Chief; and the army in front of Alessandria did not count less than 40,000 men, of whom 6 or 7000 were excellent cavalry. The artillery was well appointed and numerous; and in spite of the little accord among the generals, the discontent of the troops, the frustration of the original plan of Melas, and the local difficulties by which he was surrounded, the orders for battle, on the morning of the 10th were received with enthusiasm, and the necessary dispositions were made with vigour and ability.

Three divisions comprised the whole of the French army, Lannes commanded the right, Desaix, who had already moved half a day's march towards Novi, the centre, Victor the left. The cavalry were under Murat; it amounted to somewhat more than 3500 men, the infantry not quite to 24,000. At break of day, on the 14th, the Austrians rapidly crossed the Bormida by three bridges. A heavy cannonade covered their advance, and they bore down in compact masses upon the division of Victor, which occupied the village of Marengo. Haddick and Melas led two parallel lines to the charge, and in this quarter the action soon became general. Berthier had been in the field from an early hour, and forwarded intelligence from time to time to head quarters; but the violence of the cannonade, and the frequent arrivals of wounded men in the rear, long before mid-day, removed all doubt that the Austrians were in force, and that battle had been accepted. Buonaparte took post between St. Giuliano and Marengo, about ten o'clock; the latter village had been obstinately defended more than

two hours, but Victor at length gave way. His division was thrown into the utmost disorder, the plain was covered with fugitives, and the cry of despair, "all is lost," already was raised.

After carrying Marengo the divisions of Kaim and Haddick deployed upon the left and bore down on Lannes. They already extended beyond the French line, and they charged with the full confidence which their late success inspired. Lannes stood firm, and the Austrians for a moment were checked. The First Consul advanced in front, and by intreaties and persuasions endeavoured to rally the disordered troops which were hastening from the field before him. He had, before this, recalled Desaix; and now, careless of personal safety, he despatched his own body guard of cavalry, 800 men, the *elite* of his army, to the assistance of Lannes.

It was not, however, till they had reached the rear of St. Giuliano, a distance of two leagues from the spot in which they were first engaged, that the different corps under Victor could be restored to order. In their flight (for it was no less) they were closely pursued and severely harassed by the Austrian cavalry. Their disaster entirely altered the French line of battle, and so exposed the left of the division under Lannes, that, notwithstanding the partial success which attended it, the retirement of this corps also soon became necessary. Buonaparte covered the retreat in person, with a demi-brigade of infantry, about 900 men. They formed in subdivisions, and without artillery or cavalry at first advanced upon the Austrians. Their ranks were thinned by a wide range of cannonade, but they drew closer, formed a hollow square, and repulsed three charges of horse. Their firmness gave time for the safe retirement of Lannes. In the midst of a vast plain, exposed to the grape-shot of 80 pieces of cannon, he effected this movement which occupied three hours in completion, with admirable coolness and precision.

It was three in the afternoon when the entire French line was in full retreat; through a space of two leagues not six thousand men stood to their colours, and not more than six pieces of artillery could be brought into play. The dead and dying covered the whole field, and the First Consul, in the midst of the greatest rage of the cannonade was observed, in the centre of the plain, surrounded by his Staff and a small escort of grenadiers giving his orders unmoved, and encouraging the few scattered troops who yet maintained their ground. His hopes still rested upon the arrival of Desaix, and the success of a movement which he had directed Saint Cyr to make to outflank the entire left of the Austrians by gaining Castel Ceriolo.

On the right of Marengo runs a narrow defile, flanked on one side by a wood, on the other by some bushy vineyards. It was at this point that the French paused in their retreat, and, notwithstanding the dreadful fire of the Austrian line, and the menaces of the cavalry eagerly watching the first opening which might be permitted to them, the defile was steadily maintained. Melas believed the victory to be decided, and com-

mitting the pursuit to Zach, the chief of his Staff, he re-passed the Bormida and entered Alessandria. Meantime Desaix had arrived on the field. His corps required a short repose from the fatigue of its forced march, but it was fresh to battle, and it restored the drooping spirits of those who had been unsuccessfully engaged. While it took up a position on some heights in advance of San Giuliano, the First Consul was actively forming arrangements for the renewal of the combat, and inspiring confidence by his presence and by the clearness of his instructions. The hour passed in this preparation is described, nevertheless, to have been most terrible. The thunder of the Austrian artillery was ceaseless. Every discharge mowed down whole ranks, and both men and horses were swept away by the *ricochet* bullets. Balls and shells innumerable fell upon San Giuliano, the left of which was already gained by Zach's grenadiers. The French closed over the bodies of their comrades as they fell, and burned with impatience for the signal which was at hand, and which they now felt assured would give them the power of vengeance.

Saint Cyr had been successful in his movement upon Castel Ceriolo, in which he established and maintained himself with unequalled gallantry. It was not till it was too late to remedy the neglect, that the Austrian generals perceived the importance of this position, which in truth formed the hinge upon which the event of the battle was to turn. The plain was covered with the wrecks of the retreating army, and this single isolated out-post was comparatively disregarded. From it, however, the new line of the French had been formed—it was in immediate connection with the grenadiers of the Consular guard—these rested upon the corps of Lannes. Lannes was flanked by Desaix, and on the extreme left Victor had re-established his division, fired with shame at their discomfiture, and eager to be led again to the field that they might wipe away its stain. The cavalry formed a second line in the rear of the whole.

A few words communicated the First Consul's plan to Desaix, still fewer intimated his design to the ranks as he passed along them; "Enough of retreat, soldiers! Forward! You know I always sleep on the field of battle!" The Austrians still advanced, and the division of Zach was within half cannon-shot of the French line when Desaix moved to the charge at the head of his column. Fifteen pieces of cannon preceded his march; they were not unmasked till they almost touched the Austrian artillery, and the unexpected vollies of grape astonished and checked the van of the attacking corps. Desaix threw himself at the head of 200 troopers, and under heavy discharges of musquetry was approaching the opposite bayonets when a ball struck him through the heart. He fell into the arms of Lebrun, an aid-de-camp of the First Consul, and commended himself to Buonaparte in his last breath, in a few words correspondent with the simplicity of his character; "Go, and tell the First Consul that I die with

regret in not having done enough to live in the memory of posterity."

The Austrian division was checked, by this sudden and impetuous charge; the French, more inflamed than dispirited by the death of their leader, continued to press their advantage. Eight hundred heavy horse, under the orders of Kellermann, charged into the middle of the left flank of the Austrians. Zach was unsupported and surrounded; he had advanced too far, and at the moment in which he thought himself most secure of victory he was compelled to lay down his arms. Five thousand men surrendered with their General.

The success of this charge was a signal for the advance of the whole line. The Austrians, unexpectedly attacked by an army which they believed already conquered, fled in turn, and the pursuers became the pursued. Lannes followed on the steps of Desaix, and Saint Cyr, who had completely turned the Austrian left, and was much nearer than any part of their army to the bridge of the Bormida, pressed forward to occupy it, and thus to intercept their retreat. This movement increased the confusion into which the Imperialists had been already thrown. From 8 to 10,000 cavalry which were spread over the plain in different directions, fearing that Saint Cyr's infantry might gain the bridge before them, galloped furiously towards it and overturned every thing in their way. The bridge when reached was thronged by huge masses of fugitives now in the uttermost disorder. The passage was clogged by a confused heap of artillery, horses, and men, trampling and pressing upon each other, and regardless of any thing except almost desperate struggles for personal safety. The village of Marengo afforded a short rallying point, and the ground which had been so fiercely contested at the beginning of the battle, towards evening became a scene, not of combat, but of slaughter. Victor reoccupied his first position, and the pursuit was only closed by darkness, when the clocks of the neighbouring villages struck ten.

Such was the issue of the day of Marengo; one of the most bloody in its dispute, and the most memorable in its consequences, which modern times have witnessed. The battle raged for fourteen hours incessantly along the entire line of both armies, which were never out of musket-shot from each other. The loss on both sides was great, and from the variety of fortune which had occurred probably it was very equal; or only somewhat greater on the side of the Austrians in proportion to their relative superiority of force. No soldier present, however high his station, but had encountered the most imminent peril. On the side of the French many balls lodged in the clothes of the First Consul. Of the loss of Desaix we have already spoken; and among the other Generals, Marmont and Chamberlan were wounded. On the other part, Melas himself received a contusion in the arm, and had two horses killed under him. The flight of the Austrians in the end was so

rapid that (excepting the entire corps of Zach) few prisoners were taken. Eight standards, twenty pieces of cannon, and a vast store of ammunition, were left upon the field.

Melas, during the night, defiled over the Bormida, and re-occupied his camp at Alessandria; his condition was desperate, for no retreat was open to him; he could not hope to move on his right to Genoa, while closely pressed by the victorious army; and if he continued to fall back, he must be driven to the Alps and to the frontiers of France. In front was the First Consul, who might be expected to pass the Bormida at break of day. In his rear Suchet with fresh and unfatigued troops. No chance of escape from utter destruction remained unless by negociation. Buonaparte had made his preparations to carry the *tetes du pont* on the Bormida, and at day-break on the 15th the advanced posts had already commenced skirmishing, when a flag of truce arrived from the Austrian head-quarters with proposals for an armistice. On the same day, a convention* was agreed upon, by which the conquest of Italy was secured. Twelve fortified places (Genoa, and all the garrisons in Piedmont, Lombardy, and the Legation) were surrendered to the French, and in return the Austrian army was permitted to retire behind Mantua, without becoming prisoners of war.

The articles of this Convention were punctually executed: and its result was advantageous to both parties. Melas could scarcely have saved the wreck of his army; and, after his signal defeat, the fortresses which he surrendered being ill garrisoned and ill provisioned, could have made little resistance, and would have been useless for his protection. Buonaparte on the other hand, notwithstanding his recent brilliant and glorious victory, had suffered dearly in its attainment. He had no place of strength to support him; Suchet's re-inforcement, the only one to which he could immediately look, had been much diminished by its own long series of actions; 20,000 English and 10,000 Austrians were assembled in and about Genoa, and a few days might change the face of affairs, and render the state of the French as precarious as that of Melas. Each party separately regarded its own situation more than that of its adversary, and the terms proposed met with no opposition.

Suchet, during the battle of Marengo, was in sight of Alessandria, and was near enough to require observation by the Austrians, though not to partake in the action; He received orders to take possession of Genoa, which he entered upon the 25th of June, to the deep regret of the English, whose vanguard had arrived in the port from Mahon. The remaining fortresses were successively surrendered, and the army of Melas retiring on the Mincio, took up a position at Villa Franca, extending along the Po to the frontiers of the Tyrol. It thus covered the two great communications between Italy and the Hereditary States, and awaited without danger the re-inforcement which

* See State Papers, p. *360.

might be despatched to its support, and the determination of the Court of Vienna respecting the proposals of Buonaparte.

On the 17th Buonaparte quitted the field of his new glory, and re-entered Milan. He arrived by night, and found the city illuminated. For a few days his labours were directed to the more perfect re-establishment of the Cisalpine and Ligurian Republics, in which he had been interrupted by the necessity of taking the field. A *consulta* of fifty members, under the Presidency of a French Minister, superintended the general administration and finances. A committee of nine managed the home affairs and the levy of taxes. Jourdan was placed at the head of the provisional Government, and the military command in Italy was deputed to Massena, in spite of the First Consul's unconcealed disapprobation of his surrender of Genoa.

These arrangements being concluded, the First Consul quitted the Capital of Lombardy on the 24th of June. He travelled rapidly, according to his usual custom. Turin detained him only two hours, and these were passed in viewing the citadel. He then crossed Mount Cenis, and stopped at Lyons. That city recovering from the convulsions by which she had been agitated during the first period of revolutionary fury, was preparing to restore some of her former splendour. The workmen were employed in the *Place Bellecour* when Buonaparte arrived; and he gratified the wishes of the inhabitants by remaining to lay the first stone. It was not possible, he said, in his announcement to his colleagues at Paris, "to withstand the ambition of accelerating the restoration of a place which I have seen so beautiful, and which now presents a scene so deplorable. I am led to hope, that the new building will be entirely finished in two years, and I trust that before that time, the commerce of this city, formerly the pride of all Europe, will have resumed its ancient prosperity." The ceremony is described to have been most sublime and imposing, both from the concourse and the enthusiasm of the immense multitudes by which it was attended. The return of the First Consul to his Capital, on the night of the 2d of July, was hailed with still greater transports of joy by the Parisians.

Perhaps, indeed, there was no period of Buonaparte's subsequent splendid and extraordinary career, even amid triumphs extending his dominion over a far wider surface, in which his popularity attained so great a height. Eight months had not elapsed, since he had personally overthrown a tyrannous and detested oligarchy. France internally had enjoyed repose, from the moment in which he had assumed the sovereignty; and the individual oppressions which necessarily followed in the train of military despotism were forgotten, and merged by the population at large in the blaze of glory with which he had surrounded them. The stupendous passage of the Alps, and the rapidity with which he had overthrown the Austrians after his descent, were actions not surpassed in the history of war; and the burst of public joy with which this last intelligence was received, was no doubt increased by a belief which

had at first been entertained of his total defeat at Marengo. A commercial express announced these evil tidings, which were believed for many hours. The Courier had left the field at the moment of Victor's repulse, and had conveyed what he supposed to be the fate of the whole army.

CHAP. IX.

Campaign of the Army of the Rhine. Moreau assumes the command. Positions and numbers of Moreau and Kray. Plan proposed by Buonaparte. Rejected by Moreau. Modified plan. Jealousy between Buonaparte and Moreau. The French pass the Rhine. St. Suzanne is ordered to repass it. Criticism of Buonaparte on this movement. Surrender of Hohentwœl. Battle of Stockach and Engen. Defeat of the Austrians. Battle of Mœskirch. Victory claimed by each party. Retreat of the Austrians. Battle of Biberach. Defeat of the Austrians. Action at Memmingen. Kray retires upon Ulm. Moreau despatches the division of Loison to the Army of Italy. Position of the French. Manœuvres and engagements round Ulm. Surprise of Augsburgh. Objects of either General. Moreau threatens Bavaria. Passage of the Danube. Cavalry engagement at Hochstett. Kray abandons his Camp before Ulm. Pursuit by the French. Capture of Munich. Narrow escape of the Elector. Investment of Ulm. Battle of Neubourgh. Death of Latour d'Auvergne. Retreat of Kray. He takes up a position at Landshut. Inaction of both Armies. Lecourbe's operations in the Tyrol. He forces the Prince de Reuss to evacuate the intrenched Camp at Feldkirch. Armistice of Pahrsdorf.

We must now retrace our steps, in order to exhibit the military transactions which were occurring in Germany during the progress of the great events of the Italian campaign. The details, upon which we are about to enter, although not possessing an equally high interest in themselves, nor terminating in a result so splendid as that which closed the expedition of Buonaparte, are nevertheless important in their bearing upon the general political aspect of Europe; and the reader must be content to pause awhile on a less attractive narrative, if he would be acquainted with the causes which depressed the Austrian Empire, and elevated the French Republic to a pitch of unprecedented aggrandizement.

At the close of the campaign of 1799, the French armies of Helvetia and of the Rhine were united in one body, which bore the last denomination, and was placed under the command of Moreau: a General, whose enmity to the Directory had ranked him among the favoured partizans of the Consulate, and who was well acquainted in former campaigns with the scene upon which he was now called to act. The troops, at the head of which he was placed, were suffering under the same privations to which the remainder of the French army was exposed. Their distress

in all points was extreme; and the winter months were diligently employed in recruiting, clothing and provisioning, the extensive line which stretched from Alsace to Swisserland. At the approach of Spring, a detachment from the army of Holland was directed towards Mentz, and between this city and the Tyrol were spread on the left bank of the Rhine, 150,000 men, chiefly old troops, and forming, in all points, one of the finest armies which the Republic as yet had sent into the field.

The Austrians commanded by Kray, who had succeeded the Archduke Charles, were 120,000 strong; including the troops of the Empire, and the contingent of Bavaria in the pay of England. This latter force was to remain in Germany on the defensive. The head-quarters of General Kray were at Donau Schingen, his chief magazines were at Stockach, Engen, Mœskirch and Biberach, and his army was distributed into four corps.

The right, commanded by Lieutenant-field-marshal Starray, was upon the Maine. The left, under the command of the Prince de Reuss, was in the Tyrol. The two others were on the Danube, having van-guards, one under Lieutenant-General Kienmayer, opposite Kehl; another under Major-General Giulay, in Brisgaw; a third, under Prince Ferdinand, in the Forest-Towns in the environs of Bâle; a fourth, under the Prince de Vaudemont, opposite Schaffhausen.

The First Consul ordered General Moreau to act on the offensive, and to enter Germany, in order to arrest the progress of the Austrian army of Italy, which had already reached Genoa. The whole army of the Rhine was to assemble in Swisserland; and pass the Rhine at Schaffhausen. As the movement of the left of the army on its right, was to be screened by the Rhine and to be prepared long beforehand, the enemy would know nothing of it. By throwing four bridges at once across the river, at Schaffhausen, all the French army would get over in twenty-four hours, would reach Stockach, overthrow the left of the enemy, and take in the rear all the Austrians placed between the right bank of the Rhine, and the defiles of the Black Forest. In six or seven days from the opening of the campaign, the army would be before Ulm; those who could escape from the Austrian army, would retire into Bohemia. Thus the first movement of the campaign would have produced the separation of the Austrian army from Ulm, Philipsburg, and Ingolstadt, and have placed Wirtemburg, and the whole of Suabia and Bavaria in the power of the French. This plan of operation would have produced events more or less decisive, according to the chances of war, and the boldness and rapid movements of the French General.

Such was the plan which Buonaparte had traced out, and such are the speculations upon its result which, at a period long after the close of the campaign we are about to relate, he still confidently entertained. Moreau, on the other hand, saw plainly that these operations would render the army under his command only secondary agents in the war, and would reduce it to the rank of a corps of observation, employed to divert and keep the main

force of Austria in check, until the First Consul should have reaped the full harvest of victory in Italy. Instead of lending himself to the increase of Buonaparte's military glory, he, in turn, required that the Army of reserve, or at least a portion of it, should be directed to his own support on the Engadine and the Voralberg; and that no offensive movements should be undertaken in Italy, nor any co-operation be demanded which might weaken the army of the Rhine, until Kray had ceased to be formidable.

This proposition was accompanied by a threat of resignation. The First Consul, much dissatisfied, thought at first of going himself to head the army: he calculated that he should be under the walls of Vienna before the Austrian army of Italy could reach Nice; but the internal agitations of the Republic prevented his leaving the Capital and remaining at a great distance for so long a time. Moreau's project was modified, and he was authorized to take a middle course, which consisted in making his left pass the river at Brisach, his centre at Bâle, and his right above Schaffhausen.

On the 25th of March, an *arrete* of the Consuls was transmitted to Moreau, which in some degree qualified Buonaporte's original design; but which, at the same time, strictly limited the army of the Rhine in its movements, and defined the objects at which it was to aim within a narrower compass than agreed with the hopes and wishes of its commander. The campaign was to be opened, at the latest, on the 20th of April. The troops were to be divided into two *corps d'armèe*, of which one, the reserve, to be placed under Lecourbe, and consisting of a fourth of the infantry and a fifth of the cavalry, was to be destined solely for the protection of Swisserland: so that neither the Gothard nor the Simplon might be approached by Feldkirch. Meantime, the Grand army was to drive the Austrians into Bavaria, so as effectually to intercept their direct communication with Milan by the Lake of Constance or the Grisons. After the attainment of this object, even if Moreau should be compelled to retreat, he was peremptorily instructed to detach the reserve which had been left in Swisserland, so that it might enter Italy and form a junction with the First Consul in the plains of Lombardy; for it was estimated that enough ground would have been won on the right bank of the Rhine, to render any assistance of Kray too tardy for the relief of the army of Italy, even if he should succeed in reconquering the positions which he had been compelled to abandon.

These orders were received with disgust, and obeyed only in part. From their issue may be dated the origin of that bitter and jealous rivalry between Buonaparte and Moreau, which terminated at length in their open rupture; which brought the latter at one time to the very edge of the scaffold, and which closed his life of great military fame by a death of at least ambiguous honour.

Moreau's head-quarters were at Bâle; his army was composed of four corps of infantry, a reserve of heavy cavalry, and two detached divisions: Lieutenant-general Saint Suzanne, command-

ing the left, the divisions of Souham and Legrand; Lieut.-general Saint Cyr, commanding the centre, the divisions of Baraguay d'Hilliers and Ney; the General-in-chief commanding the reserve, the divisions of Delmas, Leclerc, and Richepanse; Lieutenant-general Lecourbe commanding the right, the divisions of Vandamme, Montrichard, and Lorge.

On the 25th of April, Sainte-Suzanne, commanding the left, passed the Rhine at Strasburg; Saint-Cyr with the centre, passed it the same day at Brisach; General Moreau, at the head of the corps of reserve, passed it on the 27th at Bâle. The corps of Sainte-Suzanne overthrew a body of the enemy consisting of between 12 and 15,000 men, who occupied a position before Offemberg; Saint-Cyr entered Friburg without opposition from the enemy; thence he advanced to Saint-Blaise, where the reserve, which had passed at Bâle, was already arrived. Richepanse remained at Saint-Blaise; the two other divisions, reascending the right bank of the Rhine; advanced to the mouth of the Alb. On the 26th and 27th the three divisions effected a junction on the Wuttach. On the 28th they took up a position at Neukirch; and Saint-Cyr advanced from Saint-Blaise upon the Wuttach to Stühlingen.

Meanwhile Moreau felt the necessity of recalling Sainte-Suzanne, who was to pass at Kehl on the 27th, and of making him come by the left bank of the Rhine to Vieux Brisach, repass the river, and form a second line to the corps of Saint-Cyr. For this purpose he marched upon Friburg, crossed the Val d'Enfer, and took up a position at Neustadt.

The retreat of Saint Suzanne, after his vigorous and successful attack, deceived General Stzarray, to whom he was opposed, and the right wing of the Austrians lost ten days march by following this movement of the French upon Kehl. Successfully as this operation was performed, and highly advantageous as was its result, it has not escaped without severe criticism from Buonaparte, who denies it the character of a stratagem, and charges it upon Moreau as an entirely false movement. He contends that it exposed the whole army to hazard during the thirty leagues which this corps marched from Vieux Brisach to Schaffhausen, betrayed the design of the approaching attack to the Austrians, and gave them time to concentrate their forces and present a number superior to the French on the field of Engen.

Three leagues from the Rhine, and almost opposite the town of Stein, the fortress of Hohentwœl rises on an isolated rock, and commands the neighbouring country. It was garrisoned by Wurtemburghers, and its defences were lined with eighty pieces of cannon. On the 1st of May, Lecourbe forced his passage between Stein and Deissenhoffen, and threw 20,000 men upon the right bank of the Rhine. After very slight opposition; having secured his communication with the centre, he sat down before Fort Hohentwœl. Terrified by the unexpected appearance of so large a force, the commandant capitulated at the first summons; and thus placed in the hands of the French his ar-

tillery and magazines, and, above all, a point most important for the connexion of their positions.

Moreau now counted on his right scarcely less than 80,000 men; Kray was much inferior in force. On the 2nd of May, he occupied a position with 45,000 men before the little town of Engen, having on his left at Stockach, six leagues distant, the Prince de Vaudemont, with a corps of 12,000 men, which connected his position of Engen with Lake Constance, guarded his magazines, and secured his retreat upon Mœskirch. On the 3rd, at daybreak, Lecourbe, with his three divisions, advanced on Stockach; Moreau, with the three divisions of reserve, on Engen; Saint Cyr and Saint Suzanne, being too distant from the field of battle, could not reach it in time. Lecourbe's corps marched in three columns; Vandamme, on the right, turned Stockach; Montrichard, in the centre, entered the city at the charge; General Lorge, on the left, with one brigade cut off the communication between Stockach and Engen, and with his other seconded the attack of the reserve. The Prince de Vaudemont was routed, and fell back precipitately on Mœskirch, leaving 3000 prisoners, five pieces of cannon, and his colours, in the hands of Lecourbe. During this time, the three divisions of reserve engaged the advanced guards of Field-marshal Kray, on one of the roads to Engen, at the approaches of the river Aach. The engagement quickly became warm at Wetterdingen and Mulhausen; but Moreau soon extended his line on the left: he ordered Richepanse to attack the little hill of Hohenhoven, which attack was carried on throughout the day without success. The three divisions of reserve, with the brigade of Lorge's division, and the reserve of heavy cavalry, formed a force of 40,000 men, which was something less than the number the Austrians had before Engen. Victory inclined to the Austrians, when Kray was informed of the defeat of the Prince de Vaudemont, the great success of Lecourbe, and the arrival of Saint Cyr at Hohenhoven: he then beat a retreat. Saint Cyr had left Stuhlingen in the morning; he had re-ascended the right bank of the Wuttach, and had been stopped at the defile of Zolhaus; at night his van-guard brigade, commanded by General Roussel, occupied the level of Hohenhoven. The loss was from 6000 to 7000 men on each side; but the Austrians lost, in addition, 4000 men who were made prisoners, and some pieces of cannon, most of which were taken by Lecourbe at Stockach.

The influence which this victory exercised over the remaining operations in Germany, and those which were now commencing in Italy, and the high spirit of confidence which success, on the first occasion at which they were brought in competition with the enemies, inspired in the French ranks, gave to the battle of Stockach and Engen a higher place in military estimation, than it appears to claim from its immediate results.

On the morning after this battle, as soon as Moreau had restored order in those divisions which the varied fortune of the day had thrown into confusion, he put the

whole in motion, and harassed the rear of the Austrians. Having strengthened his right by a large reinforcement, it moved on Klosterwald; his left, under St. Cyr, was directed upon Liptingen and Tuttlingen; while the centre, under Lecourbe, marched immediately upon Mœskirch. Himself, with a reserve of three divisions, moved in *echelon*, in support of the right wing. The whole army covered a front of more than two leagues in extent.

During these movements, Field Marshal Kray joined the Prince de Vaudemont, and Prince Ferdinand, at Mœskirch; in front of which town he took up a strong position with his left wing, wishing to detain Moreau until he could cover the retreat of his convoy, and secure the passage of the Danube at Sigmaringen, for such of his troops as were yet scattered after his recent defeat. The ground which he chose was strong and difficult of success, intersected by numerous ravines formed by branches of the little river Ablach, during its course into the Danube. The chief approach to it was by an elevated causeway running between two thick woods; and at the extremity of this dangerous defile, a battery of five and twenty pieces poured destruction on the French as they advanced. The artillery which covered the movement of the attacking column, was rapidly dismounted and rendered useless. Lecourbe was long engaged without support. His loss was great, but profiting by the nature of the ground on his right and left, he at length succeeded in pushing his men forward under cover of the woods, and drove this part of the Austrian line back upon Mœskirch. On one part of the French left, the village of Hendorf, which appeared the key of the whole position, was hotly contested; it was taken and retaken twice, and each time with terrific carnage. The right, meanwhile, had entered Klosterwold, and threatened the rear of Mœskirch. Each army, nevertheless, continued to maintain its ground with obstinacy, and Kray, by a dexterous charge of front, placed his whole force about mid-day in a line parallel to the Danube, and rendered all further advance of the French too hazardous to be attempted. The Austrians repeatedly charged as soon as the French hesitated, and the action continued with great slaughter, but with little decisive advantage till nightfall. Each party claimed the victory: the early part of the field of battle was won by the French, and though Kray slept on the ground which he latterly occupied, on the following morning he retired across the Danube by Sigmaringen.

During the battle of Mœskirch, Saint Cyr on the left had not been engaged. He did not reach his destination at Liptingen till night closed, and even then he was still several leagues distant from the field. Here, however, he encountered the rear-guard of Prince Ferdinand, and succeeded in capturing 1200 prisoners. Passing onward to the heights of Sigmaringen, he perceived, on the 6th of May, the whole Austrian army. He was too far advanced to hope for support, if he commenced an attack; he contented himself, therefore, with a partial and dis-

tant cannonade; but the fire of the Austrians was superior; they quickly silenced his battery, and completed their passage without further interruption. The days of Stockach and of Mœskirch, had cost them little less than 8000 men *hors de combat*, and 12,000 or 15,000 prisoners.

The French continued their advance on Suabia. The march of Saint Cyr along the right bank of the Danube, was rendered difficult by the frequent windings of the river; and in order to maintain his communications, his movements were necessarily slow. The division of Saint Suzanne descended on the opposite bank, a little on the rear, and Moreau, with the reserve, connected his two wings. Kray was still reluctant to abandon his original line of operation, and he resolved to hazard a third battle in order to preserve it. Recrossing the Danube with his whole army, he gained the Riss by a forced march on the night of the 7th of May. In front of this stream, and behind the town of Bibarach, he occupied with his vanguard of 10,000 men, a position naturally strong, and on which he had posted his artillery with considerable skill. The main body of his army was on some heights behind the Riss, protected by that river and by a morass. Biberach itself was of importance to him, for its magazines supplied his army with provisions; and it was chiefly for the defence of this place that the hazardous measure was undertaken of detaching an isolated corps in the face of a victorious enemy.

Saint Cyr already had reached Buchan, and on the 9th he moved down on Biberach. He perceived that the position of his enemy, though well chosen in itself and imposing by its defences, might be carried by a rapid attack, and that it was too far separated from the main army to permit of support in time. His charge was so impetuous, that the Austrians were overthrown in a moment. Part perished in the Riss. The throng of artillery and cavalry in the narrow defile of that river, increased the confusion; 1500 prisoners were taken, and if Kray had not advanced to protect its retreat, the whole corps must have been destroyed.

The division of Richepanse, meanwhile, which formed part of the French reserve, had driven back an Austrian outpost, and arrived at Biberach about the same moment as that of Saint Cyr. Thus strengthened, Saint Cyr passed the Riss, and by the boldness of this advance, though in the face of greatly superior numbers, he deceived the Austrians into a belief that his division formed only the leading column of the whole French army. Their charge was sustained with firmness; but Kray, apprehensive of being turned, determined to retire upon the Iller, while his line was yet unbroken. Aided by his numerous cavalry and by the superiority of his artillery, this retreat was effected in good order; but not without the loss of 2000 killed and wounded, as many prisoners, and the abandonment of well-stored magazines.

During the whole of the 9th, Lecourbe with the right, which was not engaged, had hastened rapidly forward. On the 10th, he

approached the Iller, and having reconnoitred the position occupied by the Austrians between this river and Memmingen, he resolved to attack it. The platform upon which they were posted, was approached by two great roads, on which thirty pieces of artillery were brought to bear. The action, as might be expected, was most bloody, but it was of short duration. The Austrians were overthrown, and lost 1200 prisoners. The town of Memmingen, in which was only a weak rear-guard, was the prize of the French.

Kray was no longer able to keep the open field, and he sought refuge in the entrenched camp which had been prepared for him under the walls of Ulm. The Archduke Charles had long since perceived the importance of such a position as a place of retreat on a defensive line. Without any fruitless endeavour to make a great fortress of a town situated in a hollow on the brink of the Danube, and commanded at half gunshot by hills which encircle half its range, he repaired the old walls and towers, and then connected the chain of surrounding heights by redoubts and batteries, which, resting on the Danube, both eastward and westward, above and below the town, covered it entirely, and formed, as it were, an immense rampart.

In fifteen days the French had been successful in four engagements, and had completely effected the grand object of diversion to which their aim had been principally directed. Kray was cut off from the Tyrol. His enemies were master of all the ground between that country and the Danube, of the abundant resources of a rich and fertile country, and of the military depôts, which had been formed for his own subsistence. The passage of Saint Gothard and of the valley of the Oglio, was open to them unmolested, and through this, on the 12th of May, Moreau, in obedience to his orders, despatched a strong division under Gen. Loison, which uniting itself with the corps which had been left for the observation of Swisserland, formed under the command of General Moncey, a corps amounting to 18,000 men. The services of this division, during the events in Italy, are already known to our readers.

The necessity of detaching this large and valuable body of men, materially weakened the right wing of Moreau's army, and left him incompetent for any immediate great and extensive operation. From the 10th to the 12th of May, he occupied the following positions: the right under Lecourbe, had its head-quarters at Memmingen; the reserve and the centre along the Iller to the Danube; and General Sainte-Suzanne, on the left of the Danube, at a day's march from Ulm. The Austrian army was completely united in the intrenched camp of Ulm, excepting the corps of the Prince de Reuss, consisting of 20,000 men, which was in the Tyrol. Ulm had an *enceinte* with bastions; Mount St. Michael, which commanded it, was defended by field fortifications, constructed with care and lined with a numerous artillery; on the right bank strong intrenchments protected two bridges; great magazines of forage, provisions, and military stores were

collected within the fort. The Austrian General might manœuvre on both banks of the Danube, protecting at the same time Suabia and Bavaria, and covering Bohemia as well as Austria; he received recruits and provisions every day, and seemed determined to maintain himself in this central position, notwithstanding the well-known inferiority of his forces and the checks he had received.

In order to displace him, Moreau resolved to advance, with his right in front. Lecourbe quitted Memmingen and drew near the Lech. The head-quarters were removed across the Gunzt; Saint-Cyr, with the centre, followed in *echelon* along the Danube; Sainte-Suzanne approached Ulm by the left bank. The division of Legrand took up a position at Erbach on the Danube, two leagues from the place; the division of Souham, at the same distance, on the Blau. The two divisions thus covered a line of two leagues.

Moreau hoped by thus threatening Bavaria, to draw his opponent from his strong hold under the walls of Ulm, and to entice him down the Danube. Sainte-Suzanne accordingly was ordered to approach the Austrian entrenchments as closely as his safety would permit. One of his divisions, in consequence, drove in the outposts from Erbach, and after a sharp engagement possessed itself of the woods of Papelau and Ehrstetten. Another under General Souham occupied the valley of Blau without resistance. Sainte-Suzanne had no bridge over the Danube; his line covered an extent of two leagues, at about the same distance from Ulm, and upon this the whole army of Kray might be brought to bear. Kray was not long in profiting by the advantage thus offered him; the manœuvre of Moreau failed to produce the desired effect, and Kray remaining immoveable in his camp, directed all the forces which he could spare against Sainte-Suzanne, who was too far removed from the centre and the right to receive their support.

On the 16th at day break, large bodies of cavalry under the Archduke Ferdinand, poured down unexpectedly upon the outposts of the French left, and drove them in as far as Erbach and Papelau. The masses of infantry which followed charged with equal impetuosity. The French line was too extensive, and consequently, from its weakness, was easily broken. All the divisions were compelled to fall back for more than two leagues, and at every step which they retired, the distance which separated them became increased. Legrande disputed his ground foot by foot, and rested upon the Danube. Souham, had been routed from his post at Asch, and chased as far as Blaubemen. Sainte-Suzanne's situation was now more critical, his whole line was intersected, and each division was so far apart from the others, that they could neither receive nor give assistance. By a bold, but dangerous manœuvre, he concentrated his force; and was content to gain this object even at the expence of still farther removal from the main army. He sent orders to Legrande to abandon the Danube entirely, and to fall back behind Dischingen; then

throwing himself at the head of a few chosen men, he carried the village of Defraunstallen with the bayonet, and disengaged the right of Souham's division, the artillery of which had continued to check the leading Austrian column, even after this had succeeded in piercing the centre of the French line. This movement of Sainte-Suzanne saved him at the moment from inevitable destruction, and restored the balance of the fight, which was beginning to incline most fearfully against him. Meantime Saint Cyr who had heard the cannonade, and was aware of the difficulty to which the left wing would most probably be exposed, had very seasonably fallen back with the whole of his rear guard. He repassed the Iller, and placing his artillery on the right bank of the Danube, commenced a vigorous cannonade on the road from Ulm to Erbach. The Archduke Ferdinand was ignorant of the force of his new assailants, and perplexed by the appearance of fresh troops, when he almost deemed the battle won, he retired upon the camp under Ulm, after an engagement of twelve hours, in which neither party had gained any decisive advantage, and the French, especially, had suffered a severe loss in killed and wounded.

Moreau now felt assured that his antagonist had determined to make his last grand stand before Ulm, and that rather than abandon this sole remaining frontier, he would accept battle if it were offered. Wishing more clearly to reconnoitre the position which Kray had chosen, he ordered Saint Cyr and Hautpoult on the 19th of May, to pass the Danube at Erbach to support Sainte-Suzanne. He then directed his own march upon the Iller, and recalled Lecourbe. Sainte-Suzanne passed the Blau, so that of the eleven divisions which composed his army, five were on the left, and six on the right bank of the Danube; in this position, encamped on both sides of the river, and occupying a line of fourteen leagues, he passed several days.

No affairs of importance occurred till the 24th, when the Archduke Ferdinand was again directed to advance against the two divisions under Sainte-Suzanne. These were still separated, and they were attacked at the same moment at Delmesigen and at Achstetten. The French were driven from the first named village, and fell back to cover Donaustetten. At Achstetten they stood firm, and the reserve advancing on the other points, soon regained the ground which had been lost. The engagement, though not productive of any result of consequence, was one of the hardest fought and most bloody in this campaign. It lasted the whole day. In the evening the Austrians repassed the Danube, though not until they had suffered much in their retreat from some charges of French cavalry.

On the night of the 27th, Lecourbe passed the Lech, and marching rapidly on Augsburgh with an advanced guard of 3000 men, succeeded in surprizing and dislodging a regiment of hussars, to whose protection that city had been intrusted. Here having raised a contribution of 600,000 florins, he received orders to abandon the Lech a second time, and to re-

sume his position at Mondelheim. Kray was still unmoved by all these varied demonstrations, and regarding the menaces upon Bavaria, as so many empty manœuvres calculated to draw him from a position which his adversary had discovered to be impregnable, he contented himself by reinforcing his outposts, and occasionally by skirmishing on the flanks of his enemy.

On the 5th of June the Archduke Ferdinand once more resumed the offensive. He crossed the Danube and extending himself between that river and the Iller, commenced a general attack on the left of the French. Richepanse was in command at this point in the absence of Sainte-Suzanne, to whom the troops, on the Lower Rhine, had recently been committed. Five Austrian columns pressed vigorously on his division, and drove it with great loss as far as the bridge of Kellmüntz. This, the last post which seemed to offer any hope of safety was nearly carried. The Austrian force was greatly superior in number, and Richepanse, surrounded and fatigued, was almost on the brink of destruction, when the appearance of Grenier with the division of Ney re-animated his spirits, and enabled him to recommence the engagement. Fortune, however, still inclined towards the Austrians. Their central column continued its advance, and a battery of eight cannon was already preparing to play upon the bridge of Kellmüntz. If this important passage had been gained, Richepanse would again have been surrounded, and all the French, on the left of the Iller, must inevitably have been sacrificed.

A brilliant movement most ably and rapidly executed by Ney, prevented this imminent danger. Falling back from Dietenheim to Kirchberg, he suddenly attacked the Austrian column in its rear while yet upon the march. In half an hour more the Austrians would have reached the bridge. At the head of his grenadiers, Ney rushed forward under a heavy fire of musquetry and artillery, and without returning a single shot, he drove the Austrians by the bayonet from the eminence on which they had halted to receive him; 1200 prisoners and the whole cannon of the division were the trophies of his gallantry. Richepanse seized the favourable moment, and once more advanced and captured some hundreds of prisoners also. The Austrians repassed the Danube in the night and destroyed their bridges.

These numerous engagements between two armies nearly equal in number, (they each amounted to about 80,000 men) acting upon a narrow theatre, and in mutual observation of each other, are perplexing both to the narrator and to the reader: and it is by no means easy for either to determine the precise motive which led at the time to the many complicated manœuvres, the frequent passages and repassages of the Danube, and the alternate measures of attack and defence, which we have been endeavouring to trace. The leading object of Kray, it should be remembered, was obstinately to maintain himself before Ulm; of Moreau by feints and menaces

to draw his enemy from entrenchments, which he found it impossible to force. To these intentions on either side must be referred the bloody but inconclusive operations which, during five weeks, drained so much strength from both, with little effect upon their respective positions.

The French army began to subsist with difficulty. The country between the Danube and the Tyrol was exhausted; that of Upper Suabia had been drained at the very outset of the campaign, and Swisserland could furnish but scanty supplies, uncertain of reaching their destination. Kray, on the other hand, was abundantly provided, and the magazines of Ulm were constantly replenished from Wurtemburgh, the Palatinate, Bavaria, and even from Bohemia. It was necessary that Moreau should accelerate the completion of his plans. More than a month had passed since the battle of Biberach, with incessant fatigue and considerable loss to his army. His officers, it is said, were dissatisfied with the slowness of his progress, and his frequent change of plans; and his great rival has severely accused him of indecision and hesitation. But the task which he was instructed to execute, was of no common difficulty, and the enemy to whom he was opposed of no common abilities. It is scarcely equitable to tax a General with want of military skill, because he is unable to seduce his antagonist into the commission of error. Nor in a case in which a variety of means of apparently equal value present themselves for the attainment of an uncertain object, is he to be charged with indecision who tries each of these in succession.

Bavaria still seemed the most assailable point, or at least the point upon which the Austrians were most likely to consider themselves vulnerable. The project of Moreau, therefore, was to pass the Danube below Ulm, in the neighbourhood of Donauwert, and thus by intersecting the line of the Austrians, and cutting it off from their magazines, to force them to abandon Ulm, and either to engage on equal ground, or else to cede Bavaria, and attempt a difficult and hazardous retreat.

For this purpose, Lecourbe was again instructed to occupy the Lech, and on the 10th, 11th, and 12th of June, the whole army inclined towards that river. A few affairs of posts marked its advance. On the last of these days, the young Prince of Lichtenstein was wounded and taken prisoner, after gallantly defending a bridge at Schœngau. The other bridge on the Lech was mastered after a slight resistance. These movements of the right were masked by a demonstration which the left and centre made on the same days in the direction of Ulm. This fortress, indeed, was the pivot on which the whole army moved; and without appearing to approach the Danube, the right wing was hourly drawing nearer to its banks, while the centre and the left were advancing in *echelons* to its support.

The Austrian detachments which still remained on the right bank of the Danube, were successively attacked, and driven across the river; and by various feints on different parts, great pains were taken to

deceive Kray, as to the precise point which the French would ultimately select for their passage. Lecourbe, with the right, advanced opposite Hochstett. Grenier, with the centre, opposite Guntzburgh. Richepanse, with the left, remained in observation upon the Iller opposite Ulm; and the reserve, under Moreau himself, took post opposite Dilingen. At dawn, on the 19th, Lecourbe commenced a vigorous cannonade, and forced the Austrian out-posts to withdraw from the immediate bank near Blindheim. At this spot he had a bridge; and while his enemy's attention was directed to this as the only probable means of passage, eighty expert swimmers, headed by their Captain Degometry, threw themselves into the river without clothes or arms, which followed them in two boats, and rapidly gained the opposite bank. Here, having dressed and armed themselves, they turned upon the astonished Austrians two cannons of which they had taken possession; and under cover of their fire, the main body of the division hastened over the bridge, and dispersed themselves through the neighbouring villages.

The Austrians could no longer doubt as to the real point of attack, and the alarm became general along their whole line. Lecourbe's success depended upon the celerity of his movements, and he hurried down upon Schwoningen, in the hope of gaining that village before the Austrians could concentrate a sufficient force for its defence. Here, however, he was met by an alarming superiority of numbers. 4000 bayonets, 400 cavalry, and six pieces of cannon, had already arrived under General Devaux from Donauwert. The action was obstinate and bloody; the village was frequently taken and re-taken, and the French were giving way, when Lecourbe himself led on a reserve to the charge, and decided the wavering fortune of the engagement; 2300 men laid down their arms, and the rest fell back on Donauwert.

The passage of the Danube still continued, and was still contested. The division of Gudin and Monrichard established themselves with difficulty; and their progress was uncertain till Lecourbe came to their aid with the troops which already had been victorious at Schwoningen. He turned the right of the Austrians, and decided their retreat. 1800 men were cut off during the movement of the French cavalry, between Hochstett and Dillingen, and these also were compelled to lay down their arms. The pursuit continued as far as Gundelfingen, and the remainder of the right wing of the French crossed the river without interruption.

Kray, on the first intelligence of this attack, had despatched from Ulm the greater part of his cavalry, and the whole of his light artillery. Uniting with some of the beaten divisions, this body made a stand in the plains between the Brentz and the Danube. The French at first were thrown into some confusion, and the action on this point, for a time, was doubtful. Having rallied under the protection of a regiment of cuirassiers, they were driven back once more by the advance of the Austrian second line. Too impetuous in their pursuit, the Austrian cavalry

became widely scattered. This favourable moment was eagerly seized, and they were charged in flank, and driven back in disorder to their first position.

During these combats, the bridges at Lauingen and Dillingen afforded a secure passage for the remaining French divisions. Moreau himself passed the first, and soon perceived the necessity of dislodging the Austrian cavalry from their position on the Brentz, before they could be succoured by Kray. He immediately directed a column of infantry upon Gundelfingen, at which village the Austrian line rested, and himself hastened with the reserve of cavalry to join Lecourbe. Two hours only of day-light were left, when he effected the junction. On the moment he formed in *echelon*, supported his flanks by artillery, and ordered the charge. The French cavalry advanced in good order, and they were received with distinguished steadiness. The Austrians closed their lines, and a bloody and obstinate engagement took place, which was protracted long after night-fall. Moreau and Lecourbe themselves, in the very thickest of the combat, headed repeated charges; and the quickness and vivacity of the French attacks, at length penetrated the solid, and almost immovable masses, presented by the Austrian horse. The latter retired across the Brentz, and after a long defence, gave way also from Gundelfingen.

Thus once again were the plains of Hochstett distinguished by one of the most remarkable and sanguinary engagements of cavalry which military history records. Moreau and Lecourbe were placed at the head of their brigades, on precisely the same line which in 1704 was occupied by the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene with a similar force, and the result of the battles was equally favourable on each occasion to the party which attacked.

On the night of the 19th and the morning of the 20th, the remaining French divisions, with the sole exception of that of Richepanse, which continued on the Iller for the purpose of observing Ulm, successfully effected their passage of the Danube. In spite, however, of all the efforts of Grenier, the Austrians maintained the bridge of Guntzburgh, and eventually burned it, so that the French on this point were obliged to descend as far as Lauingen. Here Grenier crossed, leaving behind him the division of Ney, in order to maintain a communication with Richepanse.

Moreau was still doubtful as to the plan which Kray would adopt, whether he would abandon his camp and attempt a retreat, or offer battle in the hope of driving the French once more across the Danube. The latter appeared the more probable course, and on the 22d Moreau forwarded a despatch to the Minister of War, stating this expectation, and notifying that he was prepared for the encounter. But Kray's position was too hazardous to be longer maintained. The important posts and the no less important magazines of Donauwert were lost to him, and not a moment could be spared if he intended to secure his communications with the country in his rear. At the same time, therefore, at which he despatched his cavalry

on the Brentz, he evacuated his entrenched camp, and having hastily provisioned his army, he commenced his retreat with such rapidity, that before nightfall he bivouacked between Albeck and Elchingen, a distance of three leagues from Ulm. On the following day he continued his semicircular movement, under cover of the rear guard of cavalry, which was ordered to draw off from the Brentz, in the same direction by Nordlingen and Neersheim. Although the rain fell in torrents, the Austrian march was performed with unparalleled celerity. Not till mid-day on the 24th, were they overtaken by the French pursuit. A brisk cannonade, and skirmishes of cavalry and rifle-men continued in the neighbourhood of Neresheim, till the close of night, with little other loss to the Austrians than that of some baggage and ammunition-waggons.

Kray had now received intelligence of the great disaster at Marengo, and the subsequent armistice concluded at Alessandria. Profiting by this information, of which the French were still ignorant, on the morning of the 24th he proposed a suspension of arms. Moreau unhesitatingly rejected a proposition, which appeared only calculated to give his enemy time for the completion of his retreat, by which he might establish himself on a new line of defence in Bavaria, and perhaps might renew his communications with the forces in the Tyrol.

Moreau followed up his refusal by a lively pursuit, and in order to prevent the occupation of any position before that, which was offered by the line of the Inn, he despatched General Decaen with 10,000 picked troops, to take possession of Munich. In three marches this division traversed 40 leagues, and after a slight encounter with a corps under Gen. Meerfeldt, it entered the Capital of the Electorate, on the 28th of June. The Elector himself and his Court narrowly escaped surprise, and retired under protection of Gen. Meerfeldt's troops towards the Iser.

The rear guard of the Austrians was again engaged at Nordlinann, but they continued hourly to approach the neighbourhood of Neuburgh and Ingolstadt. Moreau, in order to support the division which he had advanced into Bavaria, ordered Lecourbe to march upon Raine, and to oppose any passage of the Danube which Kray might attempt at Neuburgh. Ulm in the meantime was closely invested by Richepanse. Contributions were levied on Wirtemburgh. Sainte-Suzanne left Mentz with two divisions, and entered Franconia on his route to the Danube; so that the very heart of Germany appeared exposed to invasion.

Lecourbe having passed the Danube and the Lech, arrived at Raine on the 26th. Kray had already crossed at Neuburgh, and was in position about a league in front of this place with 25,000 men. Here he was strongly posted on a line commanding the road which runs close to the river, and protected in front by some thickly wooded heights and a deep ravine. Montrichard who led the advanced guard of the French, found himself engaged with the outposts before he knew either the

nature of the Austrian position or the number of their troops. Driving them before him, he crossed the ravine, and entered the woods. Here he was received by a most destructive fire of musquetry in front, and enfiladed by the batteries which opened upon him from the opposite bank of the Danube. Driven back across the ravine, he could not rally till he gained the village of Oberhausen, at no less a distance than two leagues in his rear. Lecourbe moved up to his support, and the combat continued furiously and hand to hand in Oberhausen till six in the evening. It was in this engagement that the veteran Latour D'Auvergne met a soldier's death. After long and honourable services, having refused a commission, he joined the army as a private, and here he was distinguished by the singular and somewhat whimsical title of First Grenadier of France. A monument was erected to him at the spot on which he fell. The army wore mourning for three days, and the morbid sentimentality of the French national character was strongly displayed in one other mark of reverence which was decreed to his memory. His place was not filled up in the regiment, and whenever his name was called in the daily muster, the sergeant-major was instructed to reply, *mort au champ d'honneur.*

The Austrians remained in possession of the field, but Kray having learned the occupation of Munich, and the retreat of Meerfeldt, abandoned his position in the night, repassed the Danube, marched on Ingolstadt, crossed the river a second time at that place, and inclined to Landshut behind the Iser. But the loss of Munich had crippled him too much to give this new line the advantages which otherwise it might have possessed; and a disaster which befel his advanced guard under the Archduke Ferdinand at Freysing, increased his difficulty. This corps, amounting to 4000 men, was overthrown and routed by the division of Leclerc on the 9th of July with such rapidity, that exclusive of the loss of numerous killed and wounded and the whole of his artillery, the Archduke had not time to destroy the bridge before he evacuated the village.

In these new positions the two Generals, as if wearied by conflict and satiated with blood, continued to observe each other for some days, with no farther movement than such affairs of posts and occasional skirmishes as the vicinity of two large armies necessarily produces. Resting from his attacks on Kray, Moreau employed himself by endeavouring to open a communication with the army of Italy, and on this service he despatched Lecourbe with 20,000 men, supported by Molitor, to drive back the Prince de Reuss in the Tyrol, and to press the evacuation of the Rheinthal, the Voralburg and the Grisons.

The nature of the country and the strength of the Austrian position, rendered this a difficult operation. The Prince de Reuss occupied at Feldkirch the same intrenched camp which two years before had resisted all the valour and skill of Massena.* This point was the key of the Tyrol, and the

* Annual Register, xli. 28.

vallies of the Rhine; it covered all attempts which might be projected on the flanks and rear of the French army, and in case of any reverse and retreat it endangered their safety.

In order to distract the attention of the Prince de Reuss, Moreau directed several simultaneous attacks upon the whole of his frontier. Having driven in his outposts, Lecourbe crossed the Lech, and advanced in three columns. The right of 7 or 8000 men under Molitor, supported by Lecourbe himself with the cavalry, marched on Feldkirch. The centre, of five battalions only, under Laval, on Immenstadt, and the right of 6000 men under Gudin, on Fuessen. Gudin was vigorously resisted. On the little lake of Hopfen, he lost many men, and it was only by manœuvring on the right bank of the Lech, and menacing their retreat, that he at length disengaged himself from the Tyrolese chasseurs. Fuessen was in the end abandoned to the French, and the Prince de Reuss was constrained to fall back on the strong passes of the Reuti, the Kni-pass and Ehrenburgh. Immenstadt was evacuated on the approach of Laval, who boldly continued his march among the mountains till he commanded the rear of Feldkirch. Molitor was equally successful. He drove in the outposts and arrived under the walls of Feldkirch on the 13th of July. So much had the attention of the Prince de Reuss been distracted by the numerous attacks to which he had been exposed in distinct quarters, that the division of Jellachich, which was left in guard of the camp, did not exceed 4000 men; a force manifestly incompetent to defend works so extensive, and so mutually dependent upon each other, that no part could be neglected without manifest peril to the whole. Thus hazardously placed, and with the knowledge that Laval had gained his rear, Jellachich evacuated the camp during the night, and retired upon Pludentz. Lecourbe occupied the lines on the following morning, and was preparing to advance into the Engadine, when his movements were arrested by intelligence of an armistice concluded between Moreau and Kray at Parsdorf.

It was on the 15th of July that Moreau consented to this proposal, by which hostilities were suspended until the month of November. We present it to our readers entire, as it gives a clearer detail of the positions of the respective armies, than can be obtained by any other method.

Article 1.—There shall be an armistice and suspension of hostilities between the army of his Imperial Majesty and his allies in Germany, Swisserland, the Tyrol, and the Grison country, and the French army in the same countries. The resumption of hostilities shall be announced respectively twelve days previous to their commencement. Article 2.—The French army shall occupy all the country comprehended within the following line of demarcation: this line extends from Balzers in the Grisons, upon the right bank of the Rhine, as far as the source of the Inn, the whole valley of which it is to include: thence to

the source of the Lech, by the back of the mountains of the Vorarlburg, as far as Reuti, along the left bank of the Lech. The Austrian army retains possession of all the passes which lead to the right bank of the Lech; it forms a line which includes Reuti, extends beyond Schebach, near Breitenwang, along the northern bank of the lake from which the Schebach issues, ascends upon the left in Lechtal, as far as the source of the Ammer; thence by the frontiers of the county of Werdenfels, as far as the Loisach. It extends as far as the left bank of that river, to Kochelsee, which it crosses, to the Walchensée, where it intersects the lake so named, and is continued along the northern bank of the Jachnai, to its confluence with the Iser; and, crossing that river, it proceeds upon Reuti, upon the Tegernsee, beyond the Manguald, near Gmünd, and upon the left bank of the latter beyond the Falley; thence it runs by Ob-laus, Reifing, Elkhofin, Frafing, Ecking, Ebersberg, Malckirchen, Hohenlinden, Krainacher, Weting, Reting, Aidberg, Isen, Penzing, Zuphtenbach, along the Iser, as far as Furden and Sendorff, where it runs towards the source of the Vilz, which it follows to where it falls into the Danube, and then upon the right bank of the Vilz to Vilsbibourg, and beyond that river to Binabibourg, whence it follows the course of the Bina to Dornaich. It cuts near Sculmshausen, extends towards the source of the Colbach, then along the left bank, to its union with the Vilz; and, bearing upon the left towards Vilz, it extends to where it falls into the Danube. The same line runs upon the right bank of the Danube to Kehlheim, where it crosses the river, and runs upon the right bank of the Altmühl to Pappenheim: it then bears by the town of Weissemburg towards the Rednitz, the left bank of which it runs along, until that river joins the Maine; thence it follows the left bank of the latter river to its mouth. The line of demarcation upon the right bank of the Maine, between that river and Dusseldorff, shall not extend towards Mentz, beyond the Nidda. In case, during the interval, the French troops shall have made any progress on this side, they shall preserve or resume the same line which they occupy this day the 15th of July. Article 3.—The Imperial army shall re-occupy the upper and lower Engadine, that is to say, that part of the Grisons, the rivers of which fall into the Inn, and of the valley of Sainte-Marie, into the Adige. The French line of demarcation shall extend from Balzers upon the lake of Como, by Coira, Tossanna, Splugen, and Chiavenna, including the Luciensteig. The part of the Grisons, which is situated between this line and the Engadine, shall be evacuated by both parties. That country shall retain its existing form of government. Art. 4.—The fortified places which are included in the line of demarcation, such as Ulm, Ingolstadt, and Philipsburg, which are occupied by the Imperialists, shall remain, in every respect, in the same state in which they shall be found by the commissioners named for this pur-

pose by the generals in chief; their garrisons shall not be increased, nor shall they impede the navigation of the rivers, or the passage of the high roads. The territory of each of these fortified places is to extend as far as 2000 toises from its fortifications; they shall provision themselves every ten days, and as far as relates to this fixed provisioning, they shall not be considered as included in the countries occupied by the French army, which, on its part, is not to impede the carriage of stores into the said fortresses. Art. 5.—The general commanding the Imperial army, is authorized to send into each of those places an officer to communicate to its commander, the line of conduct which he is to observe. Art. 6.—There shall be no bridges upon the rivers which separate the two armies, unless these rivers be crossed by the line of demarcation, and then the bridges shall be erected only within the line, without prejudice, however, to such future arrangements as may be made for the benefit of the armies and of commerce. The respective commanders will have an understanding upon this article. Article 7.—Wherever navigable rivers separate the two armies, their navigation shall be free for them and for the inhabitants. The same rule shall apply to the main roads comprised within the line of demarcation, during the time of the armistice. Art. 8.—Those territories of the empire and of the Austrian states, which are found within the line of demarcation of the French army, are under the safeguard of honour and good faith. Private property and existing governments shall be respected, and none of the inhabitants of these countries shall be disturbed, either for services rendered to the Imperial army, or for political opinions, or for having taken an active part in the war. Art. 9.—The present convention shall be carried into effect as quickly as possible. Article 10.—The outposts of the two armies shall have no communication.

Buonaparte, who has jealously scrutinized and bitterly commented upon every operation of Moreau, during the campaign which we have been relating, dismisses this armistice with a single remark. "It did not accomplish the aim of Government, which in order to secure the position of the armies, was desirous of possessing the four places, Ulm, Philipsburgh, Ingolstadt, and Inspinch."

CHAPTER X.

Preliminaries of peace signed between France and Austria. Previous Treaty between Great Britain and the Emperor. The Emperor refuses to ratify the Preliminaries. Buonaparte proposes a naval armistice to the English Government. Discussions on this novel proposition. It is rejected. Resumption of hostilities in Germany. Convention of Hohenlinden; the Armistice prolonged. Change of the

Austrian ministry. Appointment of Count Cobentzel. The Pope and Grand Duke of Tuscany take possession of their dominions. Miserable state of Italy. Brune, who commanded in that country, recommences hostilities. They are speedily suspended by an Armistice at Castiglione. Invasion of Tuscany. Successes of the French. Preparations for hostilities in Germany. Design of Buonaparte. Statement of the opposed armies. The French advance on the Inn. Manœuvres of the Archduke John. His first success. He neglects to follow it up. Battle of Hohenlinden. Total defeat of the Austrians. They fall back on the Ebro. Farther actions. The Archduke Charles assumes the command. Armistice of Steyer. Position of the two armies. Army of the Grisons. The Court of Vienna deceived as to its number. It marches on Italy. Position and movements of Brune and Bellegarde. Passage of the Mincio. Bloody engagement at Pozzolo. Passage of the Adige. Armistice of Treviso. Favourable terms to the Austrians. Buonaparte refuses to ratify it till Mantua is surrendered. Position of the armies. Peace of Luneville.

The basis of the treaty of Campo Formio was adhered to by France in her propositions for peace after these distinguished triumphs; and the First Consul, whose leading policy was to detach England from her continental alliances, hastened to offer these terms to the Emperor, even before he could receive the ratification of the convention of Alessandria. About the close of July, Count St. Julien arrived at Paris as the plenipotentiary of the cabinet of Vienna. In a few days Preliminaries were agreed upon between this envoy and the Minister Talleyrand. By these it was stipulated, that until the signature of a definitive Treaty, the armies of the two powers should remain in the same positions which they at that time occupied, both in Italy and Germany; that the levies of native troops in Tuscany, (insurgents as the French affected to term them) should be discontinued, and that no foreign army should be permitted to land in that country.

Yet notwithstanding his recent disasters, and the deep sense of imminent peril which thus far induced the Emperor, apparently, to listen to accommodation, there were other reasons of equal weight which prompted him to a secret resolution of continuing hostilities whenever he found himself sufficiently strong to renew them. The exactions of the invaders in Germany, during the existing campaign, had been more than usually oppressive; and a correspondent spirit of resistance had been roused in the sufferers. The flame had spread rapidly through the hereditary States, and all ranks, especially in Hungary, were clamorous for war, even during the progress and the continuance of their reverses. The English Ministers were not backward in profiting by this expression of popular feeling; and a few hours only before the arrival in Vienna of the courier who brought intelligence of the great defeat at Marengo, even after the notification of the unsuccessful battle of Montebello, Lord Minto and Baron Thugut had

signed a Treaty of subsidy between their Imperial and Britannic Majesties. By this instrument both of the contracting parties solemnly engaged to continue the war with all possible vigour, to employ all their resources by sea and land in joint operations, and to recruit the armies of Italy and of Germany, to the full complement which the losses in each respectively might demand. The Bavarians, Wurtemburghers, and Swiss in the pay of England, were for this purpose to be at the disposal of the Emperor; to whom also Great Britain engaged to furnish a loan of two millions sterling, not liable to interest until six months after the conclusion of a general peace. This contract was to continue binding till the close of Febuary 1801, and till that time neither party was to enter into separate negociations with France without the knowledge and the consent of the other.

Scarcely had the Preliminaries been signed at Paris by Count Saint Julien, than that Minister was disclaimed and recalled. Baron Thugut at the same time announced the conclusion of the new Treaty with England, and assigned the impossibility of entering upon separate negociations resulting from this agreement, as the motive for cancelling the initiatory papers, which Count Saint Julien had presented. At the same time he added, that both his Imperial Majesty and the British Government were equally desirous of peace; and in order to confirm this assertion, he referred to a letter from Lord Minto, avowing the readiness of England to send a plenipotentiary who might negociate jointly with the Minister of Austria.

With a view of embarrassing the English Ministers, and of keeping alive the popular feeling which had been exacted by the rejection of his former offers, Buonaparte had recourse to a singular proposal, arising out of this communication from Baron Thugut.

A courier was despatched to M. Otto, who resided at London, as French commissioner for the exchange of prisoners. On the 24th of August, he addressed a note to Lord Grenville, informing him that Lord Minto having declared the intention of the English Government to take part in the negociations about to be opened with Austria, for the conclusion of a definitive peace between Austria and France, the First Consul was willing to admit the English Minister to the negociations; but that this measure would make the work of pacification more difficult; that the interests to be discussed being rendered more numerous and complicated, the negociations would unavoidably be prolonged: and that it was not consistent with the interest of the Republic, that the armistices concluded at Marengo and Pahrsdorf should be further continued, unless a naval armistice should also be established by way of compensation.

Lord Minto's despatches had not reached London; and Lord Grenville, much surprised at the receipt of this note, sent the principal of the Transport-office to request M. Otto to furnish the documents on which it was founded; who immediately complied with this request. But the courier of the Cabinet of St. James's soon

afterwards arrived from Vienna. Lord Grenville replied to M. Otto, that the idea of an armistic applicable to naval operations was new in the history of nations. He declared, however, that he was ready to send a plenipotentiary to the place which should be specified for holding the Congress; and intimating that this plenipotentiary was to be his brother, Thomas Grenville, he requested passports to enable him to proceed to France; but M. Otto, on the 30th of August, demanded a positive answer before the 3d of September, considering that hostilities were to recommence in Germany and Italy, on the 10th. Lord Grenville, on the 4th, requested to have a proposal in writing, because he did not perfectly understand what was meant by an armistice applicable to naval operations. M. Otto sent the proposal of the French Government formally drawn up. The principal stipulations were the following: 1st, ships of war and merchant vessels of both nations shall enjoy free navigation, without been subjected to any kind of visitation; 2dly, the squadrons now blockading the ports of Toulon, Brest, Rochefort, and Cadiz, shall return to their respective ports; 3rdly, the maritime fortresses of Malta, Alessandria, and Belle-Isle, shall be placed on a footing with the fortresses of Ulm, Philipsburgh, and Ingolstadt; and all French and neutral vessels shall accordingly be at liberty to enter freely into those ports.

On the 7th of September, Lord Grenville replied that his Britannic Majesty admitted the principle of a naval armistice, although contrary to the interest of England; that it would be a sacrifice on the part of his Majesty, made for the sake of peace, and for the advantage of Austria, his ally; but that none of the articles in the French proposals were admissible; and he wished the negociations to be founded on a counter-proposal which he sent. This counter-proposal specified: 1st, hostilities shall cease by sea; 2dly, the fortresses of Malta, Alessandria, and Belle-Isle, shall be allowed to be supplied with provisions for fourteen days at a time, according to the number of men of which their respective garrisons may consist; 3rdly, the blockade of Brest and the other ports of the French and Allies shall be raised; but none of the ships of war therein shall sail therefrom during the continuance of the armistice; and the English squadrons shall remain in sight of those ports.

The French commissioner, on the 16th of September, replied, that his Government left it to the option of his Britannic Majesty, either to let negociations be opened at Luneville, and the English and Austrian plenipotentiaries be admitted to treat together, the war continuing by land and sea during their negotiations; or to establish an armistice by land and sea; or, finally, to let an armistice be concluded with Austria, and the negociations at Luneville be carried on with that Power only; whilst a peace with England might be treated for at Paris or London, and the maritime war be continued at the same time. He observed that the naval armistice was requisite to indemnify France for what she was losing by the

prolongation of the armistice on the continent, during which Austria was recruiting her armies and providing her stores, whilst the impression of the defeats of Marengo and Moeskirch, was at the same time wearing off from the minds of her soldiers; that during this prolongation, the Kingdom of Naples, lately a prey to every species of dissension and calamity, was recovering itself and raising an army; and lastly, that it was under the protection of the armistice that levies of men were making in Tuscany, and in the Marquisate of Ancona.

The victor had conceded all these advantages to the vanquished, only on their formal promise to conclude a separate peace without delay. The benefit France was to derive from a naval armistice, could not consist in supplying the ports of the Republic, which was by no means deficient in internal channels of intercourse, but in the restoration of her communications with Egypt, Malta, and the Isle of France. On the 20th of September, Lord Grenville required fresh explanations; and M. Otto informed him, on the following day, that the First Consul consented to modify his first proposal; that the French and allied squadrons should not be allowed to change their positions during the continuance of the armistice; that, with respect to Malta, no further communications should be authorized than would be necessary to furnish fifteen days' supply of provision at a time, at the rate of ten thousand rations *per diem*; and that Alessandria, not being blockaded by land, and having provisions in sufficient abundance even to send them to England, France should be at liberty to despatch six frigates from Toulon to Alessandria, which should sail and return without examination, having on board an English officer with a flag of truce.

The advantages which France might have derived from the concluding stipulation were considerable. The distress of the Egyptian army was well known, and anxiously regarded, without any hope however of eluding the vigilance of the English cruisers, and of sending assistance from the mother-country. The calculations of Buonaparte were, that these six frigates armed *en flute* would have been able to carry a reinforcement of 3600 men; no more sailors than were absolutely necessary would have been put on board, and they might even have carried some thousands of musquets, and a great quantity of ammunition and other stores, for the army of Egypt.

The negociation being thus entered into, Lord Grenville authorized Mr. Hammond, under-secretary of state, to confer with M. Otto, in order to ascertain whether any opening for conciliation existed. Mr. Hammond saw M. Otto, and proposed to him that the French army should evacuate Egypt, as a consequence of the treaty of El-Arisch, concluded on the 24th of January, and broken on the 18th of March, on reception of the decision of the English Government refusing to recognize this convention. Such a proposal was not likely to be admitted, nor did Mr. Hammond urge it. After a few days discussion, the two commissioners agreed on

every point, except the sending of the six French frigates to Alessandria. On the 25th of September, M. Otto declared the sending of these six frigates to be the *sine quâ non*; and on the 9th of October Mr. Hammond wrote to apprise him of the rupture of the negociations.

During the progress of this fruitless diplomacy the two armies in Bavaria were mutually preparing for the resumption of open war. Moreau, who retained the command of the French, fixed his head-quarters at Nimphenburgh, near Munich, in a palace of the Elector of Bavaria. Kray had been superseded by the Archduke John, and the Emperor in person had appeared at the head of his forces. The armistice ceased on the 7th of September; but the hostilities which recommenced were soon suspended by a proposal for a still farther truce. The Austrians were not yet sufficiently confident to take the field, and though ultimately resolved on war, they were willing to make extraordinary sacrifices if they could but gain time for recruiting. Their wishes for peace were again advanced in yet stronger language, and as a pledge of their sincerity, they consented to surrender the three important fortresses of Ulm, Philipsburgh and Ingolstadt, the very keys of Germany, provided the First Consul would agree to the prolongation of the armistice for five and forty days. A convention to this effect was signed at Hohenlinden on the 20th of September, and the partizans of peace argued more favourably for its conclusion, by the appointment of Count Cobentzel, who had negociated at Campo Formio, to the post of Minister, from which Thugut was dismissed.

In Italy, the Pope and the Grand Duke of Tuscany had at length been permitted to take possession of their respective dominions. Ancona and Romagna remained in the power of the Austrians, and the English force, twenty thousand strong, which had been rendered useless by the surrender of Genoa, still remained at Mahon. Tuscany had not been included in the armistice of Alessandria, and to this point it was determined that the English corps should be directed, in conformity with the terms of the recent treaty. Leghorn was fixed upon as the chief place to be occupied, in the hope of effecting an important diversion.

The whole of the two months of August and September were employed in forming the Tuscan army and that of the Pope. The different battalions were commanded by Austrian officers; the English granted subsidies; and a party of emigrants, which was attached to the English corps intended to act against Provence, with Willot at its head, was embodied in the Tuscan army. The armistice existing between the French and Austrian armies during July, August, and September, did not allow the English to effect their landing in Tuscany, since that would inevitably have caused a rupture, and put an end to all hopes of peace. Besides, the Emperor was deeply interested in protracting the armistice as long as possible; because, whilst it continued, his armies were re-organizing, and forgetting their defeats in Italy and Germany.

On the 7th of September, Brune,

who had succeeded Massena, announced the resumption of hostilities; but the suspension of arms concluded at Hohenlinden, on the 20th of September, having been extended to Italy, he signed, on the 29th, a similar armistice at Castiglione.

Notwithstanding this suspension of arms, Tuscany was the theatre of much disorder and bloodshed. The levies of the Pope and of the Grand Duke, taking advantage of the concentration of the French army on the Po, spread themselves into Romagna, and opened communications with Ferrara. They were attacked and beaten by the division of Dupont, who, on the 15th of October, occupied Florence. Leghorn was seized by Clement on the following day. A French corps was detained awhile, and repulsed before Arezzo, which had been the chief gathering place for the rude and undisciplined, but high-spirited and indignant, Tuscans. On the day following it was carried by assault, after a gallant and obstinate resistance, and its brave defenders for the most part were mercilessly put to the sword. The Austrians retired on Ancona, the spirit of the natives was broken, and they were gradually disarmed and disbanded. Tuscany was exposed to every misery which could be inflicted by a victorious and irritated soldiery, upon a population which, although subdued, still chafed and fretted under the yoke. In the dominions of the Holy See anarchy was at its height, and Rome itself was protected only by Sommariva's division of Austrians, and a band of Neapolitan auxiliaries.

As the termination of the prolonged armistice in Germany approached, the French Generals, notwithstanding the rigour of the season, and the severity of the climate, were prepared for action. Buonaparte's design was to penetrate to Vienna, for he was no longer to be deluded by the temporizing of the Austrians; and the fickleness of the Emperor Paul left no assurance that, notwithstanding his present disgust, he might not again be in arms before the commencement of another campaign. The numbers and position of the two armies at the moment which we are now considering, have been estimated as follows:—

Austria had 280,000 men at her disposal, including the contingents of the Empire, of the King of Naples, and of the English army; 130,000 men in Germany, under the command of the Archduke John; the insurgents of Mentz, Albini's corps, and Simbschen's division, amounting to 20,000 men, on the Mein; the corps on the Danube and Inn, 80,000 men; that of the Prince de Reuss, in the Tyrol, 20,000 men. There were 120,000 men in Italy, under the command of Field Marshal Bellegarde; the army of Davidowich in the Italian Tyrol, 20,000; the corps cantoned behind the Mincio, 70,000; in Ancona and Tuscany, 10,000; the Neapolitan troops, the Tuscans, &c. 20,000. There was an English army of 30,000 men, commanded by General Abercromby and General Pulteney, in the Mediterranean, on board transports, and ready to proceed to any point.

France had 175,000 men in the field in Germany; the Gallo-Ba-

tavian army, commanded by General Augereau, 20,000 men; the grand army of Germany, commanded by General Moreau, 140,000 men; the army of the Grisons, commanded by General Macdonald, 15,000. In Italy the French had 90,000 men, under General Brune, and the corps of observation of the South, under General Murat, 10,000 strong. The effective strength of the armies of the Republic amounted to 500,000 men; but 40,000 were in the East, at Malta, and in the colonies; 45,000 were gens-d'armes, veterans, or fencibles; and it was calculated that there were 140,000 in Holland, on the coasts, in the garrisons of the interior, in the depots, and in the hospitals.

The army of the Rhine, under the command of General Moreau, was intended to pass the Inn, and to march on Vienna by the valley of the Danube. The Gallo-Batavian army, commanded by General Augereau, was to act on the Mein and the Rednitz; as well to oppose the Westphalians, led by Baron Albini, as to act as a reserve in all unforeseen cases, to alarm Austria for the safety of Bohemia, whilst the army of the Rhine should be passing the Inn, and to secure the rear of the left of the last-mentioned army. It was composed of all the troops which could be drawn from Holland, the season now securing that country from all danger of invasion.

A new army, consisting of 15,000 men, was assembled in July at Dijon, under the title of Army of Reserve. It was commanded by General Macdonald, who, towards the end of August, commenced his March, crossed Swisserland, and proceeded into the Grisons, occupying the Vorarlberg with his right, and the Engadine with his left. The attention of all Europe was directed to this army, which was thought to be meant to strike some fatal and unexpected blow, like the first Army of Reserve.

The army of Italy, under the command of General Brune, was to pass the Mincio and the Adige, and direct its march upon the Noric Alps. The army commanded by General Murat, was destined to act as a reserve to the army of Italy, and to flank its right.

Thus two great and two small armies were about to advance on Vienna, forming a total of 250,000 combatants under arms, whilst a fifth was in reserve in Italy, to oppose the insurgents and Neapolitans.

The French troops were well clothed, well armed, furnished with a numerous artillery, and enjoying the greatest abundance; the Republic had never possessed a military establishment so truly formidable.

The army of the Rhine marched on the Inn on the 28th of November, and the advanced posts of the Austrians fell back every where before it. Eight divisions of the French occupied a line of fifteen leagues on the left bank of the Inn, from Rosenheim nearly to Mühldorf.

The Archduke John had removed his head-quarters to Oetting; he had ordered Condé's corps, reinforced by some Austrian battalions, to defend the right bank from Rosenheim to Kuffstein, and to keep up his communica-

tions with General Hiller, who was in the Tyrol with a corps of 80,000 men. He had stationed General Klenau with 10,000 men at Ratisbon, in order to support the army of Mentz, which was not sufficiently strong to oppose Augereau's march. His plan was to *debouch* with the rest of his army (amounting to 80,000 men) by Wasserburg, Crayburg, Mühldorf, Oetting, and Braunau; which places had good *têtes-de-pont*, to take the offensive part and attack the French army. He passed the Inn, wheeled to the right on the *tête-de-pont* of Mühldorf, and drew up in line of battle, his left on Mühldorf, and his right on Landshut on the Iser. General Kienmayer, with his flankers of the right, attacked Colonel Durosnel, who retreated behind the Iser. The Austrian head-quarters were successively transferred to Eggenfelden and Neumarkt on the Roth, half-way between Mühldorf and Landshut. By means of this movement, the Archduke's army occupied a line perpendicular to the extreme left of the French army; the extremity of his right was at Landshut, twelve leagues from Munich, being nearer by three leagues than the left of the French, which was fifteen leagues from that place. It was by his right that he wished to manœuvre, *debouching* by the vallies of the Issen, the Roth, and the Iser.

On the 1st of December, at break of day, the Archduke deployed 60,000 men before the heights of Ampfingen, and attacked Lieutenant-general Grenier, who had only 25,000 men in front; whilst another of his columns, *debouching* by the bridge of Crayburg, marched to the heights of Achau, in the rear and on the right flank of Grenier. General Ney was at first obliged to yield to the superior numbers of the enemy, but rallied, returned to the attack, and broke eight battalions; but the Austrians continuing to deploy their numerous forces, and *debouching* by the vallies of the Issen, Lieutenant-general Grenier was compelled to retreat. Grandjean's division of the reserve advanced to his support; at night, Grenier took up a position on the heights of Haag. Great alarm prevailed in the French army; the enemy, in a powerful mass, was attacking their separate scattered divisions. General Legrand, after sustaining a very brisk action in the valley of the Issen, had evacuated Dorfen.

Brilliantly as this manœuvre was executed by the Archduke John, and successful as was its immediate result, he neglected to follow it up with that rapidity upon which the issue of a campaign so often depends. The succeeding day was passed in petty and unimportant movements; Moreau had time to concentrate his dispersed troops, and if the Austrians had delayed another day, the French would have doubled them in numbers on the hard fought field of Hohenlinden.

On the morning of the 3rd, the Austrian army came on in three columns; that of the left, consisting of 10,000 men, between the Inn and the Munich road, directing its march on Albichengen and Saint Christopher; that of the centre, 40,000 strong, proceeded

by the road leading from Mühldorf to Munich, by Haag towards Hohenlinden; the grand park, the waggons and baggage took this road, the only one which was firm. The column of the right, 25,000 strong, commanded by General Latour, was to march on Bruckrain; Kienmayer, who, with his flankers of the right, constituted part of this corps, was to proceed from Dorfen on Schauben, to turn all the defiles, and place himself in a situation to *debouch* in the plain of Amzing, where the Archduke expected to encamp that evening, and to wait for Klenau's corps, which was proceeding thither up the right bank of the Iser.

The roads were much cut up, as is usual in the month of December; the columns of the right and left marched by almost impracticable cross-roads; the snow fell heavily. The column of the centre, followed by the parks and baggage, having the advantage of the high road, soon distanced the others; its head penetrated into the forest without impediment. Richepanse, who was to have defended it at Altenpot, was not arrived; but this column was stopped at the village of Hohenlinden, which was the *appui* of Ney's left, and the station of Grouchy's division. The French line, which had thought itself covered, was at first surprised; several battalions were broken, and some disorder prevailed. Ney hastened up; a terrible charge carried death and consternation into the head of a column of Austrian grenadiers; General Spanochi was taken prisoner. At that moment the vanguard of the Austrian right *debouched* from the heights of Bruckrain. Ney was obliged to gallop to his left in order to face them; his efforts would have been insufficient had Latour supported his vanguard; but he was two leagues distant from it. In the mean time the divisions of Richepanse and Decaen, which ought to have arrived before day-break at the *debouché* of the forest, at the village of Altenpot, being embarrassed in the midst of the night in dreadful roads, and the weather being tremendous, were wandering a great part of the night on the edge of the forest. Richepanse, who marched at their head, did not reach Saint Christopher's till seven o'clock in the morning, where he was still two leagues from Altenpot. Convinced of the importance of the movement he was operating, he accelerated his march with his first brigade, leaving the second considerably in the rear. When the Austrian column of the left reached the village of Saint Christopher's, it cut him off from his second brigade; General Drouet, who commanded it, deployed. Richepanse's situation became frightful; he was half-way between Saint Christopher's and Altenpot; he resolved to continue his movement in order to occupy the *debouché* of the forest, if it should not be in the possession of the enemy; or to retard his march, and to concur in the general attack by throwing himself on his flank if the Archduke should have already penetrated into the forest, as every thing seemed to indicate that he had done. On arriving at the village of Altenpot, he found himself in the rear of the enemy's

parks, and of all his artillery which had defiled. He passed through the village, and drew up in line on the heights. Eight squadrons of the enemy's cavalry, which formed the rear-guard, deployed; the cannonade commenced; the chasseurs charged, and were repulsed. The situation of General Richepanse became more and more critical: he was speedily informed that he was not to depend on Drouet, whose progress had been arrested by considerable forces; and of Decaen he had no intelligence. In this dreadful predicament he took a desperate resolution; leaving General Walter with the cavalry, to keep the cuirassiers of the enemy in check, he entered the forest of Hohenlinden at the head of his infantry. Three battalions of Hungarian grenadiers, forming the escort of the parks, advanced on Richepanse with the bayonet, taking his soldiers for an irregular force. They were speedily overthrown, and this petty engagement decided the fortune of the day. Disorder and alarm spread through the convoy: the drivers cut their traces and fled, abandoning eighty-seven pieces of cannon and three hundred waggons. The confusion of the rear spread to the van. Those columns which were far advanced in the defiles fell into disorder; they were struck with the recollection of the disastrous campaign of the summer; besides which they were in great measure composed of recruits. Ney and Richepanse joined. The Archduke John retreated with the utmost confusion and precipitation on Haag, with the wreck of his corps.

General Decaen had extricated General Drouet. He had kept the left column of the enemy in check at Saint Christopher's with one of his brigades, whilst with the second he had advanced into the forest to complete the rout of the battalions which had taken refuge there. Of the whole Austrian army, only the column of the right, commanded by General Latour, now remained entire; it had joined Kienmayer, who had *debouched* on his right by the valley of the Issen, ignorant of what had passed in the centre. This column marched against Lieutenant-General Grenier, who had with him the divisions of Legrand and Bastoul, and General d'Hautpoult's cavalry. The action was extremely obstinate; General Legrand drove Kienmayer's corps into the defile of Lendorf, on the Issen; General Latour was repulsed, and lost some cannon; he commenced his retreat, and abandoned the field of battle as soon as he was informed of the disasters which had befallen the principal corps of his army. The left of the Austrian army repassed the Inn over the bridge of Wasserburg, the centre over the bridges of Crayburg and Mühldorf, the right over the bridge of Oetting. General Kienau, who had put his troops in motion to approach the Inn, fell back to the Danube to cover Bohemia, and to threaten and engage the Gallo-Batavian army. The evening after the battle, the headquarters of the French army were transferred to Haag. In this action, which decided the success of the campaign, six French divisions, composing half the army, alone engaged almost the whole of the

Austrian army. The forces on the field of battle were nearly equal, being about 70,000 men on each side. The loss of the French army was 10,000 men killed, wounded, and taken, either at the actions of Dorfen and Ampfingen, or at the battle of Hohenlinden. That of the enemy amounted to 25,000 men, exclusively of deserters. Seven thousand prisoners, amongst whom were two Generals, one hundred pieces of cannon, and an immense number of waggons were the trophies of this day.

The barrier of the Inn was thus completely forced, and the wreck of the Austrian army hastily abandoned its banks, in order to concentrate itself between the Ems and Vienna. The conquerors were unusually tardy in their pursuit, and in several minor actions which succeeded this great overthrow, the Austrians were partially successful, and defended their ground, step by step, as far as their rallying point on the Ems. Here the Archduke Charles was once more invested with the command; but farther defence was hopeless, even under the auspices of this consummate General. On the 25th of December he was contented to accede to a fresh armistice signed at Steyar, by which all the fortified places in the Tyrol, the strong holds of Wurtzburgh in Franconia, and of Braunah in Bavaria, with their artillery, ammunition and military stores, were surrendered to the French. No reinforcements were to be sent from either army to their comrades in Italy, to which country this armistice was not to extend; but the most urgent solicitations were to be employed to procure the conclusion of a separate truce between the forces opposed to each other beyond the Alps.

In consequence of this convention, the French army remained in its positions until the ratification of the peace of Lunevillo, signed on the 9th of February, 1801. In execution of that Treaty, it evacuated the hereditary States within ten days, and the Empire within twenty days after the ratifications were exchanged.

The battle of Hohenlinden having decided the affairs of Germany, the new Army of Reserve, which had been collected under Macdonald in the Grisons, was immediately put in motion. It was instructed to descend into the Valteline, and by *debouching* on the high road at Botzen, to penetrate into the heart of the Tyrol, and thence to commence its operations in Italy. The Austrians were as much deceived regarding the strength of this corps, as they had been respecting that of the first Army of Reserve, and as they diminished the real force of the one, so they exaggerated that of the other. The second army consisted, in fact, of no more than 15,000 men; but by the uncertainty in which the Imperialists were suspended, both as to its numbers and to its destination, it kept in check no less than 40,000. On the 6th of December, Macdonald passed the Splugen, and arrived at Chiavenna. His movements were slow, he did not reach Trent till the 7th of January, and before that time the winter campaign in Italy had been decided.

Brune had recommenced hos-

tilities on the 22nd of November, he had nearly 100,000 men under his command, of whom 80,000, in the finest condition, were in the field and in junction.

Moncey commanded the left, Suchet the centre, Dupont the right, Delmas the vanguard, and Michaut the reserve; Davoust commanded the cavalry, and Marmont the artillery, which consisted of two hundred pieces well horsed and abundantly supplied with stores. Each of these corps was composed of two divisions, making a total of ten divisions of infantry and two of cavalry. One brigade of the van-guard was detached to head-quarters, and was called the head-quarters' reserve. Thus the van-guard was composed of three brigades.

General Miollis commanded in Tuscany; he had from 5 to 6000 men under him, the greater part of whom were Italian troops. Soult commanded in Piedmont, and had 6 or 7000 men, mostly Italians. Dulauloy commanded in Liguria, and Lapoype in the Cisalpine. To these must be added the corps which has been just mentioned under Macdonald, which engaged the attention of the Austrians in the Engadine and Valteline.

The Imperial army, under Bellegarde, not more than 70,000 strong, protected the line of the Mincio. This river was most important, not only as communicating with Mantua, but as offering an advanced frontier which might be stipulated for in case of approaching negociation. The extreme right of the Austrians rested at Peschiera and the Lake of Garda, the possession of which was secured by a numerous flotilla. Detached corps occupied the Tyrol, and watched the *debouchés* of the Engadine and Valteline. On a line of fifteen miles, no less than five points were stongly intrenched, Peschiera, Salionzo, Valleggio, Volta and Goito.

From the 19th to the 20th of December the French advanced on this line. The Austrians hastily abandoned all their positions, and fearing the result of a general engagement, they left all their intrenched points on the right bank of the river, excepting Goito and the *tete du pont* at Borghetti, with about 500 prisoners in the hands of the enemy. The passage of the Mincio, however, was bloodily disputed. The right wing of the French under Dupont, supported by Davoust and Suchet, was long and hazardously engaged, and the village of Pozzolo, at which the action was sharpest, was several times taken and retaken before the French could secure the possession of it. It was defended by numerous and heavy batteries on the right bank of the river, and by a dyke which made it difficult of approach. In carrying it the French lost the flower of three divisions, and suffered more severely than the troops which in the end they drove back. On the following day, the armies were again engaged on various points, and the Austrians, being pressed on all sides, retired from the Mincio to the Adige: 1200 men, and several pieces of cannon, were taken on the 26th at Salionzo. At Borghetti the French were repulsed with considerable loss, and it was not until Valleggio had been previously gained,

that this post, which cost the assailants more than 500 lives, was wrested from the Austrians.

In the course of a few days the French army advanced; the left to Castelnuovo, the right between Legnano and Verona. A detachment had been sent to mask Mantua; and two regiments had been stationed on the banks of the lake of Garda, to cut off all communication by the Mincio between it and Peschiera, which Dombrowski's division was to invest.

On the first of January, 1801, the Adige was crossed. On the following day the Austrians evacuated Verona, leaving a garrison in the castle. On the 6th of January they were driven from the heights of Caldiero; and the French entered Vicenza. On the 11th the French army passed the Brenta before Fontanina. During these movements, the army of observation of the South entered Italy: on the 13th it arrived at Milan. In another direction, Macdonald, with the army of the Grisons, as we have before stated, had entered Trent on the 7th of January, and pursued the Austrians into the valley of the Brenta; and, on the 9th, he found himself in communication with the army of Italy, by Roveredo. The Austrian army, on the contrary, daily grew weaker. It was, at the opening of the campaign, inferior by one-third to the French army; and it had, moreover, sustained great losses since that time. The action of Pozzolo had cost it many men in killed and wounded; and its losses in prisoners amounted to 5 or 6000 men. The garrisons which the Austrians had left in Mantua, Peschiera, Verona, Ferrara, and Porto Legnano, had greatly reduced it. All these losses disabled it from maintaining any line against the French army. When once the Adige was passed, the Austrian army was obliged to send part of its forces to guard the *debouchés* of the Tyrol; and these troops were kept in action by the army of the Grisons, which was arriving in line. Gen. Baraguay d'Hilliers was at Botzen. The news of the arrival of the army of the Rhine at the gates of Vienna was now added to all the other grounds of discouragement of the Austrian army. And as soon as the French had passed the Brenta, General Bellegarde renewed his request for an armistice*.

On the 16th of January, 1801, accordingly an armistice was concluded at Treviso, by which Peschiera, Porto Legnano, Ferrara, and other places were surrendered to the French. In these fortresses, however, the garrisons were not made prisoners of war, the artillery and half the stores were left in their possession, and even the flotilla of Peschiera was not demanded. Mantua, the only place capable of holding out long enough to assist Austria in a fresh campaign, was suffered to remain in her power. A circuit of 800 toises was allowed to it, and it was permitted to receive provisions without interruption. It is no matter of surprize that Buonaparte refused to ratify this convention, and he immediately ordered Brune to announce that hostilities would be recommenced unless Mantua was surrendered. The same com-

* Annual Register, 1801, State Papers, *258.

munication was addressed to Count Cobentzel, the plenipotentiary at Luneville, and on the 17th of February this important city was delivered to the French.

All the fortresses of Italy were now in their hands. They were masters of the Tyrol, and of three-fourths of the *terra firma* of the territory of Venice; the line of demarcation of the French army extending along the left bank of the Livenza, from Sally to the sea, the ridge of the mountains between the Piave and Zeliné, and running down the Drave as far as Lintz, where it joined the line of the armistice of Germany.

Such were the military positions till the definitive Treaty of Peace was concluded at Luneville, on the 1st of February. For the terms of the treaty we must refer to our succeeding volume *. They were perhaps as favourable as the Emperor could expect, after his heavy and repeated disasters, but to France they were invaluably advantageous, placing under her dominion Liguria and the Cisalpine Republic, and confirming to her the long desired frontier of the Rhine, a possession not less gratifying to national pride, than productive of political security.

* Annual Register, 1801, State Papers, *260.

CHAPTER XI.

Astonishment of the Army of Egypt at Buonaparte's return to Europe. Kleber succeeds to the command. His wise administration. His gloomy despatch to the Directory. Intercepted by the English. Positions of the French. Suez and Cosseir bombarded by the English. Defeat of the advanced guard of the Grand Vizier at Damietta. Opening of negociation. Capture of El Arisch by the Turks. Treaty of El Arisch. The English not parties to it. They disavow the Treaty. Its rupture. Advance of the Grand Vizier. Proposition of Lord Keith. Reply of Kleber. Battle of Heliopolis. Defeat and flight of the Grand Vizier. Part of the Turkish force under Nassyf Pacha moves on Cairo. Destruction of the remains of his defeated army in the desert. Insurrection in Cairo. Massacre in the French quarter. Brilliant defence of the place Esbekieh by two hundred French. Kleber despatches succours to Cairo. He returns to the Capital. Proposes to negociate. The citizens oppose the receipt of his terms. Mourad Bey attaches himself to the French cause. The whole of the Delta is subdued. Assault of Boulac and massacre of the Turks. Attack upon Cairo postponed by a violent rain. Assault of the city. Success of the French. Capitulation of Nassyf Pacha. The English land at Suez. Having burned the vessels in its port they re-embark. All Egypt in the power of the French. Internal measures adopted by Kleber for its government.

Submission of the natives. Appearance of the Turkish fleet under the Capudan Pacha. He offers to negociate. Kleber refuses. Rejects an overture from the English Secretary Morier. Plans and prospects of Kleber. Frustrated by his assassination. Consternation of the French. Seizure of the assassin. Confession extorted from him by a promise of indemnity. He implicates the Grand Vizier. Means which had been used to instigate the fanaticism of the assassin. Four Cheiks of Cairo privy to the design. Trial, condemnation, and horrible execution of the assassin. Character of Kleber.

THE announcement of the return of Buonaparte to Europe was received with the most profound astonishment by the army which he had quitted, and in no one was this feeling more strongly excited than in him upon whom the command devolved. On the 25th of August, 1799, Kleber received at Rosetta, to which place he had been especially summoned, a despatch, which conveyed Buonaparte's final instructions, and which, briefly glancing at the reasons which had occasioned his departure, detailed at considerable length the policy which he wished to be pursued for the retention of Egypt. Succours were speedily promised from France, and it was urgently impressed upon the new commander that nothing short of a total interruption of communication with Europe, and the possible loss of more than 1500 men by the plague, could justify a negociation with the Porte, and the abandonment of a country, which the precarious state of the Ottoman Empire rendered more than ever important to France.

Kleber fixed his head quarters at Cairo, and on his open assumption of the command, he was received by his troops with enthusiasm. His first cares were directed to the regulation of the finances, and the establishment of hospitals; and he then endeavoured to provide clothing and cantonments for his soldiery who were in the field. The destruction of all resources, and the frightful disorder in which he found every branch of military administration, rendered his course most difficult and embarrassing; and a lively picture of his existing distress, and of his gloomy, though reasonable anticipations, is to be found in a despatch addressed by him to the Directory, towards the close of September. In this he represented the force under his command as diminished by half its original numbers, and as opposed in this state of weakness, not as heretofore, to a few scattered hordes of Mamlukes, but to the united power of Turkey, England, and Russia. All military stores, he added, were wanting, and the attempt to establish European manufactures, by which means these necessaries might be supplied, had failed from want of sufficient means to construct, or of adequate funds to support them. The troops half naked, and worn down with toil, were rapidly falling victims to the prevalent diseases of the climate, and the numbers of sick during the current season, far exceeded those during the year which had passed away. The natives were exhaust-

ed by the extraordinary contributions which already had been levied on them, and Buonaparte had not only left behind him empty coffers, but an arrear also of debt, exceeding a whole year's revenue. Of the twelve millions which were thus owing, a third part was due in pay to the soldiers, and the country was more than ever ill prepared to supply these financial wants, for the inundation of the Nile had been peculiarly unfavourable, and from many parts a total failure of crop was to be expected. The people, though silent, were far from being subdued, and sought only an opportunity for vengeance. The Beys Mourad and Ibrahim were yet in arms, with their unwearied and unconquerable Mamloucs. Always beaten, they always reappeared in still greater force, and if left unwatched for a moment, they threatened and harassed even the Capital itself. To these irregular but formidable troops, was now to be added the more disciplined army of the Grand Vizier, which was known to have advanced twenty days march from Damascus, and to be in junction with Djezzer Pacha, under the walls of Acre. The vessel which conveyed this despatch, was taken by the English. The papers were thrown overboard, attached to a cannon ball; but the rope was ill secured, they floated, and were recovered. It will be afterwards seen how important the effect of the capture was upon the destiny of Egypt.

Such were Kleber's statements, and they appear by no means to have been overcharged. The positions of the army, which was exposed to these multiplied hazards, were chiefly on the eastern bank of the Nile, the Fort of El Arisch, the wells Katieh and Salahieh, bordering on the Syrian desert; Belbeis, midway between the last named place and Cairo; and Suez and Cosseir, on the Red Sea. The latter port was ineffectually cannonaded for 64 hours, on the 14th of August, and the three following days, by two English frigates; but these vessels were unable, notwithstanding the destructive nature of their fire, to cover the disembarkation of the troops which they endeavoured to land. Mourad Bey continued to skirmish in the desert, and though repeatedly driven back, each new success of the French diminished their own numbers, without appearing to dispirit their assailants.

Desaix was recalled from Upper Egypt to take the command of a division intended to be directed against the Grand Vizier, whose advance had neither been checked by the disaster of Aboukir, nor by the willingness which Buonaparte had subsequently manifested to enter on negociation. Eight thousand Janissaries, the flower of his army, were entrusted, as an advanced guard, to Seyd Ali Bey. Their object was to make a powerful diversion, and to attempt a landing on the side of Damietta. The naval arrangements were committed to Sir Sidney Smith, who appeared off the mouth of the Nile on the 29th of October, with a flotilla of fifty-three vessels. The Turks immediately took possession of the castle of Bogafeh, but their occupation of it was not destined to be long timed. Scarcely had they concluded their disembarkation

on the 1st of November, on the extreme west of the lake Menzaleh, when General Verdier led one thousand men to the charge. The Turks gave way before him. More than two thousand were put to the sword, and eight hundred prisoners, thirty-two standards, and five pieces of cannon, were abandoned to the conquerors.

Sir Sidney Smith, on his arrival at Damietta, had announced to Kleber that no separate negociation would be permitted with the Ottoman Porte, but that the Russian agent and himself, in conjunction with the Grand Vizier, were prepared to consider any propositions which he might think fit to offer. Various communications took place in consequence of this announcement, but the difficulty of the roads, and the badness of the season, protracted any meeting of the chief negociators till nearly the close of December. On the 21st of that month a conference was appointed on board Sir Sidney Smith's flag ship, the *Tigre*, from which they were subsequently transferred to the Turkish camp at El Arisch. The fortress of El Arisch was captured by the Turks on the 30th of December. Unequivocal symptoms of mutiny had shewn themselves in the garrison, and it was not until too late, when they found that little mercy was to be expected from their enemy, that the French profited by their means of defence. The storm then became a massacre, and such as escaped the sword were destroyed by an explosion of the magazine, which was fired in despair.

Kleber was now willing to accept any terms compatible with his honour, and on the 24th of January 1800, a Treaty for the evacuation of Egypt, was concluded at El Arisch. The chief stipulations were, that the French army, retaining its arms, baggage, and property, was to be transported from Alexandria, Rosetta, and Aboukir, to France, in vessels provided by the Turkish Government. During the time which must elapse in necessary preparations, hostilities were to be suspended on both sides. Forty-five days were allowed for the evacuation of Cairo, &c. Prisoners on both sides, whether in captivity in Europe or in Egypt, were to be released. To this Treaty, so celebrated for its subsequent violation, neither Sir Sidney Smith nor the Russian agent annexed their signature. Desaix and Poussielgue, as representatives of Kleber, and two Plenipotentiaries from the Grand Vizier, were alone the subscribing parties.

It is the more necessary to bear this important fact in mind, as it entirely relieves the British Government, from the imputations of bad faith, which the French endeavoured to throw upon it after the rupture of this most improvident Treaty. In a convention, which stipulated for the safe and unmolested return of an invading army across seas of which the English were sole masters, it was but reasonable to expect that an English Minister should be a participator; and even if Sir Sidney Smith had not the powers of a Plenipotentiary (with which during the continuance of the Earl of Elgin as Ambassador at Constantinople, he evidently was not in-

vested), he at least had the customary right which military command bestows, of becoming a party to a Military Convention. It is not to be dissembled that the interception of Kleber's despatch, of which we have given an abstract above, and the knowledge thus obtained of the distress of the French army, materially contributed to the determination of not acceding to terms, of which, under other circumstances, the Cabinet of St. James's might perhaps have approved. But any accusation of treachery manifestly falls to the ground, when distinct evidence is adduced that England was never included among the contracting parties.

Desaix and Davoust lost not a moment in hastening their return to Europe, on the confidence of this Treaty. Of the arrival, the brilliant services, and the glorious death of the former of these Generals, after preserving the French army at Marengo, we have already spoken. Their retreat was most seasonable, for it had scarcely taken place, when a letter from Sir Sidney Smith was received at the French Head Quarters, announcing that despatches had arrived from the British Commander in Chief in the Mediterranean, disavowing the Convention of El Arisch, and refusing its ratification. The posts of Katieh, of Salahieh, and of Belbeis, were already evacuated, and the chief baggage and stores of the French army had been transported to Alexandria. Cairo was still in their possession, and Kleber lost no time in putting it in a state of defence, and took up a position in front of the city, resolved to protect it from the advance of the Grand Vizier, who continued his march, notwithstanding he had been informed of the obstacles to the completion of the Treaty. The demands of the British Government, conveyed by Lord Keith, were, that the French should lay down their arms, and surrender themselves prisoners of war; that they should give up all the vessels and stores in Alexandria; and that not a single man should be permitted to return to Europe until he had been exchanged.

Notwithstanding the perils which every where environed him, Kleber rejected these propositions with the most lively indignation. He printed Lord Keith's letter, and circulated it among his troops, with the following brief and spirited appendage: *Soldats, on ne repond à de telles insolences que par la Victoire. Preparez vous a combattre.* Having pointed out to the Grand Vizier the necessity which existed for his retreat, if he wished to avoid hostilities, for that in the present proximity of the two armies, and in the irritated state of that under his own command, an engagement was unavoidable, if the outposts continued to touch each other; he was answered in the genuine style of Oriental bombast, that a Grand Vizier never retreated *. Kleber had no alternative, and accordingly made his dispositions for battle.

At midnight, on the 20th of

* Kleber's reply as given by Martin (*Hist. de l'Exp. Fr. en Egypte*, ii. 69) is worth preserving. *F—— je te ferai bien reculer demain, et plus vite qu'il ne voudra.*

March, the troops mustered at the gates of Cairo, and spread over the plain of Coubèa. Two divisions of infantry, that on the right under Friant, and the left under Regnier, were each subdivided into two solid squares. The light artillery occupied the intervals between the squares, and the centre of the whole line was filled by the cavalry under the command of Le Clerc, supported on each flank by the dromedary corps. In the rear was the reserve, and the grand park of artillery. The whole scarcely exceeded 10,000 men. The Turks, on the other hand, amounted to nearly 80,000. Mourad Bey, with his cavalry, hovered on the flanks of either army, without taking an active part in the engagement, but watchfully awaited the moment in which he might attach himself to the conqueror. The advanced guard of the Grand Vizier, about 6000 Janissaries, under Nassyf Pacha, occupied the village of Matarieh, resting with its right flank on the Nile, and its left on the Mosque of Sibelli Hassem; the remainder of the army was encamped with little regularity between El Hanka and Aboubazel.

The French commenced their attack on the Mosque, which they easily gained; in the mean time their left cut off the Turks from the ruins of Heliopolis, (from which place the battle takes its name) before either the advanced guard could fall back upon this advantageous shelter, or the Vizier could press forward to its occupation. During this movement a cloud of horsemen, partly Turks, and partly Mamloucs of Ibrahim Bey, abandoned the front of the battle, and swept in a circuit round the French line to a position in its rear, close to Cairo.

The village of Matarieh was strongly intrenched and bravely defended, and it was here, but for their rashness, that the Turks might have made a successful stand. As the French advanced, the Janissaries quitted the cover of their works, and with loud shouts and furious gestures rushed upon the immoveable line of bayonets presented by their more disciplined enemies. Scarcely a man of them escaped, and Nassyf Pacha, anxious for the safety of the few which remained to him, demanded a parley. An Aid de Camp of Kleber was despatched to listen to his proposals; but with a barbarous disregard of the laws of war, he was fastened to the tail of a horse, and dragged to the tent of the Vizier. The main body of the Turks had now advanced to the succour of their discomfited van. They were in positions between the villages of Sericaurt and El Marek, and the Vizier established himself in a palm grove at the rear of the last named place. The French line advanced, supported by its artillery, and the Turks made a last effort, by pouring round the handful of men who were moving to the attack, their countless hosts of cavalry. The French formed in hollow squares, and presented a front on every side, which deterred the horsemen from their projected charge. Frustrated in their only hope, the Turks gave way on all sides. Even in spite of his boasted immobility, the Grand

Vizier himself was compelled not only to retire, but to fly; and Nassyf Pacha followed the movement of Ibrahim, and threw himself on Cairo.

Kleber rapidly followed up his success. On the night of the battle of Heliopolis, his troops slept in the Vizier's camp at El Hanka. Belbeis was defended for a few hours, but the garrison at length surrendered on condition of being permitted to join their comrades. The Vizier solicited an armistice, but it was not the policy of the French to suspend their pursuit. It was only at Koraim that they experienced any check in their advance, and this was but for a moment. In front of that village Regnier was briskly engaged on the morning of the 23d, and Kleber, who moved up to his support with a regiment of hussars, was exposed to imminent personal danger, and did not extricate himself till he had been wounded in the head.

The Vizier was in despair at the rejection of his proposals, and far from endeavouring to rally the wreck of his army at Salahieh, where the French had anticipated a powerful resistance, he hastily assembled five hundred horse, and placing himself at their head, abandoned the remainder of his wretched followers to their fate, and hurried across the desert to Gaza. His flight was the signal for general dispersion; without arms or provisions, the Turkish soldiers threw themselves on the desert, and perished miserably, either by famine, or by the hands of the merciless Arabs. Salahieh was occupied by the French on the 24th, and beyond this last habitable spot pursuit became useless, if not impossible.

But while profiting by this important success, and completing the destruction of the force which he had overthrown in the field, Kleber was himself on the brink of a hideous calamity, and had well nigh lost possession of Cairo. The inhabitants of that city, ripe for insurrection, and panting to wreak vengeance on their invaders and oppressors, had poured out in multitudes as spectators of the battle of Heliopolis. It was with the most lively joy that they hailed the arrival of Ibrahim Bey's Mamloucs, but their transport could not be restrained when this was succeeded by the appearance of Nassyf Pacha himself. Profiting by the temper in which he found the citizens, that wily Chief dissembled his defeat, and boldly affirmed that he had been despatched by the Vizier to take possession of Cairo, and to announce the total destruction of the French army.

The flame was now kindled, and it spread rapidly through the city. The first objects of attack were the resident European merchants, and an indiscriminate massacre took place in the French quarter, which they inhabited. Such Turks as had accepted offices or honours under the French were the first victims of popular rage; and the chief of the police, Mustapha Aga, was dragged from a small picket of French who mounted guard in his house, and amid yells and execrations was impaled alive. Two hundred French soldiers were on guard in the Place of Esbekieh, the head-quarters of Kleber; and upon them the fury of the rabble,

now exasperated by the taste of blood, was next directed. An unexpected discharge of musketry arrested their onset, and the grenadiers then sallied forth with the bayonet upon the rude and disorderly mass, which had little anticipated such a reception. The Place Esbekieh was quickly deserted, and the troops profiting by this short interval of repose, threw up a hasty entrenchment before their quarters, and established a battery with the trunks of such palm trees as could be found in their gardens. Under the directions of their commander, Adjutant General Duranteau, they continued to defend themselves for two days with the utmost gallantry. During this short period their situation was horrible in the extreme. Without any positive news from their comrades, they were in the end compelled to believe the intelligence of their destruction, which the Turks had so loudly vaunted: yet even if they should have agreed to capitulate, as hopeless of succour, they could by no means have relied upon the faithful observance of any Treaty into which they might enter. Death, attended with the most appalling terrors, appeared under any circumstance to be their portion, and they could encourage no other consolation than that they still retained the power of making their lives a costly purchase.

Kleber, however, during the night after his victory at Heliopolis, had heard the report of cannon in the direction of the Capital. The whole garrison which he had left behind amounted to 2000 men, and this number, in possession of the forts and the citadel, was amply sufficient, as he thought, to repress any popular insurrection. But he had observed the movement of Nassyf Pacha during the engagement; and, suspecting his intention, he immediately dispatched the brigade of Lagrange to the assistance of Verdier and Zayonchek, who commanded in Cairo. From the report of prisoners, he afterwards learned that the force which the Turks had directed thither, was far more considerable than he had at first imagined; and accordingly, on the following day, he ordered the division of Friant and Donzelot to the support of Lagrange.

The column of Lagrange was opposed in its progress by 4000 cavalry under Nassyf Pacha, but these were quickly overthrown, and the troops composing the little garrison in the Place Esbekieh were joined by their comrades, from whom they first received notice of the victory at Heliopolis. Kleber had strictly forbidden any attempt beyond the relief of this post, until his own return; and the French therefore confined themselves to the destruction of a few houses immediately adjoining their headquarters, from which, as from so many fortresses, the Turks were able to pour in a destructive fire. On the 27th of March, the General in Chief arrived in Cairo, and saw the city in the possession of the Turks, who had exerted themselves during the few days of his absence with unwonted activity. They had prepared gunpowder, cast bullets, and even founded cannon and mortars. The Place Esbekieh was diagonally intersected by two lines of entrench-

ments, occupied respectively by the opposing forces. Every thing bespoke confusion and terror. It was plain that any attempt by open force must partake of the nature of a storm; that although in the end it might be successful, nevertheless it would be difficult and hazardous; and that at all events it must cost many valuable lives, and occasion a diminution of numbers, which in his present hopelessness of reinforcement, he could ill afford to lose.

His first care therefore was to establish a close blockade, and to cut off all external communication. He then took pains to spread the intelligence of the Vizier's defeat and flight, which was still obstinately disbelieved by the inhabitants. Even when Nassyf Pacha and Ibrahim Bey, despairing of succour, proposed a capitulation, and acceded to and signed the terms, the populace remembered the dreadful vengeance which they had wreaked on their invaders, and trembling at the retaliation which they anticipated, forced their leaders to abandon the Treaty, and to recommence hostilities.

Mourad Bey was less firm in his resistance. After witnessing the issue of the battle of Heliopolis, he returned to Toura, on the right bank of the Nile, two leagues from Cairo, and refusing the overtures of Ibrahim, he made counter-proposals at the same moment to Kleber. They were readily accepted, and as the price of his disloyalty, he was invested with the government of Upper Egypt; and by a singular anomaly, received the title of Prince from a Republican General. With the true spirit of an apostate, he outran Kleber himself in his eagerness for the destruction of the ranks which he had deserted. He proposed to fire Cairo, and even collected the combustibles which were necessary for this ferocious purpose; and when his offer was rejected, he turned his forces to Upper Egypt against Dervich Pacha, whose head he vowed to lay at the feet of the French commander.

Twelve thousand men of the Vizier's army had rallied at Damietta, which he continued to occupy. They were attacked and dispersed, with the loss of their artillery, and Damietta and the other towns of the Delta were rapidly subdued. Cairo and Boulac were the only remaining obstacles to the entire conquest of Lower Egypt. Every day which they held out diminished the *prestige* of the French name: the besiegers were weakened by partial combats, which exhausted their ammunition; the courage of the inhabitants was heightened in proportion to the time which they had remained in insurrection; and the Imans from the minarets denounced the vengeance of the Prophet upon the oppressors, and called upon every true believer to assist in the execution of his will.

Half April, however, elapsed before Kleber felt himself sufficiently strong to attempt the active reduction of the Capital, which even then he reluctantly undertook. His troops had now returned from the pursuit of the straggling fugitives, and he had concentrated a force which removed all doubt of success. On the 13th of April, having first summoned and then

bombarded Boulac, he ordered his troops to the assault. Several breaches had been effected, and the Turks driven from their posts retired to their houses. Every private dwelling became a fortress; and even when these coverts were fired, and their defenders were again forced into the open streets, they refused all terms of surrender, and continued to fight with the wildest desperation. The carnage was most horrible; no age nor sex escaped; and before night the streets of Boulac, which the morning had seen flourishing and populous, presented only one hideous mass of ruin or of flame, and were tenanted by none save the dying or the dead.

Dispositions were made for the assault of Cairo on the following day, and Kleber hoped to profit by the consternation which the fall of Boulac must have excited. His design, however, was retarded by an event most unusual in the climate of Egypt. A heavy rain fell during the whole of the day; and in a country in which from the rarity of a phenomenon so common in Europe, no precautions are taken against it, military movements become impracticable whenever it does occur. At length on the evening of the 18th, the fresh massacre commenced. The house of Setti Fatmeh, in the Place Esbekieh, had been the principal depot of the Turks; to attack this in front was perilous, and it was resolved that it should be mined. The explosion was to be the signal for a general attack; and no sooner had this taken place, with the destruction of every living being under the roof of Setti Fatmeh, than four divisions of French poured into the city from opposite quarters. The Turks fought valiantly in the streets, and the combat continued during the whole of the night, but in the end they were forced from all their positions. Nassyf Pacha himself, and the chief officers of his suit, escaped only by abandoning their horses, and by throwing themselves into some neighbouring houses. At the dawn of day he proposed a capitulation, which was agreed to; and on the 25th, the city was once again in possession of the French.

A small English force had landed, and were in possession of Suez, but the defeat of the Vizier determined the commander, Colonel Murray, to retire to his ships; and having burned all the vessels in the port, he secured his re-embarkation before the arrival of the overwhelming force which Kleber was now at liberty to direct against him. The whole of Egypt was thus a second time conquered by the close of April; and the French celebrated their victories by a pompous triumphal entrance into Cairo. Kleber employed this interval of tranquillity in the amelioration of the internal government, as well as in strengthening his military power: and having confirmed his alliance with Mourad Bey, by a personal interview in the island of Guêziret-El Terseh, near Gizeh, in which that chief swore a fidelity which he observed till his death, he framed wise and salutary measures for that permanent establishment of the French in Egypt, which he now began to meditate, and which his activity and saga-

city succeeded to render in great degree feasible.

The native population was deeply impressed with terror by his recent successes. They had witnessed with astonishment, bordering on disbelief, the rout of the Grand Vizier, a dignity in their eyes almost sacred and invincible: and reasoning on the principles of Fatalism, they now persuaded themselves that God and the Prophet had resolved to transfer the government of their country from the Sultan to the French. They deemed it impious any longer to resist a decision of heaven, which had been manifested by such extraordinary favour to the invaders; and convinced that no opposition could retard the conquest which had commenced under divine guidance, they determined henceforward to yield unqualified obedience to their new masters.

Notwithstanding this passive surrender, the revolt of Cairo, of Boulac, of Damietta, and of the towns in the interior of the Delta, afforded too dangerous a precedent for the future, if their submission was accepted as an atonement, without some infliction which might mark the displeasure of the conqueror. A fair pretext had been afforded for levying fresh contributions, which were necessary to relieve the crying wants of the army. The members of the Divan, and the principal merchants in Cairo, were convened; they were informed, that by the laws of war, their lives and property, as well as those of their fellow-citizens, were at the unlimited disposal of their conquerors; but that the humanity of the French would remit the utmost severity of punishment, provided they furnished a supply of twelve millions, half in money, and half in military equipments and clothing. This was to suffice for the Capital; the other offending towns were to pay in proportion to the wealth and population of each. The shares to be respectively furnished, were to be allotted at their own discretion; and all that the French General reserved to himself, was the receipt of the total sum which he imposed.

Employed in rectifying the finances, in organizing native troops, who were drilled and disciplined after European tactics, in constructing roads, and throwing flying bridges over the branches of the Nile, in fortifying Cairo and in raising works for the defence of the coast, Kleber rapidly advanced the security of the French, and relieved the natives from the bitter oppression under which they had hitherto been labouring. Once only was his repose disturbed by the unexpected appearance of the Turkish fleet, commanded by the Capudan Pacha, off Alexandria, at the close of May. Kleber not having any information whether troops were on board, and suspecting an attempt upon the coast, quitted Cairo, and assembled his forces at Rahmanieh, having committed the government of the Capital to the weak and dissolute Menou. The Capudan Pacha had approached the coast with the hope of renewing negociations, but Kleber refused to communicate with him; and finding that the Turks had neither intention, nor indeed means, of renewing hostilities, he returned to Cairo. Here he gave a similar reply to an overture

from Mr. Morier, the Secretary of Lord Elgin. The rupture of the treaty of El Arisch appeared to afford a seasonable opportunity for exciting jealousy between the English and Turkish Governments; and with the hope of profiting by this feeling, Kleber determined to decline all correspondence, except that which he sought to establish directly with Constantinople. His hope was to prevail on the Turks to consent to a neutrality till the conclusion of a general peace. A Treaty to this effect would secure the French army from any attack except by a maritime expedition, which he did not think the English would attempt, without assurances of co-operation from the Sublime Porte.

These not unreasonable prospects were destroyed by the stroke of an assassin, and Egypt was again destined to become the prey of a licentious soldiery. On the morning of the 14th of June, Kleber, after reviewing, in the Isle of Raoudeh, a legion, which he had raised of native Greeks, returned to Cairo, and breakfasted with his Staff at the house of General Dumas. The repast is described to have been particularly agreeable; and Kleber, who possessed in eminence the talents of society, displayed more than usual gaiety of spirit. The party was still at table, and unwilling to quit it, when Kleber proposed a short absence to Protain, an architect, who had some works to shew him, and adjourned, with the promise of speedy return. Engaged in close conversation with Protain, he was crossing a covered terrace, which communicated from the house of Dumas with the head-quarters, when a man, who had concealed himself behind a cistern, rushed on Kleber, and struck a poignard deeply into his left groin. Kleber, when he felt wounded, leaned against a parapet, and seeing below a soldier of the company of guides, had only strength enough to articulate, *a moi guide, je suis blessée*, before he fell deluged in his own blood. The murderer then sprung on Protain, who defended himself for a short time with his cane, till he received six wounds, and fell senseless by the side of Kleber. Not knowing whether the first blow was mortal, the assassin returned to his first victim, and pierced him three times more. This further outrage was needless; the dagger at first had penetrated the right auricle of the heart; and the three succeeding blows less surely directed, were slight, and without danger. Having fulfilled his purpose, and hearing an alarm, the assassin fled hastily through the garden.

The soldier to whom Kleber had called when falling, bore the first intelligence of this catastrophe to the party assembled at the quarters of Dumas. Thunderstruck at the announcement, they instantly rushed out upon the terrace; and Kleber breathed his last in a few minutes after their arrival. Protain, who was at length restored to animation, described the person of the assassin, and particularly pointed out the raggedness of his dress. The fury of the soldiery was without bounds, for few commanders had won more general attachment from his comrades than had fallen to the share

of Kleber. Every one ran to arms; the *generale* was beat in all quarters of the city, and it was with difficulty that the troops were prevented from firing the houses. Each of the wretched inhabitants, though guiltless of the crime, felt conscious that he partook of suspicion; and till the real perpetrator should be discovered, all underwent the most frightful apprehensions. Bodies of cavalry, jointly French and Mamlouc, patrolled the streets, and surrounded the house and gardens of Dumas, so as to prevent the possibility of exit to any one concealed therein. Meantime the chief officers assembled in a Council of war.

Two hours of indescribable consternation and indecision elapsed, when a young Musulman was brought before the Council, who had been found hiding under a tree at the foot of a ruined part of the garden wall. On discovery he had attempted to escape, but was pursued and taken after receiving a slight sabre wound in the arm. Protain immediately recognized him as the assassin, and others remembered that they had seen him loitering about the apartments of the head-quarters; a poignard stained with blood was at the same time produced, which had been picked up in his hiding place. Suspicion was strongly excited against him from these conspiring circumstances. But he peremptorily denied all participation in the crime, and even all knowledge of the murdered General's person. He gave his name Souleyman El Alepo, aged twenty-four. He stated his profession to be that of writer and secretary, and that he had been resident in Cairo five months. His constancy was by no means shaken under the torture of the bastinado, but a delusive promise which was held out to him by a Mamlouc Chief, that if he avowed the truth he should suffer no injury, but on the contrary should be rewarded and set at liberty, at length extorted a full confession.

If his statement was to be credited, the Grand Vizier, burning with shame at his disgrace, had been the author and abettor of this base and bloody act. Calling an abuse of religion to his aid, he had encouraged all good Musulmen to the assassination of the French commander, and had impressed upon them from the Koran, that every believer who should kill an infidel, placed himself by such a meritorious deed in the certain road to salvation. To these spiritual excitements were added brilliant temporal hopes, and the countenance and protection of the Sultan were promised as the reward for the head of Kleber.

Achmet, a disgraced Aga of the Janissaries, who had passed many months in exile at Jerusalem, saw opened to him by these declarations a return to favour: and he looked about him for a tool whom fanaticism might stimulate to his purpose. The young Souleyman El Alepo was soon pointed out to him as a fitting object. Ardent in imagination, and enthusiastic in his profession of Islamism, this youth already had made two pilgrimages to Mecca, and was now engaged on a third at the holy city of Jerusalem. His filial attachment was surpassed only by his devotion to his

Prophet; and both these passions were addressed by the crafty agents who surrounded him. His father was thrown into prison for a pretended debt by the Pacha Ibrahim. Souleyman was given to understand that Achmet Aga was all powerful with Ibrahim; at his feet therefore he prostrated himself in humble solicitation for his father's release. The net had now involved its prey: Achmet declared that not only the liberty of his father, but honour and riches, and the prize of immortal happiness to himself, were to be gained by taking the life of the chief of the unbelievers. Souleyman in his heated fancy saw himself invested with the attributes of a chosen messenger and champion of heaven; he believed that he was called supernaturally to a sacred task, and he devoted all his energies to its performance. He was forwarded in this temper of spirit to the commander of Gizeh, who provided him with money and introductory letters to four Cheiks of the great Mosque of El Hazar, at Cairo. On the 14th of May he arrived in the Capital, and communicated his project to his hosts. The Cheiks foresaw the danger of the attempt; they trembled at the hazards to which it must expose, not only the chief actor, but all who were in his confidence, and yet wavering and undecided in action, they forebore to denounce the intended crime. During one and twenty days Souleyman prepared himself by incessant devotions in the Mosque, and sought strength from heaven to support him in the approaching trial. Meantime he frequented the head-quarters of the French army, familiarized himself with the person of Kleber, and acquired an intimate knowledge of his habits.

On the 14th of June he announced to the Cheiks that he felt prepared for the great struggle. During the early part of the day he followed Kleber on a visit which he paid to Gizeh, passed the Nile in the same boat, introduced himself into the apartment of Dumas, mingled with his suite during the breakfast, and having learned the General's intention of walking with Protain, concealed himself in a favourable spot, and consummated his crime.

Having finished this avowal, the unhappy and deluded youth turned with implicit confidence to the Mamlouc Chief, who had betrayed him into it by an assurance of impunity. "I have fulfilled my promise," said he, "and I now claim your's in return. My poor father must be anxious for my safety, and I ought not to lose a moment in releasing him from confinement." He was soon undeceived as to his doom. Three of the four Cheiks were seized, their companion escaped. Menou, upon whom by seniority the provisional command of the French army had devolved, summoned a commission for the trial of the assassin and his accomplices. The Cheiks were condemned to be beheaded, Souleyman to be impaled alive, after his right hand had been burned off. This detestable sentence was executed with an accumulation of horrors which we may be spared the pain of reciting, in the face of an European army, all the members of which had not yet renounced the

profession of Christianity, after the obsequies of the murdered General had been celebrated with such circumstance of parade as their means permitted. The miserable youth met his terrific fate with a constancy worthy of a better cause, and evinced amid his acute and lingering sufferings the heroism of a martyr *.

With Kleber the fortunes of the French in Egypt declined, and henceforward our narrative will exhibit only their imbecility and consequent disasters. Though not cultivating popularity among the natives by the same policy as that upon which Buonaparte acted, Kleber had received from nature many qualities calculated to impose upon Orientalists. His person was tall and commanding, and his strength prodigious. Plain and soldier-like in his dress, he exacted profound reverence to his person after he had succeeded to the command. Buonaparte had mixed unreservedly, and without ceremony, among the natives. Kleber, on the contrary, held himself far aloof from them all. On public occasions he was preceded, after the manner of the country, by two rows of staff-bearers, who, striking the ground with long poles, cried out as they advanced, "Behold the General in chief; Musulmen, prostrate yourselves." The inhabitants instantly made way for him. Those on mules or asses prostrated themselves, bowing and crossing their arms on their breasts with customary reverence. They said that Kleber was a real Sultan, and the more he required their homage, the more ready were they to accord it. Nevertheless, he fell a victim to his disregard of popular feeling. He originally rendered himself odious to the Cheiks, by subjecting one of them to the bastinado.

The early part of Kleber's life had been passed in the Prussian service. As a soldier he was a rigid disciplinarian: and of his military talent Buonaparte seems to have entertained so high an estimate, as not to have doubted, that Egypt would have remained in the power of the French if he had survived. His character was less distinguished by enthusiasm than by sagacity, and much of it may be learned from his favourite maxim, "To go is nothing, we should be able to return: To take is nothing, we should be able to keep." A singular coincidence has been pointed out by Buonaparte himself respecting his two favourite lieutenants. On the very day and at the very hour in which Desaix was killed in battle at Marengo, Kleber fell at Cairo by the hand of Souleyman.

* Martin, who recounts the circumstances of his barbarous execution with horrible and disgusting minuteness, was most probably himself an eye-witness of it. He states that Barthelemy the Mamlouc, who had promised Souleyman his release, solicited and obtained, as a post of honour, the office of executioner. Souleyman was unmoved while the flame was slowly consuming his hand, but when a spark accidentally flew off upon his elbow he uttered a piercing shriek. Barthelemy insultingly asked where the courage had fled which for so long had borne, without shrinking, a much greater pain. "Unbelieving dog," replied the wretched sufferer, "fulfil your duty in silence. The pain at which I murmured was not included in the sentence pronounced by my judges." This dialogue has the appearance of a *coup de Theatre*, which creates a suspicion of the veracity of the whole narrative.

CHAPTER XII.

Military operations of the English. Attack on Quiberon. On Quimper River. Troops assembled at Minorca. Unsuccessful attempt on Ferrol. Blockade and capture of the Island of Malta. Fruitless expedition to Cadiz. Capture of Curaçao, and of Goree. Parliamentary debates on the War. Motion for an inquiry into the expedition to Holland. Speeches of Messrs. Sheridan, Dundas, Tierney, Perceval. Similar motion in the House of Lords. Speeches of Lords Holland and Moira. Message from the King on the Treaties with the Germanic powers. Speeches of Lords Holland, Grenville, and Duke of Montrose in the House of Lords; of Messrs. Pitt, Tierney, Wilberforce, Sheridan, Windham, in the Commons. Motion of Mr. Tierney, declaratory of the definitive object of the War. Speeches of Messrs. Tierney, Jones and Eliot, of Lord Hawkesbury, Mr. William Smith, and Lord Belgrave. Motion of Mr. Jones for the dismissal of Ministers. Motion of Mr. Sheridan for a Call of the House. His Speech. Reply of Mr. Pitt. Motion of Lord Holland to the same effect. His Speech. Reply of Lord Grenville. Motion of Mr. Western for a Committee on the state of the Nation. Speeches of Messrs. Western, Wilberforce, W. Smith, Windham, Hobhouse, Sheridan, the Solicitor General, Tierney. Treaty with the Emperor of Germany. Speeches of Messrs. Pitt, Tierney, and Canning.

The unsuccessful result of the expedition to Holland, had by no means checked the ardent desire which was felt by the British Ministers to afford military co-operation to the allied cause, and an active warfare was carried on along the French coasts in the course of the summer months of 1800. On the 4th of June Sir Edward Pellew attacked the south-west of the Peninsula of Quiberon, and the coast of Bretagne, and having silenced the batteries by a brisk cannonade from his squadron, he landed a party of troops who destroyed the forts and burned the shipping. Similar and equally successful attacks were directed in the course of the same month on the Quimper River and on Bœurneuf Bay. In July a gallant attempt was made to cut four frigates out of the roads at Dunkirk. One of these, *La Desirée*, was captured, and the remainder escaped not without considerable damage. From the commencement of the year a large force, amounting in the end to no less than 20,000 British, had been assembling from time to time in the island of Minorca; and the first object to which it would have been directed, but for the disastrous events in Italy, was the siege and destruction of the great arsenal at Toulon. The unexpected close of the Italian campaign, condemned these troops to long inactivity. It was not till August that any portion of them

was employed. Fifteen thousand men were then directed to an attack upon Ferrol, under the command of Sir James Pulteney. Nearly half of them having landed without opposition, were successful in two skirmishes, and obtained possession of the heights which overlook the port. The result, however, was inglorious to the commander, for notwithstanding the disproportion of force presented by the Spaniards, who at first amounted only to 500 men, it was thought advisable, from the unexpected preparations for resistance which were discovered, and the approach of reinforcements, to re-embark the English troops. Their retreat was effected without loss, after they had destroyed the outworks and advanced batteries of the enemy.

On another point a more profitable result had attended the British arms. Buonaparte on his passage to Egypt had been unable to leave more than 4000 men as a garrison for his first splendid conquest, the island of Malta. With this scanty body, Vaubois, who was left in command, had not only to defend himself from foreign attack, but to control a restless and irritated population of 100,000 souls, who indignantly beheld the treachery with which their country had been betrayed to the dominion of France. The nobles and clergy, whose rights and privileges were destroyed by the revolution, sedulously encouraged the present inclination to resistance, and this feeling displayed itself so openly on the announcement of the destruction of the French fleet in the battle of the Nile, that Vaubois ever afterwards was obliged to shut himself up in the citadel of La Valletta.

A man of war, the *Guillaume Tell*, and three frigates, almost the sole remains of the Egyptian armament, had sought refuge in the port of Malta; and here they were soon blockaded by a squadron, composed of British, Portuguese, and Neapolitan vessels. Notwithstanding his difficulties, Vaubois maintained a resolute defence, and with a garrison continually diminished by sickness and fatigue, it was not until February, 1800, that he entertained any hopes of relief. It was then that a large armament, containing a reinforcement of 3000 men, and considerable supplies of stores and provisions, was descried from the heights of Malta. The *Genereux*, which had escaped at Aboukir, convoyed the squadron; and Pérée, who commanded her, had almost gained the canal of Malta, when he was attacked; and after a brief engagement, during which he was mortally wounded, was compelled to strike his colours to Lord Nelson. Of the whole squadron, only three corvettes returned to Toulon.

Vaubois, with hope thus dashed from his lips, made one desperate effort to acquaint his government with his pressing distress. He ordered the *Guillaume Tell* to endeavour to elude the vigilance of the blockaders, and to convey dispatches to France, announcing that he could not possibly hold out beyond the month of June. This ship was not more fortunate than her companions, and Nelson, in capturing her, saw

within his power the last of the fleet which had fought against him in the battle of the Nile.

The distress of the garrison was now at its height, yet by reducing his rations to one third of their customary allowance, Vaubois continued to resist through the whole of August. One of the two frigates remaining in the port, effected her escape; the other was taken in a similar attempt; and on the fifth of September, Vaubois, finding himself without hope of external succour, and deprived of all resources within, surrendered La Valletta, and its dependencies, to the English General Pigot. Of all the important results of Lord Nelson's victory of the Nile, none perhaps was more acutely felt by France than the loss of Malta. Her last hope of maintaining any maritime competition, fell with it; and the foundation of the power which she so anxiously sought to establish in the Levant, was wholly undermined.

In October the British force at Minorca was again put in motion. The city of Cadiz was at this time desolated by the ravages of the yellow fever; and it was thought advisable to seize this opportunity of destroying the arsenal, and securing the fleet collected in its port, when any vigorous resistance was little to be expected. The fleet of Admiral Keith consisted of 143 vessels; the land forces, under General Abercromby, amounted to 20,000 men; and to these were added, a division which Sir James Pulteney brought from Ferrol. But the Spaniards had been apprised of the intended attack, and notwithstanding the horrors of their situation, though exposed at the same moment to the double scourge of war and pestilence, they had collected a large force in the camp of Saint Roche, and thrown up works which rendered the approaches to the city almost impregnable.—Morla, the governor, appealed to the humanity of the British. He was answered by a summons to surrender his fleet, which he peremptorily rejected, and the English commanders, apprehensive of contagion, and weighing the unforeseen hazard of the attempt, after a fruitless demonstration, abandoned their enterprise.

The ulterior destination and future triumph of this army, under Sir Ralph Abercromby, do not belong to our present narrative; and this brief notice of the military operations of Great Britain during 1800, may be concluded by a mention of the capture of the island of Goree in April, and of Curaçao in October. We now return to the proceedings of the British Prrliament.

The debates on the propositions for peace offered by the Consular Government of France, have already been detailed. The next subject which produced any important discussion, was a motion by Mr. Sheridan, on the 10th of February, for a Committee of the whole House to enquire into the causes of the failure of the late expedition to Holland.

He began by remarking, that, upon the extraordinary meeting of Parliament on the 24th of September, a Bill had passed to enable Ministers to prosecute this expedition; and though he then

disapproved of the principle of that Bill, as a dangerous violation of our great constitutional defence, the militia system, he did not think it proper, in the peculiar circumstances in which we were placed, to oppose the measure. We had at that very time received accounts of the battle at Berghen; our troops were in a critical situation; and, seeing no other means by which reinforcements could be procured, he was unwilling that any thing should be left undone which might lead our gallant army to suppose they were for a moment abandoned by a British Parliament.

On that occassion, indeed, he presumed that Ministers acted upon the most authentic information of the favourable dispositions of the Dutch. But he then stated that the executive Government incurred great responsibility. Having done this, it would be shrinking from his pledge, did he not now endeavour to make them answer for the confidence which they had obtained, and for the course which they had pursued.

When the news arrived of the total failure of the expedition, (a failure so disastrous, so disgraceful, so humiliating to those by whom it was planned, while no blame attached to the officers and men,) the universal clamour was, that an inquiry should be instituted by the House into the causes of this ignominious event. The Minister did every thing in his power to prevent any investigation, whilst the disgrace was recent, and the feeling of the country warm: Parliament was adjourned, inquiry was rendered impossible, and the resentment and mortification of the public were left to die away, or to be diverted by fresh occurrences. The question which he now agitated was not connected in any way with party feeling. It was a question which in the highest degree interested the glory of the country. As members of the House they were called upon to investigate a transaction which had been attended by the most disastrous consequences—a waste of blood and treasure. In treating on this subject, he should not found his arguments on private information, but on the recorded accounts of ministers themselves in their own gazettes. The Lord-lieutenant of Ireland (Marquess Cornwallis) had indeed informed the Irish Parliament, that the expedition to Holland had prevented an invasion of Ireland. He had spoken as if the main object of our policy had been, not the deliverance of the Dutch from the yoke of France, not the restoration of the house of Orange to their rights, not the protection of religion, nor the defence of social order, but the capture of a few Dutch ships of war!—as if for such an acquisition we had subsidized the mercenary magnanimity of Russia, drawn forth our military strength, and drained our financial resources. What other advantage had we gained in fact from this famed secret expedition? Secret it had been called till the term became ridiculous—never had there been an undertaking conducted with such ostentatious mystery—never did an object attract such universal notoriety; and the only thing concealed yet was, the favourable disposition of the Dutch towards us; a secret so well kept

indeed, that to the present hour it had not been discovered.

But some gentlemen on the opposite side were of opinion, that this capture was not the only advantage we had gained: it was an expedition of discovery, and not altogether unsuccessful in that view; and indisputable it was, that three notable discoveries had been made; first, that no reliance could be placed on the Chancellor of the exchequer's knowledge; secondly, that Holland was a country intersected by dykes, ditches, and canals; and, thirdly, that the weather was not so good in October as in June: this information, however, had been purchased dearly, if we considered the number of lives which had been lost, and that the tenth of every man's income had been squandered, in order to obtain it.

He did not rate the acquisition of the Dutch ships very highly: for on what condition was it made? we had taken possession of them in the name of the Stadtholder: were they to be manned with the mutinous crews who surrendered them, and employed in the name of the Stadtholder? If so, they were no addition to our navy. Nay, it was of the most perilous example. He trembled to see a deliberating navy in the face of the naval force of England; a navy deciding upon the cause of their country, instead of fighting her battles. It was dangerous to behold mutiny recommended to our seamen by any example. He wished to see the spirit of Blake prevail, who told his sailors, that it was their duty to fight for their country in whatever hands the government might be. This was sound reason, these were safe maxims, nor was it wise or politic to encourage any other. If Ministers promoted a spirit of mutiny amongst the Dutch navy, they ill understood the interests of their country; they departed from an universal principle of right to serve a particular purpose, and, for a partial advantage, introduced a most dangerous precedent. We knew, by fatal experience, that artifices might be successfully employed to delude even our own sailors into a conduct which the nation disapproved; and what were the means employed to produce the revolting spirit of the Dutch, to which we owed the capture of their fleet? Were they such as could be avowed and justified? Suppose Admiral Story had resisted this spirit of mutiny and disobedience, and acted as De Ruyter would have acted in his situation—endeavoured to maintain his authority, and perished in the attempt—would we have permitted our seamen to welcome the Dutch sailors, imbrued with the blood of their Admiral and officers? would we have sanctioned the deed, applauded the perpetrators of it, and allowed our seamen to have been their allies and associates? It was only the want of vigour in the officers which prevented this catastrophe; but the example was the same, and it was in truth a flagrant violation of the principle of discipline.

He could as little enter into the importance of our acquisition in the fleet as approve of the mode by which it had been obtained: when we took into consideration the whole of the case, weighed what we had lost, and what we had gained, we should find a fearful

balance against us. The result of the late expedition had thrown discredit on our councils, and dishonour on our operations: we could not again attempt to restore the House of Orange: the confidence of their enemies was confirmed; the hopes of their partisans were overthrown; nor could he conceive how any man would contend that the result had in any degree repaid our sacrifices, or realised our expectations.

That the object of the expedition, so far as it aimed at the rescue of Holland from the dominion of France, and the restoration of the Stadtholder, was a legitimate British object, he readily admitted: in proportion, however, as this was wise and good, was the criminality of those to whose misconduct its failure was to be attributed. If, by their negligence, their ignorance, and their presumption, we had failed in an undertaking so dear to every English heart, the value of the prize only augmented the mortification of our disappointment.

That the House of Orange had strong claims upon the gratitude, nay upon the justice, of Great Britain, he did not deny: they deserved the hospitable asylum which they enjoyed in this country. Their expulsion from their hereditary authority in Holland, was in a great measure to be ascribed to their deference to British councils, perhaps their devotion to British Ministers. To reinstate them, therefore, was an honourable motive for our interference.

At the same time he could not agree in the opinion, that we had any claims to the attachment of the Dutch. It was long since any cordiality prevailed between the two countries. The French faction had been increasing from the time of the American war: it possessed a powerful interest in the United Provinces; and, during that contest, the Dutch complained bitterly of our aggressions. In answer to their complaints, we represented them in our speeches and proclamations as a dull and stupid people, who must "be stunned into their senses." By such treatment the influence of France was established; besides which, the Dutch, in the mere view of promoting their interests, might conceive that a connexion with that nation would be more beneficial than with ours. At the breaking out of the present war, the Dutch, against their own wishes, nay, against the remonstrances of many friends of the House of Orange, were compelled to abandon their neutrality, and take a share in the war.

We had engaged them in the contest, but were not able to protect them in the moment of difficulty: from being our allies they became our enemies. But, previous to this change, what were the symptoms of cordiality when we were endeavouring to protect Holland? Did not our troops leave that country complaining of the people, and irritated by their reproaches? After the success of the French invasion, was our conduct calculated to increase the number of our well-wishers? Was it right, when then the Stadtholder had taken refuge in this country, to consider him as Sovereign of Holland, (which he never was) and to require his consent to the

seizure of so much Dutch property? Were such measures conciliatory? had they promoted the interest of the Stadtholder? What had been the conduct of our Ministers in the negociation at Lisle? it was broken off because the French would not permit us to retain the conquests we had made at the expence of the Dutch, who had been involved in our quarrel by our obstinacy and violence. And must not the Dutch have considered us as gross hypocrites, when we lately affected such a zeal for their interests, which we rendered so completely subservient to our own, whenever they came to the proof?

These were circumstances which could not fail to produce a powerful impression on the cool and calculating Dutchman. But it is said, that on entering on the expedition for their deliverance from the French, we employed means to efface the prejudice excited against our disinterestedness: we issued proclamations fraught with delightful visions of future happiness under their ancient Government: we addressed them not as a phlegmatic considerate people, but as religious fanatics or warriors in chivalry? Not one word did we say of Good Hope, of Ceylon, or Trincomalé; and wherefore Religion was dragged in he could not understand. The French did not interfere with the Religion of the Dutch; nor indeed did they seem in any country where their arms had prevailed to have prevented religious worship; but least of all had they temptation to interfere with the poverty and simplicity of the religious institutions of the Dutch. What influence then could such topics produce in Holland? Every thing had been urged which could have no effect, and every thing omitted which could have engaged them in our favour. We advised them to forget and forgive the past: Would they not consider it as meant *that they should forget they ever had colonies, and forgive us for taking them?* The Minister understood very little of human nature, if he expected such proclamations could have any success. Instead of all these fine reflexions upon Religion, social order, and their former Government, if he had said, we will give you back all your colonies, the argument would have been understood, and the effect might have been favourable. In effect, we bid them "be a nation without trade—be a province dependent upon England through the Stadtholder. These are the blessings we promise you, and which you must co-operate with us to obtain."

Mr. Sheridan said he had adduced these proofs, to evince that Ministers had not well calculated on the temper and views of the Hollanders; that they had no reason to flatter themselves with the support of that country, and that they did not pursue the course likely to obtain it. It was to the last degree arrogant and presumptuous to involve this nation in the expence of such an armament upon vain speculation. Mr. Pitt should not have put his theories to so costly an experiment—he ought to have acted in matters of such high moment and extensive concern upon authentic information and practical grounds.

After submitting to the sacrifice

of so much blood, and so many heavy burdens, we were entitled to plain dealing from the Ministry. Was it their intention to establish the old Government of Holland, if their plans had been successful? He confessed he had his doubts upon the subject. A noble statesman had lately represented that Government as feeble, inefficient, incompetent to its own defence and to any useful exertion, from the want of unity in its executive authority. Was it then for the re-establishment of this imbecile form, incapable of self-defence or of active assistance, that our lives and treasures were to be wasted? or was it to inspire the vigour of despotism for our own purposes? If so, an usurpation was intended, and he hoped the Stadtholder would have been an unwilling usurper. Could we imagine that Ministers concealed their design? If they did not communicate it to the partisans of the House of Orange, they were guilty of a shameful fraud in inviting them to contribute to the restoration of the old Government, while, in fact, they were to risk their property and lives also for a new Constitution? If they actually did make known these intentions, was it likely the Dutch would agree to changes which violated all the forms and principles to which they were so strenuously attached? After the differences which had subsisted between us during the whole of the American war, after the experience of the campaigns on the continent, after the views of domestic parties, after having forced Holland into the war, and indemnified ourselves for the continental conquests by the possession of her colonies, and after the grounds of just suspicion against us relative to the commercial relations and political establishments of Holland, had we any reason to infer a welcome reception? And if their consent was absolutely necessary to render the expedition favourable, Ministers were unjustifiable in having undertaken a plan so fatally important, without a due attention to the circumstances on which its success depended.

To come now to the variation and uncertainty which had been shewn in the execution of the same. Expectations had been formed of inducing Prussia to enter into the common cause against France; but in June, 1799, all idea of seducing her from her neutrality was given up. Seventeen thousand Russians, however, were to be employed in our enterprise; and the emperor Paul agreed that some of his own ships should transport theseforces to England, upon condition of his being allowed ample indemnification for fitting out the vessels in question, for another expedition. The army went to Holland as to a friendly country. A summons was sent by General Abercromby to the Batavian commander, in a style of haughty menace, which proved it was not the production of that gallant officer. His conduct on every occasion, his upright and manly proceedings in Ireland, evinced him to have been incapable of it. The answer of the Batavian officer was spirited. What a contrast indeed between the presumptuous tone with which we addressed the enemy at the beginning, and the ignominious escape for which we were com-

pelled to stipulate at the end of the campaign! Ministers had said that they could not make peace with the French; but by fatal experience, as well as by the testimony of our officers, we knew they could observe an armistice. But did General Abercromby find the Batavian troops disposed, like the sailors, to surrender without a blow? Did he not meet with the most vigorous resistance, even before any Frenchman appeared in action? and was not our first success purchased by the loss of a great number of our brave countrymen? How did it happen, that after the landing was effected, no attempt was made to follow up the advantage? Was our General prevented by his orders, or by the want of necessaries? The fact was, that the army was left destitute of the means of moving forward; and such was the want of arrangement, that they had no baggage waggons. They were first cheered with the hope that certain ships then in sight contained them; but afterwards were told the waggons were in *some* ships and the wheels in *others*. The want of means of conveying the bleeding troops from the field of battle obliged them to have recourse to Dutch schuyts. Through ignorance of the roads of Holland, the waggons which were afterwards employed proved useless. The heart recoiled to think one British soldier had perished through such cruel neglect; and no personal consideration ought to shield those individuals from inquiry, in the various situations of contractors, purveyors, &c. to whom these and similar misfortunes were to be attributed.

Ministers had intelligence of this disastrous engagement: they were apprised of the resistance of the Dutch troops, and of the backwardness of the inhabitants to assist our cause; yet, with all these facts in their possession, they made his Majesty come down to Parliament, and express his sanguine hopes of the ultimate success of the expedition. If, then, Ministers were aware of the true state of our affairs in Holland, a more flagrant deception of Parliament never was practised by any administration. Not that he imputed any blame to the Duke of York. His Royal Highness was not responsible for the plan, which so much influenced military operations, and which must have been accommodated to the views and representations of Ministers. But the Duke, not being a member of the Cabinet, had no means of verifying the calculations on which the Cabinet had resolved on the expedition. It was not saying too much, to say, that, at so critical a moment, the Commander-in-chief ought to have been of the Cabinet. And in saying that he was a proper person to advise his Majesty as a member of it, respecting every thing which such an enterprise required, he only repeated what the public voice had declared of his Royal Highness's attentive, honourable, and meritorious government of the army, since he had possessed the chief command.

After the action of the 2d of October the army moved forward. This was represented as a great victory. Alkmaar was said to have opened its gates, as if this had been done by the inhabitants,

and was a proof of an amicable disposition; but the truth was, a lieutenant and some troops having accidentally advanced near the place, found it without means of defence, of which he immediately gave information, and the town was occupied by our men. His Royal Highness stated in his despatches, that it had given him the command of an extent of country, and that the people would have an opportunity of declaring themselves. And what was their decisive declaration? The army attempted to advance, an engagement took place, in which we claimed the victory; but so little advantageous was the success, that in the evening a retreat was ordered, the army returned to its old position at Schagen Brug; and this retreat was conducted so precipitately, that 400 women and children were left behind.

Thus, instead of the deliverance of the Dutch, of which we had indulged such sanguine expectations, the army was compelled to enter into a capitulation for its escape. And painful it was to reflect, that the inducement we held out to the enemy to agree to this armistice was a threat to destroy for ever the means of commerce of that very people whom we embarked to save. Nor was there any doubt but that we should have proceeded to this cruel alternative, if the French had not agreed to our Treaty. England was much humiliated on this occasion. Her disgrace had been augmented by every circumstance belonging to the expedition. Being unacquainted with the true state of Holland, our army left it with sentiments of indignation against the Batavians, by whom they conceived themselves injured and deceived; with detestation of their allies, to whose misconduct they imputed their disasters; and with increased esteem for the enemy, whom they had been taught to abhor.

Such was the transaction which the House was called upon to investigate: never was there a case which presented stronger grounds for inquiry. An opinion had gone abroad, that Parliament reposed a blind confidence in Ministers; and this idea that the Minister had nothing to fear from the controuling vigilance of Parliament ought either to be confirmed or removed. It would be no advantage indeed to show that the administration of this country was in the hands of convicted incapacity; but it would be a far greater evil to prove that Ministers were too powerful for controul: that error was exempted from inquiry, and misconduct secure from censure. The present case ought to afford a salutary caution to the House, not to give implicit faith to representations made against France; and not to pursue that system of exploded impolicy which had produced such fatal mischief and indelible disgrace. We were fighting for the restoration of the House of Bourbon, and for nothing else. This was the *sine quâ non* to immediate peace. The French must institute a Government which our Ministers shall approve, and then must submit to prove its stability. In the mean time this stability was to be ascertained by employing every hostile means to effect its overthrow. Buonaparte must

evince by facts that he was sincere; while it was the policy of Ministers to employ every effort to disturb his authority, and every insult to provoke his resentment. But if no enlarged view of policy, no dictate of Constitutional jealousy, could move a British House of Commons to institute the proposed inquiry, they owed it to the reputation of the army, whose honour had been cruelly attacked abroad, though it had never been censured in this country. Let any Englishman read the report published in the Petersburgh Gazette of the different actions in Holland, by general D'Hessen, and say whether we were not called upon to vindicate the character of a British army. Should its military fame be branded in the face of all Europe with impunity? Did we esteem so little the reputation of our brave soldiers and gallant officers, as to allow the aspersions cast upon their renown, by that libellous letter of general D'Hessen, to remain uncontradicted?

Mr. Sheridan concluded his speech with saying, that we owed it to the spirit of the troops, to the honour of the living, and the memory of the dead, to bring to public view the authors of this our national disgrace.

Mr. Dundas began by observing, that it was not his design to enter into the detail of all the honourable gentleman's arguments; but to consider wherein the late expedition to Holland failed, and to what the failure was owing. Some mistakes had been made on the supposed alliance between Austria, Russia, and Great Britain. He admitted that we wished the aid of Russian troops, and that we thought it essential: he would himself go further, and say that it was essential to the interest of this country and Europe to keep up a good understanding with Russia; and if in any part of the inquiry proposed by the motion there was likely to be a disquisition which might tend to lessen the cordiality subsisting between Great Britain and Russia, or to create jealousy between the armies, it would be a strong reason with him for opposing it. Our object in the expedition was threefold; first, to rescue the United Provinces from the tyranny of the French; secondly, to add to the efficient force of this country and to diminish that of the enemy, by gaining possession of the Dutch fleet, so as to render it of no use to the French, by whom it was kept with a view of aiding them in a descent on some part of our dominions; thirdly, to divert their pursuits in general; and, by hostile operations in Holland on our part, to defeat their plans in the course of the campaign, whether they chose to remain there or not. These objects were in contemplation, and there was a great probability at that time of their success: two of them did succeed, and only one failed, for which failure he should assign a sufficient reason.

That it was the policy of this country to rescue Holland from the gripe of France had been admitted by the honourable gentleman himself, who was pleased at the time to compliment his Majesty's Ministers on the design; though he had wonderfully changed his sentiments since, and, in substance, had told the Dutch, in his eloquent address of that night, "to be aware

of the English, who had endeavoured to destroy them in the American war; who had now taken their possessions, but never would restore them; and if hereafter they should remove the French yoke from off their necks, he warned them to beware of such friends." This was his advice as a British senator! He ought to have recollected, that all these atrocious grievances, recapitulated for the purpose of tarnishing the glory of his country, and of which he so kindly reminds Holland, were committed before the year 1787; and yet during that year we had been successful in bringing about a revolution there, which he then highly recommended. Why did the Dutch submit to it? and what was our motive in interfering to accomplish it, but to rescue Holland from the yoke of the House of Bourbon? Was it more criminal in us to attempt to rescue the same provinces from the French Republic? In the one case Prussia did that in concert with Great Britain, which the honourable gentleman applauded: in the other Great Britain attempted it alone, and the honourable gentleman condemned it! It was a maxim adopted by the wisest politicians, from the earliest period of our connexion with Holland, that it should not be under the French. Queen Elizabeth gave assistance to the Dutch to prevent their being overpowered by the Spaniards; and thought, if the Low Countries were not in their hands, the commerce of this country would be materially injured. King William followed the same policy; and it had been uniformly observed since the reign of the House of Brunswick. There had been some exceptions in the time of King James, under some bad administrations; but no good politician ever doubted of the imprudence of that counsel; nor need arguments be added to prove, that the rescue of the Dutch from the tyranny of France, whether monarchical or republican in its government, was an object worthy of pursuit.

The next point to be discussed was, the capture of the fleet, by which means we had diminished the power of the French. To him it appeared most surprising that there should remain a doubt of the value of such an acquisition. To what had that fleet been absolutely destined? To invade our dominions! Could it then be termed an inconsiderable advantage to deprive the enemy of the means to attempt it? It was universally affirmed, that if any hostile fleet appeared on the northern coast of Ireland, it could only come from the Texel: and an essential service had been rendered to this country by preventing the possibility of it. Besides which, we took nearly 7000 seamen of the Dutch, all of whom were liable to be employed in the French fleet; and 40,000 tons of shipping belonging to the enemy, which might have annoyed our commerce. The capture of this fleet was one grand part of our plan in the expedition; and here it had succeeded: but the honourable gentleman thought this no gain, as the Dutch seamen were not well affected towards the Government under which they were stationed; assigning, as a proof

of it, that they rose against their officers; but we should have acted a very unwise part if we had not taken care that these men, whatever their dispositions might be, should be secured in our ports, instead of the ports of Holland.

Our third object was, to co-operate with our allies against the enemy; and this expedition kept them in a state of suspense respecting the distribution of our force, of which we felt the beneficial effects in various parts of Europe. The House might remember, that the battle of Novi was the most bloody, as well as the most doubtful, between the French and Austrians in the whole campaign, and caused the recovery of Italy from the French Republic. Could it have been successful, if the expedition to Holland had not taken place? This expedition gave decision to the Imperial arms at Novi, at Tortona, at Coni, and at Philipsburg. Two of our objects, therefore, out of the three, had been completely accomplished, and he would now proceed to consider from what causes we had failed in the third.

Had the French followed the plan formerly adopted by them, they could not have prevented our recovering Holland. At the moment our enterprize was undertaken, it was a doubt whether they would place their reinforcements there, or in other parts of the continent: they poured their prodigious reinforcements into Holland, by which means we were unable to rescue it from their yoke; but another part of the result was, that they lost every other point which they contested, in the whole campaign, in every other place.

The honourable gentleman had said, that the Dutch were not favourable to our views, and that Ministers ought to state to the House the information upon which they formed their plans; but surely there required little argument to prove how highly improper, nay, how essentially injurious it might be to the interests of Europe, were Ministers to disclose their sources of intelligence in the most critical period of a war. He, for one, would never advise his Majesty to order such intelligence to be divulged; but were he at liberty to give up all confidential communication on this point, he could soon convince the House that the disposition of the Dutch was not unfavourable to us.

This led him to another part of his subject—the making known the instructions given to commanders;—would any able statesman or reasonable person think it politic to expose the future plans of a war, and the mode of operation, when upon secrecy must depend its success? These were points which the wisdom of Parliament had entrusted to the discretion of Government, and Ministers alone could decide what was proper to be communicated to the public.

Never was a commencement more prosperous than that of the late expedition. Sir Ralph Abercromby sailed for the Helder on the 13th of August, and every thing promised the most rapid success: on the 14th came on the most extraordinary hurricane that ever blew from the heavens: it was impossible to land a single

soldier on any part of the coast of Holland, and this continued till the 27th; the consequence was, that the enemy knew where our fleet must land, and the troops came in shoals to oppose us: 7000 men were collected; and, as they were superior in numbers, Sir Ralph could not land his men to advantage: the ardour of the soldiers, and the gallantry of the commander, were never excelled on any occasion. Without any thing but their muskets and bayonets (for they had not the power of bringing with them a single field-piece) against cavalry and artillery, they made their landing good; and by it they secured the Dutch fleet. He stated these things to show how easy it was to censure both soldiers and their Generals unjustly upon an event depending on the temper of the elements. It was alleged that the troops had no means to draw their waggons; but they had no waggons, and could not possibly have landed them had they been there:—instantly on their landing they could not want them; for all they immediately had to do was, to secure a landing place, and a post of communication. Sir Ralph had to consider what position he should take till the 1st of September, when reinforcements should arrive. He judged wisely for the disposition of the army; and the delay arose from causes which no human wisdom could foresee, and therefore could not prevent. Had he been able to land when he expected, he would, according to all probability, have commanded complete success in all the objects of his expedition. The same wind prevented the Russian troops from arriving to reinforce ours; they did not come till the 18th. The Duke of York offered the Russian General d'Hermann to delay the attack, if he thought his men were not sufficiently recovered from the fatigues of their voyage; but the General earnestly requested that the attack should be made, with a promptitude and alacrity which reflected the highest honour upon him. But this ardour led him to the field full two hours sooner than the time appointed. The army, however, was gloriously successful till a late hour in the day. General D'Hermann and his troops were in possession of the village of Berghen, and crowned with victory, till his zeal led him beyond a given point. When the attack was made, the French amounted to 7000, and the Dutch to 12,000 men; yet, notwithstanding this superiority of force, our troops fought and conquered them with a spirit which immortalized the battle; but the French continually pouring in reinforcements, the Duke was advised by General Abercromby, and all the other officers, to accede to the terms of an armistice, which was by that time mutually wished. The Duke yielded to this advice; and, by so doing, consulted the dictates of reason and humanity.

Much had been said of the disgrace attached to the end of the expedition; but even the French were struck with the gallantry of the troops which fought against them. Our army returned with as much honour as it entered Holland. The Duke of York could not be wrong in giving up 8000 French troops from our overloaded prisons: he did not recede

from any one article in which national dignity was concerned: he resisted with firmness and indignation every proposition for delivering up the fleet.

The honourable gentleman had attempted to influence the feelings of the House by dwelling on the blood which had been shed, and the expence which had attended the expedition, and had erroneously stated both of them: the one he had affixed as equivalent to the income-tax—six or seven millions; the other as the loss of 10,000 men. There was no occasion to leave this point to conjecture: the expedition actually amounted to 1,142,000*l.*; and, computing by debtor and creditor, there could, in commercial consideration, be no objection to it. We had a right to consider the ships which were taken, and to state the reduction for the maintenance of a fleet in the North Seas to check a Dutch fleet. If we calculated the value of the latter, the decrease of expence in the former, and the saving in the pay of 10,000 seamen voted less the last year, the balance was greatly in our favour. We gave up the 8000 prisoners, who were annually fed at a great expence, and gained 6000 Dutch seamen to man our fleets. The objects gained by the expedition were, the ships, the reduction of expence, and the great diversion in the French forces, which facilitated the victories of the combined armies.

Without making it a topic of eloquence, he believed he felt as much as any man for the brave soldiers who composed our army; but in war no important objects could be obtained without the loss of many dear and valuable connections: these calamities arose inevitably from the situation of a great nation fighting for great objects—for an independent Empire, and for existence itself! To remove the impression of our having lost 10,000 men, he would state in detail the returns made during the whole of the campaign:—

Sick and wounded admitted into the hospitals - - -	4088
Sent home out of these hospitals - - - - - -	2993
The amount of those who died - - - - - - -	185
And the whole of those who were slain - - - - -	846

Should any gentleman wish to be farther informed, he might satisfy himself by applying to Mr. Young, who superintended the hospitals; and in naming him, he must add, that there was no praise, and no reward, to which he was not entitled. As the returns were made in haste, they were of course subject to some mistakes; and many reported to be dead were afterwards found upon their legs, and well. But it certainly must be cause of satisfaction to every humane mind, to be undeceived in the estimate of lives said to be lost, and to find, instead of 10,000 the comparatively small number of 846. This was a list to excite the sensation of sorrow and regret; but whilst we shed the liberal tear, we ought not to unnerve the arm of national defence, nor suffer individual loss to weigh against the general good of our country. Upon a review, therefore, of the question, he must strenuously object to all military criticism on any part of military operation; and he felt it his par-

ticular duty to resist a motion which could not be productive of any actual benefit, and at the same time might clog and harass the measures of Government.

Mr. Bouverie supported the inquiry.

Mr. Tierney expressed much surprise that such an objection should be urged as the danger of offending the Russians, and exciting jealousies which might injure the cause we had jointly undertaken to support. It seemed to be forgotten that these jealousies already existed. Each party ascribed the failure to the misconduct of the other; and inquiry would end groundless recriminations, by fixing the blame where it ought to fall. The Russian General had cast the foulest imputations upon our gallant army, in the face of all Europe; and had written to his Sovereign that his men were in want of every thing; that they had been led to battle when, from sickness, they were completely unable to fight; and that an important engagement was lost, by the English having been two hours beyond their appointed time in beginning the attack. An inquiry was the only means by which these allegations could be disproved, and the honour of our brave countrymen vindicated.

The right honourable Secretary had affirmed, that the design of this glorious expedition—an expedition which had neither been disastrous nor expensive, which indeed had rather been lucrative, in a commercial point of view!—was threefold.

First, the possession of the Dutch fleet, which, for his own part, he believed to have been a very subordinate object, and of infinitely less importance than it was now represented to have been; secondly, the deliverance of Holland from the yoke of France; and, thirdly, a diversion in favour of our allies.

What were the benefits which resulted to the allies by our landing on the coast of Holland? We were told it operated at Novi: he wondered it had not been asserted as the cause of the capture of Seringapatam. General Massena defeated the Austrians when our troops were on the continent; the battle was fought on the 15th of August, and on the 10th of September there was scarcely a French soldier in Holland. It appears then, that only one object of the three had been successfully pursued; and, even here, the fleet we had gained we could not employ; it surrendered to us only in the hope of serving soon under the Stadtholder, and the sailors testified the utmost dissatisfaction on being brought to this country. "When the reasons are demanded which justified the attempt of delivering Holland, the honourable Gentleman shrinks from the inquiry. It would be improper (he tells us) to disclose them, and he refers to the Prime Minister of Queen Elizabeth, Lord Burleigh, whose conduct he professes to follow." But what objection could there be in laying before the House the favourable intelligence that had been procured from the Dutch, if any such existed? Without insisting on the names, let the copies of their letters be produced. This method was successfully practised in the last war, in the affair of Ushant; why then must we have

only the assertions of Ministers on so important a transaction to England and to Englishmen? If pressing invitations had been sent us from the Dutch, it was extraordinary that no signs of cordiality appeared, either on the landing of the army, or on their remaining in the country, in prodigious strength, during six weeks: in all this period no one man of eminence declared in their favour. If we were invited to the Helder, we were soon taught what stress was to be laid on these amicable dispositions of the perfidious Dutch, and we ought instantly to have given up the enterprize. If the invitation came from other parts of the coast, where the inhabitants would have given us a better reception, what did we do at the Helder? Let Ministers account for their conduct, and exonerate themselves from suspicions, too strong to be removed without proofs, by producing the documents (if any such exist) on which this ill-fated expedition had been planned. It was unconstitutional, nay more, it was an insult on the House, to say this could not be done consistently with the preservation of secrecy.

Gen. Abercromby landed on the 22d of August with 10,000 men: he got possession of the Helder: he was reinforced by General Don on the 27th, with 5000. Was it not strange that 15,000 men, headed by an able General, and going by invitation, should think it imprudent to advance? Had the Dutch been well affected, why did they not declare themselves? — No French troops were then in Holland to keep them in awe. Their expectations must have been fully answered in the force devoted to their relief; yet no person testified the least attachment to our cause, and from that moment the enterprize was hopeless. There were some questions which only Gen. Abercromby could answer; and on his account, Mr. Tierney said, he wished for an inquiry, as he did not doubt but it would terminate to his honour, and probably prove him to be the first of war Ministers; though he could not but remark that most of the expeditions under his auspices had been singularly unfortunate. St. Domingo, where more guineas had been expended, and more lives lost, than the honourable Secretary had been pleased to state, was at last evacuated; Quiberon was evacuated; Corsica was evacuated. But when such an expedition as that to Holland was deemed necessary, why did not the Duke of York sail at the same time with General Don? Why were all our forces sent to one place, and 43,000 men cooped up in a narrow peninsula, where but few could act at a time? It was strange that Ministers, who were so fond of making diversions, did not think of making a diversion in some other quarter. This was a point which only military men could determine; and the House was bound to examine officers, that the truth might be made known. The capitulation had infixed an indelible blot on the national character, and tarnished the sailors' honour: a King's son, commanding 40,000 men, capitulated to a French General who had only 31,000!

In the calculations made by the honourable Secretary, the Russian

subsidy, which amounted to a million sterling, had been totally omitted; also the levy-money, given to those who volunteered from the militia; and the expence to the nation of the families of those who had been killed or wounded. Perhaps only 185 died actually in the hospitals; but how many of the wounded died without being brought thither, and were not numbered amongst the slain? How many left it uncured? and how few of those would ever again be able to gain their daily bread! The other side of the argument was equally unfair; the Dutch ships are not our assets, we had them only on trust. He questioned whether the number of seamen would be reduced. Lord Duncan kept a very large fleet yet in the North seas, and the expedition had been in every view disastrous; nor would it be the least of its evils that it would involve a British Parliament, as well as a British army, in disgrace, if this inquiry was rejected.

Mr. Perceval thought the gentlemen on the opposition side were very inconsistent, in persisting in opinions proved to be repugnant to the sentiments of the people, of whom they called themselves the organs. They seemed to wish to persuade them that the House was degraded, and that in the votes which were passed, it was not actuated by any regard to their honour or welfare. It had been conceded, that the object of the expedition was British, tending to the interests of the country; it had been conceded that our commanders and officers were not only unimpeachable, but highly honourable; it had been conceded that one great object had been gained by the Dutch fleet; yet a glaring contradiction appeared—though the fleet was captured, and this capture was of the utmost importance to us, an honourable gentleman had much regretted the means, which he called the treachery of the seamen who manned it; he acknowledged that we could only be successful in the expedition by the co-operation of the inhabitants of Holland, and the favourable wishes of the Dutch army, yet he seemed to forget our object of delivering that country from the French could only have been completed by what he was pleased to call treachery and sedition.

The proposed enquiry was to ascertain if there was any blame imputable for the partial failure of the expedition, and if so, to whom. A secret committee had been mentioned as the best method of obviating any bad consequences which might arise from public discussions; but he much doubted, from the number of members who would sit in it, and a variety of circumstances, whether secrecy would be the result. Another expedient was, to have blanks for the names and places whence the letters were dated; but the whole letters must be left blank, or they would disclose the channels of intelligence, our means of information respecting the country, and all which our interest required we should conceal. The question whether we were absolutely invited to land at the Helder had been repeatedly urged. Might not the invitation come from the interior of the country? The troops must have landed somewhere, and the place

must have been left to the direction of those who planned the whole. These inquiries could not be fully answered without making disclosures extremely prejudicial to our own interests and those of our allies. Much had been said of our capitulation, which, abstractedly considered, was not a very honourable termination of a military expedition: but this was only abstractedly considering it; for we had accomplished two great points out of three: the third was found to be unattainable, and our next object was to effect the return of our troops in the best manner possible. Under these circumstances, there remained no alternative but that of inundating the country, or of sacrificing a thousand men of the rear guard of our army in the embarkation, which certainly the honourable gentleman would allow (after so eloquently deploring the effusion of human blood) to have been a less humane and honourable expedient than that which we adopted, which was to give up 8000 French prisoners.

Mr. M. A. Taylor supported and Mr. Hiley Addington opposed the motion.

Mr. Sheridan in reply said, it was indisputable that the mere failure of an expedition was not in itself a disgrace: a town might be besieged and taken, though the garrison had displayed the greatest courage and perseverance. But what included disgrace in a military expedition was, when a country was deluded by promises which were not performed—when a people were tempted by offers of protection to manifest their sentiments—and instead of the protection held out, the planners of an expedition were obliged to capitulate for their own retreat; and this had been the fact in the present instance. The people indeed did not obey the invitation; but if they had done so, trusting to the promises of Great Britain, must they not inevitably have been abandoned? The term disgrace fixed upon the men who, without certainty of fulfilling their word, pledged it, and, boasting of their power, committed the nation by their folly and incapacity. Two of the great objects were said to be attained: he denied the fact; two of them were incompatible. If it was one to replace the Stadtholder, it could not be one to take away his navy for our own use. But it was a diversion.—Holland was the worst of all other places for a diversion, for, by the nature of the country, a very inferior body of troops could successfully resist a greatly superior force. He would agree that it was a fair thing to call a descent by this name, where, landing on an enemy's shore, we drew great bodies of men from other quarters, and kept them in play; but it was quite another thing when, having landed with the professed object of replacing an exiled authority, and having failed of success, we came home and called it a diversion!—Mr. Sheridan concluded by expressing surprise at the conduct of Ministers, particularly upon this occasion. He did expect they would endeavour to render the inquiry nugatory, but not that they would attempt to colour a positive refusal with plausible pretexts! He lamented, for the sake of the army, for the sake of the House, and for the sake of the

country, that they thought it consistent with common decency to get rid of the subject by such means.

The House divided; for the motion 45—against it 216.

The subject was introduced to the upper House with a similar motion by Lord Holland, (Feb. 12) who observed that the expedition had been defended as a diversion, but that it was one thing to say that we had distracted the enemy's attention, and another thing to prove that we had done so in the most effectual manner. The Dutch fleet had been talked of as a justification: but if the scheme was undertaken for the deliverance of Holland, the capture of this fleet was little compensation for the absolute failure of the main object. We had been told that the Dutch people were favourable to our cause, if such was the case, and yet with an army of 45,000 men we were obliged to purchase our escape, he could not imagine a stronger ground for inquiry. But he did not believe the people were in our favour, and this was one of the strongest objections which he felt to the whole scheme. The Dutch might be averse to the dominion of France, but it by no means followed that they would on that account prefer a Stadtholder under the guidance of British counsels. Lord Holland then passed to the military operations, and after expressing his conviction that no fault attached to the illustrious Commander or his army, said, that we were bound to vindicate ourselves in the face of Europe, from the charges of the Russian Gazette.

Lord Moira attributed the Duke of York's absence during this debate, and his not challenging enquiry to motives of personal delicacy, and pointed out the danger which must arise from those disclosures in regard to our friends in Holland, to which investigation if pursued closely, must of necessity lead. His Lordship then moved the previous question.

Lords Mulgrave, Spencer, and Darnley opposed, and Lord King supported the inquiry. Lord Holland briefly replied. On the suggestion of Lord Grenville (who remarked that the previous question was generally moved not so much in disapprobation of the principle of a subject, as to shew that it was not a proper time for its discussion,) Lord Moira withdrew his motion; and the House having divided on the original question, there appeared, Contents, 6;—Proxies, none;—Not Contents, 51;—Proxies, 18. The Contents were, The Duke of Somerset, Earl of Besborough, Lords Holland, King, Camelford, and Mansfield.

A Message from the Throne was sent to both Houses on the 13th of February, which shewed a determined intention of prosecuting the war most vigorously. His Majesty stated that he was employed in concerting arrangements with the Emperor of Germany, the Elector of Bavaria, and other Powers of the Empire, which, as soon as they were ratified, should be laid before Parliament; and at the same time he recommended Parliament to enable him to make such provisional advances as might be necessary in the first instance.

Lord Grenville, in moving an Address in reply to this Message,

assumed that subsidizing foreign Sovereigns was admitted as a true principle of policy on our part; and took upon himself to declare, that the principal Treaties now negociating were by this time finally settled, upon terms highly advantageous to England.

Lord Holland would not contest the present motion if it referred to a mere exchange of Russian for German mercenaries; for such an exchange would both mitigate the horrors of war, and give us better soldiers. But we were engaging German troops who were not to fight for the same objects as the Russians and ourselves. The Cabinet of Vienna by no means approved of the principles laid down in our answer to Buonaparte; and so far from contemplating the restoration of the Bourbons, would readily make peace on any terms which would contribute to its own aggrandizement. In regard to the general object of the war, his Lordship put the two cases of success and defeat. If the allied arms were successful, he maintained that the jealousy of Prussia would be roused by the increasing power of her hereditary enemy, and that she would interfere to rescue France from our designs. If we were beaten we might perhaps be as mean and crouching in our overtures to Buonaparte, as we had lately been proud and insolent in our replies. But we must not in our adversity look for the same moderation from our conqueror. We had in turn subsidized each of the German Princes, and each of them almost in turn had deceived and betrayed us. While even success appeared only to lead to new wars, new expences, and new embarrassments, which in the end must produce disgrace and ruin.

The Duke of Montrose briefly maintained the policy of subsidizing as one to which our whole history bore testimony. Lord Grenville in reply strongly objected to the indecent tone of invective against our allies in which Lord Holland had indulged. On a division the numbers were—Contents 28,—Non-contents 3; being the Earl of Besborough, Lord Holland, and Lord King.

The King's Message having been referred to a Committee of supply by the Commons (Feb. 17,) Mr. Pitt, after pointing out the benefits which we had derived from the Imperial arms already, stated that the force to be employed by Germany in the ensuing campaign would be greater than it had been in the last; and that there was no reason to believe that the Emperor of Russia would not employ his arms to the same extent, if to any extent, against France, in conjunction with Austria. The total amount of the advances wanted would probably be about 2,500,000*l.* but at present, to prevent any delay in opening the campaign, he should only move for a grant not exceeding 500,000*l.*

Mr. Nicholls wished the Committee to pause before they sent such a sum of money out of the Kingdom, before we had ascertained what quantity of corn was necessary for our wants. The last crop had been deficient a full fourth, and therefore two millions of quarters must be purchased as a supply. He did not think that he overrated the price of

this quantity when he put it at 12,000,000*l.*

Mr. Bouverie considered it ridiculous to assert that any scarcity of corn could exist in this country which should make us hesitate in the prosecution of a grand national object. In the present case he was convinced there was plenty of corn to keep us till the next harvest.

Mr. Tierney began with remarking, that though the minority were few, they had a right to be supposed actuated by upright motives; their not coinciding with the many, who had more power and more interest on their side, was no ground for suspecting their principles to be corrupt. The Minister, on a former occasion, negociated in conformity to the wishes of the people; but it was not by the majority of the House that these wishes were expressed, it was by the few, who were found faithfully to deliver the opinions of their constituents. It was asserted that gentlemen had pledged themselves, by voting for the continuance of the war, to vote for supplies necessary to carry it on; but surely a change of circumstances might produce a change of judgment, and those who gave their vote, on being confidently told the differences between the Imperial Courts were at an end, were authorized to change them on being informed the Emperor of Russia would not assist us. He knew it would be said that Russia had not deserted from the object of the war, but only had withdrawn her troops from the continent of Europe; but did this Power ever furnish a man without being paid for him? Would the Emperor co-operate with us except on the old terms, namely, that we should pay his troops, feed, clothe, and send them home again, with money in their pockets, under the name of two months' additional pay?

But let us inquire how far there could be any real co-operation between us and the Emperor of Germany. He had avowed to all Europe that his view was totally distinct from the restoration of the Bourbons; and his conduct had proved his object was to increase his power, acquire territorial dominion, and recover the countries he had lost. If the Minister had told the House this day that the Emperor had now got over his difficulties, and had avowed a common cause with Russia and this country, there would have been some plausibility in requesting a subsidy; but the case was widely different by the Minister's own account, and he (Mr. Tierney) firmly believed that our object, notwithstanding the diplomatic *ifs* and *buts* whenever the subject was brought under consideration, was the restoration of Monarchy. For the promotion of this object, he, for his own part, would never consent to vote one shilling of the public money, not even to promote the restoration of any better order in France, however he might wish it.

An honourable gentleman had been blamed for introducing the state of corn as extraneous and inapplicable; but surely, if there was one subject more connected than another with the discussion, it was this: unnecessary or improper it could not be to inquire into the expediency of sending money out of England, to supply the wants of others, whilst we were called

upon to turn all our resources to help our own people. The war had continued seven years; during the greater part of that time it had been defended on the principles that it had been just and necessary, and 200,000,000*l.* had been spent in defence of these words. Of late, indeed, we had heard nothing of them; to be sure it could not well be termed just, as its object was to restore the Bourbons: nor necessary, because we had refused to negociate when the opportunity was presented.

Not that he believed any of the 500,000*l.* was intended for the Emperor, who would not conform to any of the views of our Ministers, nor accept the money on the condition of conformity. It had been affirmed, indeed, that the Emperor, and the German States, had abundance of zeal and little gold, and we supplied four or five millions; but, at a subsequent period, when he got no supplies from this country, did it appear that his resources were smaller, or his exertions less energetic? Had he not proved that he possessed not only abundance of men, but the means of calling them into action, and of supporting them in the field? In the last campaign his successes were the result of his own force and of his own resources; how then could it be urged with the least plausibility, that, without a subsidy from us, he would be unable to call the men into the field whom he had it in his power to employ? Had we refused negociation on justifiable reasons, however he might lament the shedding of blood, he should approve of the present measure, because he wished any blood to be shed sooner than that of Englishmen. But when an opportunity of making peace had been arrogantly rejected, we could not be warranted in voting away the lives and properties of the people to continue the contest. Was the object of the Minister the destruction of Jacobinism? Let us suppose it—what is this Jacobin spirit? It is somewhat undefinable—a phantom now only known by the designation given to it: in France it is diminished in power and influence; the late events in that nation had nearly annihilated it: dreaded and deprecated as it had justly been, it must be allowed to have tended to some species of liberty—but this liberty was now totally abolished. If the same measures were pursued which gave it energy, it might yet revive. But in truth he did not think this could be the real object of the war—it appeared to be something hidden in the minds of Ministers, which they were afraid to publish, or something which they themselves had not ascertained; and we were called to lavish our blood and treasure in a cause for which no one plain, satisfactory, intelligible reason could be assigned—If there were any he defied them to name it.

Mr. Pitt accepted the challenge. He could name the object for which we were at war in one word, and that one word was *security*—security against a danger the greatest that ever threatened the world, security against a danger which never existed in any past period of society—which menaced and had been resisted by all the nations of Europe, and by none with so much success as our own, be-

cause by none so uniformly, and with so much energy. Our resistance had not been confined to external force, it had joined internal policy and wise legislative measures to oppose Jacobinism in the bosom (he was sorry to have found it there) of our own country. He knew not when the honourable gentleman and his friends had discovered that Jacobinism ceased to exist; or to think that it had disappeared because it had centered in the breast of one man, who was reared and nursed in its bosom, whose celebrity was gained under its auspices, and who was at once the child and the champion of all its atrocities. I will not say, continued Mr. Pitt, that we must wage war till the principle of Jacobinism is extinguished from the mind of every individual, if so, I fear the contest would only terminate with the present generation. I am afraid a mind once tainted with that infection never recovers its healthful state. I am afraid that no purification is sufficient to eradicate the poison of that foul distemper.

Mr. Pitt here expressed much surprize that the assistance of the Emperor of Germany should be so much quarrelled with by the persons who professed to disapprove the object for which the Emperor had not declared himself, and he asked whether we might not avail ourselves of the aid of other Powers, though the motives of their co-operation may not be precisely the same which dictates our own exertions? Mr. Pitt disclaimed all special pleading and ambiguous language. He thought the restoration of Monarchy was desirable as affording the best security to Europe. *But if* this object were not attainable, we must be satisfied with the best security we could find; independent of it. Peace was most desirable, *but* negociation might be attended with greater evils than the benefits of peace could counterbalance; *if* it afforded no security; *if* it threatened all the evils which we have been struggling to avert, *if* the prosecution of the war afford the hope of complete ultimate security, *if* it may be continued with increasing commerce and prosperity, except what may result from the visitation of the seasons, then it is not prudent to negociate. These, said the Chancellor of the Exchequer, are my *ifs* and *buts*, this is my plea, and on no other do I wish to be tried by God and my country.

The pains which had been taken to represent the scarcity as connected with the war were most insidious. To employ them was indeed to become the allies of Jacobinism, to resort to its most destructive weapons, to appeal to the feelings of the multitude, and to call upon them to decide on a question of which, in their coolest state, they were perhaps unqualified to judge.—When such arts were employed we had pretty clear proofs that Jacobinism was not extinct. Without in any degree questioning the freedom of thought and liberty of speech, Mr. Pitt did not see how gentlemen could justify language and conduct which could have no tendency but to disarm our exertions, and defeat our hopes. They ought to limit themselves to argu-

ments which could influence the House against the war altogether, not to insinuate that its prosecution may interfere with those supplies which we ourselves may require.

Mr. Tierney spoke in explanation: he said, if those sentiments and that conduct were his which were imputed to him, he was not only an unworthy member of the State, but deserved to be expelled from society. He should be glad to know at what time, and whether directly or indirectly, he had ever proved himself an advocate for Jacobinism, or been found to stir up or mislead the people? In fact, Ministers promoted bad principles and their consequences, while the re-establishment of Royalty was their object, and security their watch-word. The present question was not whether assistance should be sent to Russia and Germany, even though they had avowedly a different motive from us; but whether we should send away two millions and a half of English money, when the people of England were in want, and this was a measure he would strongly oppose. If the enemy were at the gate, then indeed it would be improper to excite a doubt, or start a single objection. But the case was not so: France wished for Peace; and though the Minister had strangely pleaded that the war might be prosecuted with increasing commerce and prosperity, the House did not meet to augment the wealth of certain individuals. The burdens occasioned by the war were generally and severely felt; it pressed peculiarly hard on country gentlemen. If the property of the nation had not diminished (which was a great doubt with him) it had changed hands; and was this change no calamity? was it no evil to weaken the vital strength of the country (that of the gentry of England?) Were the estates of those whose ancestors had placed the present family on the throne to be taken from them to re-instate the Bourbons in France? Were these the effects of the Minister's boasted system of finance? It would be found, in the end, that his only merit consisted in having so long prevented discontents from bursting out in insurrections. With a view to Peace, the French people had established the new Government under Buonaparte; and, by refusing to hear his offers, England had augmented his power.

Mr. Wilberforce thought the question reduced itself to this simple point: being at war, shall we pursue it vigorously or not? and cannot we act more effectually by subsidized forces than by British troops? It was a misrepresentation to say that the war was carried on for the Bourbons only, there were solid objections against negociation in the present uncertain state of France.

Mr. Sheridan complimented the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the eloquence with which he had spoken, but thought that eloquence misplaced; for it had driven the subject from its true basis into general declamation against Jacobinism. As far as the restoration of Monarchy was our object we were *minus* Russia, and we were now called upon in its stead to subsidize the *posse comitatus* and rabble of Germany. After enlarging on the bad faith of the

Emperor, he passed to our own internal distress, both which he pressed as reasons against the grant. He then objected to the vague charges of Jacobinism which for ever were bandied about. The Whig Club were Jacobins, and on this account Mr. Wyndham had withdrawn his name. The friends of the people were Jacobins, and therefore he (Mr. Sheridan) was one also. He thought, however, that Jacobin principles in reality never had existed much in this country, and that now in France they had stung themselves to death and died by their own poison. Mr. Sheridan pressed this argument to a great length, and by placing it in various lights endeavoured to show that Ministers themselves, and the allied powers, had all along acted Jacobinically. In the extinction of those principles in France he saw little to be surprized, such changes both in nations and in individuals occurred every day. Neither would a wise man attach to principles any very serious consequences. Left to themselves the absurd and the dangerous disappear, and Wisdom establishes herself more securely on their ruins.

Mr. Wyndham supported the continuance of the war on general grounds; and then proceeded to consider the present supply. He esteemed the opposers of it as attached to the Republic of France while it existed, and to individual despotism when it rose from the same principles. After a brief defence of his own consistency from the attack of Mr. Sheridan he spoke of the atrocities of the Revolution, and observed that what was found most execrable in the history of the worst times had in the last few years been the every day practice of France. He then shewed how little dependence was to be placed on the character of Buonaparte, and ridiculed the judgment of those who sought for peace at any rate by comparing them to the man, who having turned his dirty shirt, boasted of the comforts of clean linen! Jacobinism was to be known by its effects however difficult its definition might be; it was a soil of perpetual revolution, and for this it was chiefly admired by its worshippers. I asked a friend whom I knew to be tainted, said Mr. Wyndham, what he thought of Brissot? Brissot, he replied, was a fine fellow. And if so, what was he who cut off Brissot's head? Oh, he was a fine fellow too! After illustrating the nature of these principles in various other ways Mr. Wyndham connected them with the present attempt to excite popular discontent by referring the scarcity to the war as its immediate cause. Such a practice, he said, fully deserved to be branded with the name of Jacobinism, the great characteristic of which is to take advantage of the murmurs of mankind, and to turn them to its own purpose.

Mr. Tierney exonerated himself from the charge of inflaming the public, or thwarting the measures of Government, and thereby injuring the country. Nothing could be further from his wish or his conduct: witness the ample testimony it afforded, when he voted for the supplies through the whole of the war. He opposed the present measure, because he apprehended that the war might

be carried on by each party at his own expence. He was against sending money out of the Kingdom to support others more capable of supporting themselves than we were, the scarcity considered. As a member of the British House of Commons, he neither was a friend to the French Republic, nor to the Chief Consul, but to the political interest of Great Britain; and, should Ministers succeed in restoring Royalty, he should be as anxious for peace as he was now.

Sir William Pulteney, and Mr. W. Smith opposed the motion, and the Committee then divided on the grant. Ayes, 162;—Noes, 19.

A few days after these debates (Feb. 20) Lord Stanhope prefaced a motion for negociation by a very singular speech, which the Lord Chancellor termed a "visitation from God." It fell stillborn from the noble mover, who, with Lord Camelford, constituted a minority of 2 against 26 Not Contents.

In the Commons the question was agitated under a new form (Feb. 28.) Mr. Tierney called upon the House to come to a definitive vote as to the genuine object and real principle of the war. He himself believed that Ministers had no other than the restoration of the Bourbons; and that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in using the phrase "security," had only adopted an indirect mode of waving a distinct answer to an important question: for security may be urged by every nation which has some favorite fancy, as a pretext for continuing ruinous and expensive wars. Mr. Tierney professed himself as much attached as any man to the existence of Monarchy in England. He conceived it essential to the interests of freedom, and he thought that the Rights of the People could only then be well guarded while this great branch of our standing polity was endowed with its legitimate vigour and rightful power. It did not follow from this, however, that he was in love with the Bourbons, for he believed that he could not revere that House and at the same time preserve his allegiance to the House of Hanover. The object of his motion would be to remove the effect which Lord Grenville's Note must have produced throughout Europe, and to mark the opposition of Parliament to sentiments inconsistent both with good policy and the rights of nations; for until the sentiments expressed in that Note were retracted it was vain to look for peace. The Note declared enough to make every Republican feel, on the one hand, that nothing he can do will restore him to our confidence, and on the other, to convince every Royalist that he cannot depend on ultimate support from us—in fact it united all parties against us. Mr. Tierney continued to argue against the ambition of the Bourbons, instancing the interference of France in the American war, as an exertion of it by which we were particularly aggrieved;—he then noticed the opinions which had been expressed by Ministers in the House, and by pamphlets written by their avowed friends, and the evidence afforded by our Treaty with Russia, and by the confidential intercourse held with the Compte d'Artois, that nothing short of the restoration of the Bourbons was the real point to which it was intended to continue the contest. He con-

cluded by moving a Resolution "that it was not just or necessary to carry on a war for the purpose of restoring the Monarchy of France."

The motion was supported by Mr. Jones, who drew a parallel between Buonaparte and Oliver Cromwell, with which last, though an usurper, no Power in Europe had refused to treat. Mr. John Eliot observed, that the question in plain truth was, not whether it was just and necessary to carry on a war for the restoration of the Bourbons; for, if it were so, he should pronounce that to impose a Government upon any independent country, was neither just nor necessary; but the question was, whether it was expedient to come to any Parliamentary declaration of this principle, under all the circumstances of the moment. As no disquietude nor distrust had been expressed by the country at large, as Parliament had clearly defined the object of the war to be security, as the next paragraph to that in Lord Grenville's Note upon which Mr. Tierney relied, fully explained that Ministers did not make the return of peace depend upon the restoration of Monarchy, and as it was contrary to the practice of the House to come to any Resolution founded entirely on abstract principles, Mr. Eliot moved the order of the day.

Lord Hawkesbury referred to the many debates which had already taken place on questions like the present, for distinct avowals that the restoration of Monarchy was not our object. He adduced as farther evidence, the language of all the declarations which had been issued during the war; and contended that the security stated by Ministers to be their aim was the only object which could be laid down with precision. He then argued upon the justice and policy of this restoration, if it was within our power to effect it; and contradicted the misrepresentations which had been made relative to the misery produced to mankind by the ambition of the Bourbons. It was true that in the space of one hundred years we had passed thirty-eight in war against this House, with justice invariably on our side: but it would be difficult in the whole history of the world, to point out a century of more human misery. The Bourbons had been ambitious, not because they were Kings, but because they were powerful; for all powerful States were ambitious, whether Republics or Monarchies; and the chief difference between the two was this, that in the last case, the feeling was personal, in the first it was popular, and therefore more dangerous. No man condemned the interference of France in the American war more than Lord Hawkesbury did. The French Royalists themselves dated from it the origin of the Revolution; and he knew, from good authority, that Louis XVI., in his misfortunes, consoled himself with the reflection not only that he did not approve of that conduct in his Minister, but that he opposed it with all his personal influence. Lord Hawkesbury then mentioned the stability of principle which the restoration of Monarchy would produce; and not least by the accompanying revival of Religion; he commented on the atheism and impiety to which the French were

surrendered; and the utter want of any tie to bind the existing Government to the people over which it tyrannized. If that Government were destroyed, he believed Ministers would readily treat with any other that appeared capable of maintaining the relations of amity, though his own opinion led him to fear that no other afforded hope of permanent security except the restoration of the ancient Princes.

Mr. W. Smith objected to the absurdity of keeping France at war in order to estimate her ability to maintain the relations of peace: for he could put no other meaning upon the terms "Experience and the test of Facts," upon which Ministers rested so much. He saw no advantages to be derived from the restoration of the Bourbons, by any means equivalent to the expence which we were to be put to to obtain it. Adversity did not always teach moral and political wisdom, as England well knew from the example of the Stuarts, and we had therefore little reason to believe that the exiled French House would be improved. Mr. Smith here detailed at considerable length all the aggressions of which the ancient Government of France had been guilty for more than a century, and then passed in the same manner to the unjust and violent acts of the other European Powers, many of whom were our allies at present. From this review he concluded that it was absurd to allege the misconduct of France as a sufficient ground for not treating with her: since fraud and violence were not novelties among mankind, nor had they in any former instance prevented negociation. He next touched upon Lord Hawkesbury's argument, that the restoration of Monarchy might restore Religion. Mr. Smith did not think there was really less Religion in France than heretofore; for though an established system, connected with Monarchy, had been overthrown, it was notorious that under that system the most gross licentiousness pervaded all classes before the Revolution. Besides the system which we sought to re-establish, had for centuries past been held up to all Protestants as an object of terror and abhorrence. Mr. Smith did not press this argument closely, but expressed himself very little solicitous about any man's religious opinion. He adverted, however, to the persecuting spirit of Popery, and thought it most extravagant folly in Englishmen and Protestants to spend their blood and treasure for the purpose, among others, of re-establishing this superstition in all its former splendour and ability of mischief.

Lord Belgrave defended the Bourbons, and reviewed the character of Buonaparte. From the strong contrast between them, he looked to a speedy restoration of Monarchy, or some other combination of circumstances which might lead to sufficient security; but till this was obtained he did not wish for a hasty and discreditable peace.

Colonel Elford and Mr. J. H. Browne opposed Mr. Tierney's motion, and on the question being put that the other Orders of the day be now read, the numbers were, Ayes 142, Noes 34.

Mr. T. Jones renewed the discussion on the policy of the war

not long after, (May 8) trusting, as he said, to that Providence, which had prompted him to bring forward a motion for a speedy negociation, and a dismissal of Ministers. He denounced the contest as unjust, unnecessary, and impracticable—as a mere *Bellum Bourboninum*—and reiterated almost all the objections which had been advanced against it in former debates. He then moved an address, praying his Majesty to take into consideration our heavy burdens; no longer to carry on a war for the restoration of the Bourbons, nor to listen to those Ministers who had advised him to refuse to treat.

After the repeated discussions which this point had already undergone, a motion like this was not likely to meet much attention. The speeches accordingly were few and short, and contained little of fresh matter. A single remark by Mr. Tierney, that the evacuation of Egypt afforded a fair opportunity for negociation, was met by Mr. Pitt, who answered, that it certainly would do so if the object of the war were only the evacuation of Egypt. Mr. Hobhouse, Mr. Martin, Mr. Robson, and Sir William Pulteney supported; Mr. H. Addington, Lord Hawkesbury, Mr. Wyndham, Mr. Burton, Mr. T. Smith, and Mr. Dudley Ryder opposed the address, all with unusual brevity; on a division there appeared, Ayes 8, Noes 59.

The progress of the French arms in Italy, and the news of the battle of Marengo encouraged the Opposition to another attempt, and Mr. Sheridan, about a month before the close of the session (June 27) moved for a Call of the House on that day fortnight. He observed that the existing circumstances of the country, and our relative situation in regard to our allies, was materially changed since the last debate on the subject of peace and war, and that it was at least right to deliberate on the propriety of once more endeavouring to counsel his Majesty on this point before the separation of Parliament. Ministers on a former occasion had alleged six reasons for refusing to negociate, every one of which had subsequently failed them—first, that we ought to be better acquainted with the character of Buonaparte, and the stability of his power—of these we could scarcely require farther proofs than had now been given us—secondly, the support promised by the Emperor of Russia, the Elector of Bavaria, and the other German Princes, which hopes of assistance had altogether failed—thirdly, the Treaty with Austria, by which each party was to be bound not to lay down arms without mutual consent. Of the conclusion of this Treaty, no one had ever heard—fourthly, the repossession of Italy by the Emperor, concerning which his recent defeats sufficiently spoke—fifthly, the increased spirit of the Royalists in France; and, sixthly, the disorganized state of the French armies, both of which were contradicted by the internal tranquillity and the external triumphs of the enemy. These six reasons having failed, the House before it consents to continue the war, is in justice entitled to at least six new ones; but Mr. Sheridan feared

but one would be given, and that a most unworthy one: the wounded pride which obstinately refused to abandon principles long acted upon. Passing to Buonaparte's character, Mr. Sheridan remarked that he possessed more power than was compatible with the liberties of France, but not more than was necessary to protect her against her present enemies. He deprecated the bitterness of invective which had been used in speaking of him: since though there were moments in which it might be necessary to do justice to the merits of an enemy, there could be none in which it was necessary to inveigh against him with rancour. The time he hoped would come when France would not only possess that portion of true liberty which she ought to have, but when the Government of this country would cease to consider its own security and the liberty of France inconsistent with each other: for Buonaparte had shewn that his object was to maintain the power which he had won by moderation only. The necessity of peace was felt throughout England—the funds had risen in consequence of the defeats of our allies, from the hope of obtaining it, and it was to these very defeats that people looked for their own alleviations. Mr. Sheridan, in conclusion, lamented the supineness, the want of public virtue, and the little independence of mind by which the country in general was influenced at present, and in order to rescue it from this apathy proposed his motion.

Mr. Pitt replied, that Mr. Sheridan's object was either calculated to lead to immediate negociation, or to induce the House to address for the removal of Ministers. The Call itself was manifestly unnecessary; for if the question to be debated possessed strong claims to attention, these of necessity would produce the desired attendance. As to the recent disastrous intelligence to which the Honourable Gentleman alluded, surely the House never could be asked to interpose its advice with the Executive on the imperfect and partial information of the enemy—for to propose such conduct was to propose that without knowing the real extent of advantages on one hand, or of losses on the other, without consulting our ally on his present situation or future resources, we at once come to a hasty decision upon a point requiring cool reflection, and serious inquiry. The reasons upon which the continuance of war had been founded, were not those which the Honourable Gentleman had stated—but it was vested on this one ground clearly and generally, Is the situation of affairs such as to induce you to prefer peace to war? It did not follow that from any subsequent vicissitude of military affairs, the premises upon which we had acted were therefore wrong; but it did follow that if the worst instead of the best consequences were to happen, we were to exert our talents, our courage and our resolution, in proportion to the danger by which we were threatened. Even if the accounts of the successes of the enemy were true in all their particulars, we should be acting more in furtherance of his interests than of our own, by acceding to the present motion.

Mr. Jones supported the proposition, and Mr. Sheridan briefly replied. The House then divided.—Ayes 27—Noes 124.

A motion, with a similar object, was made a few days after (July 9) in the Upper House, by Lord Holland, who said that he could not with indifference behold one man, and that man one of the first military geniuses in the world, in the possession of greater power than any man ever held in Europe since the days of Charlemagne. He believed by this time that Ministers bitterly regretted their rejection of his offers; but the rejection itself was not nearly so censurable as the manner of it. They argued that Buonaparte was insincere in his overtures; if so, it was their duty to expose his insincerity to the whole world by listening to his propositions. After many other comments upon the incapacity of the existing administration, and the necessity of withdrawing all farther confidence from it, Lord Holland impressed upon their Lordships the important objects which might be attained if Parliament continued to sit during the important events which were now transacting on the continent. His Majesty might then be advised from time to time, and such inquiries might be made as the course of things rendered expedient. Such interference was strictly conformable with the practice of the Constitution, and as for personal sacrifices of convenience, they would be cheerfully made to the interests of the country. He should therefore move, "that an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, humbly to implore his Majesty not to prorogue Parliament in the present awful conjuncture."

Lord Grenville admitted that it was the province of Parliament to watch over the conduct of Ministers, to offer advice to his Majesty as circumstances might call for it, and even to address his Majesty for the removal of his servants, if the House so thought fit; but if Lord Holland meant that it was the province of Parliament to inspect, direct or control the operations of war, he thought that it was better that any five men in either House should undertake this responsibility, rather than that such deliberations should be directly carried on in Parliament. The complaint of confidence bestowed on his Majesty's Ministers, was equivalent to a wish for their change, and a substitution of confidence in others; for it was evident that no executive Government could exist without sharing the confidence of Parliament and the country. Now Ministers had been equally criminated for the two extremes of obstinacy and imbecility; and the plain inference to be drawn by men of no party from these conflicting accusations, was that the measures of Government had been regulated by wisdom and moderation. Lord Grenville here recapitulated the principal arguments used on other occasions, to shew the danger of negociation with the present Government of France. He denied that the answer given to Buonaparte was of an insulting nature, and also that the acceptance of his overtures would have led to a secure peace; and he assumed that the experience of events which

had since occurred, proved that no other answer could properly have been given. Disclaiming all responsibility for the conduct of foreign Powers, he contended that we were not yet in possession of sufficient documents whereon to form our opinion of the sentiments of Austria; but he was certain that if the sitting of the present Parliament was declared permanent, and the business of the executive taken out of its hands, on account of the momentary advantage obtained over our allies, the spirit of the country would de depressed and our exertions paralyzed.

The House divided—Contents 2—Not Contents 26.

On the same day (July 9) Mr. Western moved in the Commons for a Committee on the state of the Nation. The House, he observed, was responsible to the country for having supported Ministers in their recent rejection of overtures for peace, upon grounds which have proved utterly fallacious. Since that rejection the political state of Europe was entirely changed, and it had become the indispensable duty of Parliament to consider how far it was wise to pursue the same line of policy upon which we had acted hitherto, and how far we were justified in continuing to Ministers the confidence which had been so abundantly given them. Going back only to the commencement of the present year, Mr. Western contended that these were the strongest grounds to prove their want of sagacity, wisdom, and prudence. He then entered upon the question of negociation, and examined the grounds upon which Ministers had justified their rejection of Buonaparte's overtures, all which he asserted had failed; while in the eight months during which the Chief Consul had held the government of France, he had evinced ability and conduct which belied all the invectives uttered against him in the House; and given proofs of stability, vigour, activity, and energy, which nullified all the predictions which had been hazarded of his fall. Mr. Western, by moving for a Committee, did not wish to convey any idea that he desponded of the country, but he sought strongly to impress upon all minds that our situation was most critical. If France were disengaged from a Continental war we should be most insecure, for by repeated efforts and the sacrifices of some men, there was little doubt that she might land considerable forces in the Sister Kingdom. Again in regard to our internal situation, the enormity of our debt, and of the revenue which we were compelled to raise, was so severely felt, that the people of England hailed the prospect of peace through the defeats of our allies, and the public funds rose in proportion to their disasters. Measures should on all these accounts be taken for immediate treaty, and there could be no objection to instant overtures on the part of this country; we might thus perhaps be in time to negociate jointly with our allies, instead of being abandoned, as in 1797, by every principal Power in Europe. For purposes such as these, and more accurately to examine into the resources of the country, Mr. Western moved "that this House do resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, to take into

consideration the state of the Nation."

Mr. Wilberforce said that the real object of the motion was to subvert all the plans hitherto adopted by Ministers, and sanctioned by the House. The country might be in a critical situation, and yet it might not be the province of Parliament to dictate the measures to be pursued. He could not think that the House of Commons was ever sufficiently acquainted with the secret machinery by which every Government must be regulated, to interfere usefully with the peculiar functions of the executive. Mr. Wilberforce placed this argument in different lights, and from all the inferences which they afforded, opposed the Committee.

Mr. W. Smith contended, that if the House went into a Committee, it was by no means a necessary consequence that the Committee must instruct Ministers to make an immediate peace. He reviewed the various instances in which he thought Administration had forfeited the confidence of the country; and said that they were not the best men for carrying on the war, and certainly the worst possible for making peace. He feared the issue of the American war would be a sample of the termination of that in which we were now engaged.

Mr. Wyndham observed, that however improper the motion in itself might be at the present time, Gentlemen had increased its impropriety by discussing one side of the question only, and forgetting that there were dangers in peace as well as in war. Now however anxious he might be for peace generally, he had never considered it remarkably desirable, without the restoration of a Government in France which would give it stability; and the only ground which had been stated against this opinion to-night was vague declamation, *pax potior bello*. This however was by no means the question now before the House—it was rather whether the interference of Parliament with the executive (which every body admitted was a matter of right) would under existing circumstances be expedient, proper, and justifiable. Now if every important crisis were to call for this interference, not a battle could be fought, nor an alliance concluded, without the appointment of a Committee on the state of the Nation; and the Government would be in a perpetual commotion. To justify such a motion, the crisis must not only be awful, but there must be delinquency in the conduct of Administration—the one so great as to require the immediate removal of Ministers, the other so urgent as to demand the influence of Parliament, to effect this change more speedily than it could be worked by ordinary means. Mr. Wyndham reduced the accusations against Ministers to three heads; first, that they had judged ill of characters both of allies and enemies; secondly, that they had predicted falsely of events; and thirdly, that they had neglected advantageous opportunities for negociation. He proceeded to consider these charges separately, contending, that in regard to our allies, of whose want of fidelity so much had been said; whenever we had given our money, we had received our money's worth of as-

sistance in return. That in regard to our enemies against whom we had been taxed with using abuse and invective, he knew of no language which had been used but the serious and dignified language which honourable and honest men must use in speaking of their conduct: and he reprobated the weak, fastidious, womanish, affected delicacy which refused to characterize atrocity by its fitting and true name. Strange to say, however, those who were so indignant at the invectives, as they called them, pronounced against the First Consul, feel but little tenderness when they themselves had to speak of our own allies or our own Government. It had been said that a Ministry which thought so ill of the rulers of France, could never make peace with them. Undoubtedly that Ministry could not fraternize with them—but peace required much precaution. A treaty of peace with France must not be like a treaty of marriage, in which one party had no doubt of the sincere affection and honourable intentions of the other; by which they were both to be united indissolubly in an identity of interest, and an unity of object; in which England was to give not only her hand but her heart also. It was a matter of deep consideration, which probably would be better conducted by those who required testimonials of character, than by others who would jump at once into the hands of France, and consider it criminal to haggle about terms with the dear Republic. It had been admitted also by the Honourable Gentleman, whose argument he had just answered, that the funds would rise upon the prospect of a peace, even though that peace were founded on disadvantageous terms. Now this only proved that the fluctuation of the funds afforded no true test of the real interests of the country, and therefore he hoped he might infer no true criterion of public opinion. On the second charge Mr. Wyndham observed, that no predictions had been made by Ministers; they had stated that which was obvious to all the world, that they were embarking on a most arduous and doubtful conflict, from which great expectations however might reasonably be formed. They knew as well as the Gentlemen opposite, that such a contest could not be conducted without danger, but they had taken every means which human prudence could suggest to prevent it. As to the last accusation, the negociations at Lisle, shewed the readiness of Ministers to treat whenever the slightest probability appeared of effecting an honourable peace; and they equally shewed that such a probability had not now presented itself. He said, he thought that if ever during the progress of the war the country had really been in danger, it was at the period of these negociations, if the enemy had acceded to the terms which we then proposed. The present war had been compared to the American war. Mr. Wyndham saw but one similarity; they both were civil wars, in which men for the first time learnt to wish well to the enemies of their country. He confessed that during the American war, he himself had thought the success of the Americans essential to the interests of this coun-

try; and he begged leave to ask the Gentlemen on the other side, if they now entertained the same sentiments in regard to the French?

Mr. Nicholls considered the restoration of Monarchy unattainable, and objected to the inflexible perseverance of Ministers. Mr. J. H. Browne thought a vote of the House forcing Ministers to make peace, would be laying the country at the feet of the enemy. Sir Francis Burdett Jones said a good deal about Nero, Caligula, the state of Ireland, and our continental expeditions. Mr. Elliston opposed the motion, and lamented the party spirit in which it had been discussed.

Mr. Hobhouse enquired into the object of the war, and complained of the looseness of the word "security," since at one time this meant the Constitution of 1789, at another that of 1795, and now neither more nor less than the ancient regime, with the sceptre in the hands of the Bourbons. If Ministers only wished to restrain the grasping ambition of France, and to reduce her power within certain limits, it would be difficult to say why they had rejected two successive overtures for peace, made in the spirit of conciliation: for it was impossible to know whether the terms which Buonaparte offered were compatible with security, until we listened to them. If on the other hand the war was continued, merely to check the prevalence of opinions deemed hostile to Religion, virtue, and social order, it became important to ask whether violence did not accelerate rather than retard the progress of these tenets. Other objects would fairly come before a Committee, the probable conduct of the Bourbons if restored, the propriety of subsidies, the confidence to be placed on our allies, and a comparison of our past and present condition. For these purposes he supported the motion.

Mr. Sheridan rapidly glanced at the present state of Europe, and observed that the change of Ministers, to which the appointment of the proposed Committee would probably lead, must dispirit the enemy and invigorate ourselves. He argued on the insincerity of their former negociations, and the various objects of the war at different periods, which lately were all merged in the avowed restoration of the Bourbons. If, as now stated, the contest was to be purely defensive, a Committee is the only means by which such a war can be properly conducted. If again peace should be resolved upon, it would be right to consider in a Committee what sort of peace would be compatible with the mutual security of both countries; for no peace could long endure which gave exclusive advantages to one party. He thought the motion a good one on these accounts.

The Solicitor-General commented upon the different objects for which this motion had been supported. Some gentlemen wished for peace, some for a dismissal of Ministers, and others for a Committee of vigilance to watch the conduct of the executive; but all seemed to forget that in justice a preliminary Resolution must be passed that the executive was unworthy of confidence. The learned Gentleman

exposed the fallacy of considering the funds a criterion of public opinion, when in fact they proved nothing more than that some men preferred their private interest to the interest of the community. He for one never repented of a single vote which he had given for the continuance of the war, his only regret was, that it had not been entered upon sooner; in his opinion we had been amply repayed for all our advances, for by them we had saved our Constitution.

Mr. Tierney supported the motion, but with little novelty of argument; he hinted at the dangers of Ireland, and the probability of a Northern armed neutrality, if the war continued; and he did not doubt that the proposed inquiry if entered into, would furnish ample ground for the impeachment of Ministers.

The division was, Ayes 26—Noes 148.

The treaty with the Emperor of Germany was finally laid before the House of Commons on the 15th of July, and three days after (July 18) Mr. Pitt introduced its provisions to a Committee of supply. He briefly stated that the House, having on a former occasion sanctioned the policy of the treaty, it remained now only to enable his Majesty to fulfil it: and he added, that as far as Ministers hitherto had received information, the Emperor, notwithstanding his recent disasters, was determined not to recede from his part of it. He moved, therefore, that a sum not exceeding 1,500,000*l.* be granted to his Majesty to enable him to fulfil his engagements with the Emperor of Germany, and also a sum not exceeding 545,494*l.* for like engagements with the Emperor of Russia.

Mr. Jones objected to subsidizing in general, and in the present treaty disliked the article which bound us not to enter into negociation, unless in concert with the Emperor of Germany. Mr. J. H. Browne supported, and Mr. Martin opposed the resolutions.

Mr. Tierney expressed his surprise at the lofty tone which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had assumed, at a time in which it would have become him to enter that House covered with sackcloth and ashes. He renewed all the arguments which had at different times been urged in favour of negociation; and at some length opposed the grant on three distinct grounds; first, that an avowed vigorous prosecution of the war was not the way to arrive at peace; secondly, that the Emperor had not hitherto afforded such a co-operation as justified Ministers for having entered into these engagements, and was not in a situation which gave such promise of future co-operation as would justify the House in fulfilling them; and, thirdly, that the present Ministers were not fit men to obtain peace, and that all efforts for this purpose, while they remained in office, must prove unavailing.

These three objections were most eloquently answered by Mr. Canning. To the first he briefly replied, that in order to treat for peace with any chance of success, Ministers must be enabled to treat with the means of war in their hands. The second he considered more at length, and observed that

Mr. Tierney in advancing it argued solely on the issue of the battle of Marengo. Now in regard to military preparation, exertion, skill, and valour, no accusation was brought against Austria; he could suppose therefore that when Ministers were taxed with want of foresight in forming this alliance, it was only because they had not foreseen that the fate of one battle would decide the campaign, and that that one battle would be unfortunate. Mr. Canning here dwelt upon the long and doubtful struggle in that battle; and maintained that such a chance for the safety of Europe as it had given, notwithstanding its failure was well worth the price of the whole subsidy—defeat in it to Buonaparte would have been utter destruction—to our ally it is only mortification and embarrassment. He then urged the meanness and dishonour of endeavouring to avoid the fulfilment of our engagements, because the party with whom they were contracted, now stood most in need of them. He deprecated the manner in which the Emperor had been spoken of on this occasion, for he had imagined that even the *crime* of being our ally, even the *disqualification* of an united interest and a common cause, would not have been wholly sufficient to deprive Austria of a title to our respect and our compassion; and that gentlemen, after being hurried, by the first impulse of their astonishment, to mix with the mob who shouted at the heels of Buonaparte, would have been eager to do justice to the fortitude with which the Emperor bore his reverses, by doing all in their power to repair them. On Mr. Tierney's own admission, he exposed the absurdity of asserting that the Emperor made a profit of our subsidy, for that honourable gentleman had allowed that the sum we furnished was inconsiderable when compared with the general war expenditure which Austria had incurred: so that the extravagant and incredible folly and wickedness was imputed to our ally, of cheating Great Britain out of a sum of money, at the expence to himself of much of his subjects blood, and the whole of his revenues. The remaining objection Mr. Canning considered the bitterest reproach upon Buonaparte which had hitherto been pronounced. If he had been a panegyrist of the First Consul he should have felt it awkward to mix up with his praises such an imputation of littleness; but it seemed his admirers believed, that this great man, with all his magnanimity, never could bear to treat with any Government which had spoken ill of his character and conduct, and that rather than conclude a peace with men who have used hard words concerning him, he would continue the ravages of war contrary to the interests of the country which he rules. Much had been talked about the invectives which had been uttered against Buonaparte, and that those who had used them must now wish to retract and disavow what they had so rashly and illiberally stated. On this point Mr. Canning begged to explain himself. His principle was simply this; that there was but one thing which he never wished to forbear speaking when called upon, and which, having spoken, he could at no time feel ashamed of, or consent to disavow, retract, or qualify—

that was the Truth. If what was said of Buonaparte was untrue, this was an accusation of which he knew the meaning, and which, if need be, he was prepared to argue: but if it was true, he was at a loss to comprehend where the shame lay, or where was the necessity for contradicting it. No subsequent events could affect the essence and the substance of Truth, and hypocrisy, cruelty, and fraud could not be covered by all the laurels, nor washed away by all the blood of Marengo. Mr. Canning knew that there was a cautious, cowardly, bastard morality, which, assuming the garb and the tone of wisdom, prescribed to us to live with an enemy as if he was one day to become our friend; he distrusted this doctrine, because he feared that the mind which could pride itself on adopting it, would entertain also its converse; and would prescribe living with a friend as if he were to be one day an enemy. If this be wisdom, said the Honourable Gentleman, I do not boast it, and I can only say, Heaven grant me a host of such enemies, rather than one such friend!

Thus much for the moral part of the objection; in regard to its political branch, where did Gentlemen learn that between Governments which disapproved each other's character and principles there could be no treaty. Not from the old Directory; for abuse enough had been poured upon our Ministers from their reading desks —not from the history of former wars, for in Addresses of Parliament, and answers from the Throne itself, stronger invectives had been used against Louis XIV. than any now complained of; and yet by these parties peace had never been retarded; nor indeed ever would it be, unless perhaps the dignity of a lawful Sovereign will bear without wincing rougher language, than that with which it is decent and delicate to tickle the ears of an usurper.

But the attack upon Buonaparte was not wanton and unprovoked. On the strength of a Government scarce three days old, he challenged us to negociate. Were we to acquiesce without examination, in what we heartily disbelieved; or were we not rather to examine the value of the pledge offered us, and then to give our reasons for not accepting it? We were compelled therefore to scrutinize his character, and having found its deformity, this deformity also we were compelled to expose to the world in our own justification. A change of circumstances, though it cannot affect past character, may authorize a change of policy; and supposing negociation to be proper in other respects, the question of Buonaparte's stability would not now stand in the way of treaty as it did in his last overture.

The one plain question before the House was, whether they will enable Ministers to make war vigorous, or peace attainable? or whether by violating engagements with an ally who has fought manfully by our side, and is still prepared so to fight, we will prevent them from continuing the war with effect, or from negociating with credit and advantage? The Honourable Gentleman has told us in the same breath, that we had become, through the present Mi-

nisters, the dupe of most of the European Powers, and the laughing-stock of them all; and he has added, moreover, that we are in imminent danger from a confederacy formed for the express purpose of reducing our exorbitant power and greatness. If both of these assertions be true, said Mr. Canning, and if the effect of the misgovernment of Ministers has only been to increase the power and prosperity of the country; if through their blunders we have been duped into wealth, and deceived into aggrandisement, if we have been deluded and misled into a degree of greatness and power which excites the jealousy of our deluders; happy is that country the misconduct of which turns out so fortunately for itself, and long may such misconduct, if such be its consequences, continue—"*Velim mehercule cum istis errare, quam cum aliis rectè sentire.*"

After a few words from Mr. Nicholls in support of the Resolutions, the House agreed to them without a division.

CHAPTER XIII.

Financial debates. Renewal of the Charter of the Bank of England. Speeches of Messrs. Pitt, Tierney and Thornton. Budget. Motion of Mr. Tierney for limiting the duration of the Income tax. Reply of Mr. Pitt. East India Budget. Proceedings in consequence of Mr. Thelluson's will. Mr. Abbott's Bill for charging public accountants with the payment of interest. The King's personal property.

The Bank of England having proposed terms to Government for a renewal of their Charter, for 21 years after its expiration in 1812, Mr. Pitt introduced a bill into the House for this purpose (Feb. 21.) The agreement, which was then read, offered an advance of three millions sterling for public services, to be secured by exchequer bills, issued at the time of the advance, and repayable without interest, at the expiration of six years. The Bank reserving to itself the option of being paid at any time within the six years, if the three per cents. should be at or above 80—upon giving six months notice, and allowing a discount of six per cent. per annum, on the sum repaid for such part of the six years as should remain unexpired. Mr. Pitt estimated the value of this loan on dry calculation at between 6 and 700,000*l.* and intimated that the actual gain to the public would be much more, as the money must be raised whether the Bank Charter was renewed or not.—He moved a Resolution accordingly which was agreed to.

On the third reading of the Bill (March 21) Mr. Tierney objected, first, on general principles, to a grant of this kind for so long a period as 33 years—and then in regard to the particular bargain, which he took as an annuity of 150,000*l.* for six years, encumbered with a refined speculation on the price of stocks, by which

whenever the three per cents. were at 80, Government would lose the annuity, and gain only the difference of buying three millions of stock at 60, and selling them at 80. (Mr. Pitt here observed, that as the Bank was to continue paying interest at 5 per cent. during the whole of the six years, it was not probable that it would claim the money before their expiration.) To this remark Mr. Tierney assented, and estimated the value of the loan at 750,000*l.* which he denied was an adequate compensation for the advantage given. To prove this, he took 4 per cent. upon the 11 millions which the Bank were in advance to Government, (the difference between the dividend of 3 per cent. and the actual dividend of 7 per cent, which was received on account of the exclusive privilege which the Bank enjoyed on the whole of these 11 millions) as what the country had to sell—this was 464,000*l.*—to this sum he added the charges of managing the public debt, 212,000*l.*—profits on annual advances of 10 millions 500,000*l.*—and profits on discount, 250,000*l.* making a total of 960,000*l.*—from which, subtracting the expences of the management of the Bank at 100,000*l.* and other deductions in time of peace (reckoning six years war in the course of the 21, for which the Charter was to be renewed), the fair annual profits might be averaged at 671,000*l.* He then commented upon the avidity with which the office of Bank Director was sought, though the stipend was but 150*l.* per annum, and inferred from this circumstance that there was something in the Bank which would not bear a name, but into which it was highly necessary for the House to inquire, when an occasion like the present offered itself. He alluded to the different plans which had been suggested when the Bank first stopped payment—particularly that among an association of bankers to establish a new circulating medium, for which they were to become mutually responsible, and another by an Hon. Bart. for the establishment of a new Bank itself, and he contended that it would be prudent now to inquire whether a competition, or, at least, an abridgement of the privileges now enjoyed by the Bank might not be beneficial.—He then passed to the importance of rendering the Bank independent of Government, which would afford one of the best checks upon its power, and in return would free Government from being the slave of the monied interests. He enlarged on the extreme danger of bankruptcy from the enormous and unprecedented advances which the Bank had made to Ministers, and deduced from the present proposal, that the Bank knew the scheme was profitable to them, and also that they would never be called upon for cash payment. In plain truth the country was dealing in assignats, and a mean plan of State juggling was carrying on between Government and the Bank.

Mr. Pitt replied that the profits on discount ought not to be reckoned among the privileges of the Bank, for this they possessed by the operation of their capital, as a mercantile company, whether chartered or not. He pointed out the hazard of any new plans upon a point of such national impor-

tance, and the necessity of caution in proposing so fearful an establishment as a new Bank. Even the stoppage of cash payments, a measure so dreaded by speculative politicians, had only proclaimed to the world the confidence of the public, and the solidity of the Bank. The credit of the Bank and the prosperity of the country were increasing hand in hand, for in the course of the new world of commerce which the war had created, four millions more of exports had taken place in one year than in any former year of peace. Mr. Pitt then defended the bargain, and corrected Mr. Tierney's statement of it. The question was whether the three millions should be taken now, or left till a future period? Six years hence it could hardly be expected, that we should be engaged in any very extensive war; and then the 3 per cents. being at par, the difference between making the bargain now or then, in other words, the loss of the public would be 1,700,000*l.* instead of 671,000*l.* which had been stated: the Bank profits were about 400,000*l.* and this therefore was what we had to sell for 21 years. We must not forget, also, that if the Charter expires, we have 11 millions capital to repay at par, for which we now only give 3 per cent. So far from the present advances to Government being unprecedented, it so happened, that as long ago as Sir Robert Walpole's time, the Bank had advanced not less than 11 or 12 millions. Besides, he would ask, what injury did public credit receive by the Bank advancing sums to Government, for which the security of Parliament was given? where was the mischief that the Bank deriving its profits through a thousand channels connected with the growing commerce of the country, should supply the great machine of State, which put the public force in motion? He saw nothing extraordinary in such a connexion between Government and the Bank.

Mr. S. Thornton asserted that there never was a greater proportion of specie in the Bank to their paper currencies than at the present moment. Mr. Manning expressed his indignation at the tone in which Mr. Tierney had described the current notes of the Bank, and stated that the office of Director, so far from being lucrative, had its advantages more than counterbalanced by the increase of forgeries. Mr. Simeon distinguished between the very politic stoppage of cash payments by the National Bank, and a similar occurrence in any private Bank; and remarked that this distinction was evident to the public, for that on the day in which the Bank stopped, Stocks rose 1½ per cent.

The Bill was then read a third time.

The Budget occasioned no discussion (Feb. 24); Mr. Pitt brought it forward in the following form:

SUPPLY.

Navy			£12,619,000
Army Ordinaries	8,850,000		
—— Extraordinaries	2,520,000		11,370,000

Ordnance	£1,695,000
Miscellaneous services	750,000
Interest on Exchequer Bills, discount, &c not included in the supply of 1799, but paid out of the grant of that year.	816,000
Deficiencies of grant of 1799	447,000
Deficiency of Land and Malt Tax	350,000
Exchequer Bills on credit of the Income Tax	2,500,000
Ditto on credit of the Aid and Contribution Tax, 1798, exceeding its produce	1,075,000
Vote of Credit	3,000,000
Subsidies, including maintenance of the Russian Troops now in England	3,000,000
Annual grant for payment of National Debt	200,000
Extraordinary services	1,800,000
	£39,500,000

WAYS AND MEANS.

Land and Malt	2,750,000
Lottery	200,000
Exports and Imports	1,250,000
Tax on Income producing 7,000,000*l.* from which is to be deducted the interest on loans for which this Tax is pledged, 1,663,000*l.*	5,300,000
Surplus of Consolidated Fund	5,512,000
Exchequer Bills	3,000,000
Renewal of Bank Charter	3,000,000
Loan (exclusive of Ireland)	18,300,000
	£39,312,000

The terms for the loan were 110*l.* 3 per cent. consols, and 47*l.* 3 per cent. reduced for every 100*l.* money—being at the price of stocks, at the time of contracting (61) and including the discount (2*l.* 16*s.* 7*d.*) 98*l.* 18*s.* 11*d.* for every 100*l.*—or taking it in another way, the interest paid by the public on every 100*l.* was that of 157*l.* stock at 3 per cent. or 4*l.* 14*s.* $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ so that in the eighth year of the war we raised supplies at less that $4\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.

The tax upon income was charged with the interest of 13,500,000*l.* of the loan—the remaining 313,500*l.* on the additional 5,000,000, was to be met by a 5 per cent. duty on all teas above 2*s.* 6*d.* amounting to 130,000*l.*—1*d.* on every gallon of British wash, or 5*d.* on the gallon of spirit—and a proportionate duty on the foreign article—calculated at 100,000*l.* for home spirits, and 120,000*l.* for foreign, and making 350,000*l.* or 35,000*l.* more than was wanted. Mr. Pitt hinted at some regulations which he should submit hereafter, for the better collection of the Income tax. This

intention elicited a few comments from Mr. Tierney, who otherwise admitted the unexpectedly flourishing condition of the revenue. The several Resolutions founded on the above statements were agreed to without opposition.

The new Bill for the collection of the Income tax induced Mr. Tierney to move for leave to bring in a Bill to limit the duration of this tax to the 5th of April 1801. He argued that it ought to be voted annually as a war tax—that it was no longer the tax which it originally was stated to be, as he shewed by its history—that it had completely failed in effect, for that after having been calculated to produce 10,000,000*l.* a year, its produce in the three years, 1798, 1799, and 1800, would not on the whole much exeeed 15,864,000*l.* and instead of the supplies being entirely raised within the year, as was proposed, in 1798 8 millions, in 1799 14 millions, and in 1800 13 millions, had been added to the national debt. The probable duration of the tax would now extend to 1810, which if the House had contemplated on its first introduction would have led to its peremptory rejection. Mr. Tierney then renewed the objections which he had on many former occasions advanced against the unequal pressure of the tax, upon capitalists and life annuitants—the system of espionage and delation, which it necessarily encouraged, and the impoverishment of the middle class which it occasioned. In reply to an argument which might be advanced, that it was only a transfer of property, and therefore beneficial to the country, he maintained that transferred property was not the same in spirit that it was in substance, for upstart wealth assumed a different character. An estate transmitted from father to son, carried in its course certain duties and obligations which were attached to it, but which in a transfer to strangers altered their condition and were destroyed. From this cause, Mr. Tierney anticipated a lamentable change in the manners of the community.

Mr. Pitt stated the Income tax to be a measure resorted to in an extraordinary exigency, which the old funding system was unable to meet; he believed that eventually it would surmount all the difficulties opposed to it, and that even now in its imperfect state that it was a measure superior in its nature to any system of finance hitherto adopted in this country in point of prudence, policy, justice and efficacy. It had been prophesied of it, that it would diminish our commercial prosperity by impairing our financial sources, the best answer to this prediction was three years experience, and as to its unjust pressure, it would be impossible to lay any tax upon articles of consumption, which should not take more out of the pocket of the consumer than even could come into the Exchequer. That it had fallen short of the produce estimated was true, but it was not true, as Mr. Tierney insisted, that on that account the solidity of its principle was gone, nor could it go while we obtained seven tenths of its estimate. Mr. Pitt then proceeded to observe the effect which would probably have resulted, if during the last three

years, we had continued to borrow on the old funding system, and he contended that the new measure, which was called inefficacious, had produced to the public, when compared with the old mode, not less than 24,850,000*l*. In answer to the undue advantage which the tax was said to give to the fund-holders, he remarked, that since it began to operate the bargains made for loans had been more beneficial to the public, than on any former occasion. At the same time he observed that he was quite willing to plead guilty to a wish of raising the funds at all times, for those who profited by this rise were not the money lenders, but the nation at large: for every individual has an indirect interest in the funds, and the landholder a direct one, so that the lower the interest of money was, the better must it be for all classes of the community. And yet this was the general effect of the system which Mr. Tierney now wished to set aside.

Mr. W. Smith and Sir R. Williams supported, Mr. Buxton and Mr. Manning opposed the motion. It was negatived by division of 114 to 24.

The East India Budget, commencing from the year 1795-6, was presented to the House by Mr. Dundas (March 25), who accounted for the arrear by stating that the accounts last year had not arrived till the session of Parliament had finished.

The following were the details:

BENGAL.

Revenues, No. 1.—Average 1795-6 to 1797-8 -	5,726,947
Less than last year -	51,730
No. 3.—Estimated for 1797-8 - - -	5,743,847
Actual amount - - - -	5,782,741
More than estimate -	38,894
Charges, No. 3.—Estimated for 1797-8 - -	3,893,991
Actual Amount -	4,051,660
More than estimate -	137,669
Deduct excess of revenue from excess of charge, the net revenue is less than estimated - -	98,775
And the net revenue of 1797-8 is - -	1,751,081

Estimates, 1798-9.

Revenues, No. 1. - - - -	6,259,600
Charges, No. 2. - - - - -	3,952,847
Net revenues -	2,306,753

Revenues estimated more than actual, 1797-8. -	476,859
Charges ditto less than ditto - - -	78,813
Net revenue estimated for 1798-9, more than preceding year - - - - -	555,672

MADRAS.

Revenues, No. 4—Average 1795-6 to 1797-8, exclusive of Ceylon - - - -	1,824,753
Less than last year -	21,321
Revenues, No. 6.—Estimated for 1797-8 - -	2,334,675
Actual amount -	1,938,950
Less than estimate -	395,725
Charges, No. 6.—Estimated for 1797-8 - -	2,482,838
Actual amount -	2,515,774
More than estimate -	32,936
Add excess of charge to deficiency of revenue, the annual net charge is more than the estimate - -	428,661
And the net charge for 1797-8 is - -	576,823

Estimates, 1798-9.

Revenues, No. 4. - - - -	2,004,993
Charges, No. 5. - - -	2,857,519
Net charge -	852,526
Revenues, estimated more than actual, 1797-8 -	66,043
Charges, - ditto - ditto -	341,745
Net charge estimated for 1798-9, more than preceding year	275,702

BOMBAY.

Revenues, No. 7.—Average 1795-6 to 1797-8 -	310,574
More than last year -	8,569
Revenues, No. 9.—Estimated for 1797-8 - -	319,100

Actual amount	388,189
More than estimate	19,089
Charges, No. 9.—Estimated for 1797-8	844,050
Actual account	939,921
More than estimate	95,871
Deduct the excess of revenue from the excess of charge, the net charge is more than estimated	76,782
And net charge of 1797-8 is	601,732

Estimates, 1798-9.

Revenues, No. 7.	346,110
Charges, No. 8.	996,699
Net charge	650,589
Revenues estimated more than actual, 1797-8	7,921
Charges - ditto - ditto	56,778
Net charge estimated for 1798-9, more than preceding year	48,857

BENCOOLEN AND OTHER SETTLEMENTS.

No. 10.—Revenues of Fort Marlborough on average, 1795-6 to 1797-8	5,177
Charges - ditto - ditto	104,707
Net charge	99,530
Supplies from Bengal to Marlborough, Pinang, &c. estimated for 1797-8	85,840
No. 18 and 19.—The actual amount was	163,299
Being more than estimated	77,459
No. 11.—Supplies estimated for 1798-9	117,160

GENERAL VIEW.

Result of the Year 1797-8 *collectively.*

Revenues—Bengal	5,782,741
Madras	1,938,950

	Bombay - - -	338,189	
			8,059,880
Charges —	Bengal - - -	4,031,660	
	Madras - -	2,515,774	
	Bombay - - -	939,921	
			7,487,355
Net revenues of the three presidencies		- -	572,525
Deduct, supplies to Bencoolen, &c.		- -	163,299
	Remainder	-	409,226
	Interest paid on the Debts.		
	Bengal - - -	408,810	
	Madras - - -	147,458	
	Bombay - - -	47,858	
			603,926
Net deficiency of the territorial revenues		- -	194,700
Deducted from amount on sales of imports per No. 15.		-	582,833
	The remainder	-	388,133

is the amount applicable to purchase of investments, payment of commercial charges, &c.

GENERAL VIEW.

Result of estimates 1798-9, *collectively.*

Revenues—Bengal - - -		6,259,600	
Madras - - -		2,004,993	
Bombay - - -		346,110	
			8,610,703
Charges — Bengal - - -		3,952,847	
Madras - - -		2,857,519	
Bombay - - -		996,699	
			7,807,065
Net estimated revenue of the three presidencies		-	803,638
Deduct, supplies to Bencoolen, &c.	-	-	117,160
	Remainder	- -	686,478
Deduct further No. 15.—Interest on the debts		-	758,135
Deficiency of territorial revenues	-	-	71,657
Deducted from No. 15.—Estimated amount sales of imports and certificates	- - -	-	630,675
	The remainder	-	559,118

is the amount estimated to be applicable in 1798-9 to the purchase of investments, payments of commercial charges, &c.

GENERAL COMPARISON OF DEBTS AND ASSETS.

Increase of debts in India		1,738,106
Decrease of debts at home		180,932
Increase of debts		1,557,174
Decrease of assets in India	608,242	
Increase of assets at home	3,908,258	
	3,300,016	
Deduct,—Balance at China worse	354,662	
Net increase of assets		2,945,354
The increase of assets, or the improvement of the Company's affairs in general, is in this view proved to amount in the present year to		1,388,180
Deduct—Charges included in the home assets arrived in India, so as to form a part of the stock there		279,653
Net improvement		1,108,527

The Rt. Hon. Secretary shewed that much of the increased expence was temporary and contingent; that the political situation of the Company was highly auspicious; that from the replenishment of the Home Treasury, the payments on account of India and China in the three years, 1797-8, to 1799-1800 amounted to 10,660,000*l.* of which 4,100,000*l.* were exports of this country, 2,240,000*l.* bullion, 2,700,000*l.* payments of Bills of Exchange, and 1,600,000*l.* in liquidation of the Indian debt. By means of these timely supplies the balance due from the Company to the Chinese merchants had been reduced from 1,073,000*l.* to 220,000*l.* Entertaining every wish for the utmost extension of the Company's trade, Mr. Dundas was not prepared to say that it would be prudent at every time to furnish the investments by adding to the debt in India; which at present, indeed, was far too large. After explaining some particulars in the treaties with the Nabobs of Oude and Arcot, and eulogizing the conduct of the recent events in the Mysore war, Mr. Dundas moved a series of Resolutions founded on the above statements, which were severally put and agreed to.

The remaining statements regarding the East Indian finances for the official years 1798-9 abroad, and 1799-1800 at home, were produced towards the close of the session, (July 23) Mr. Dundas having premised, that the extent of the late military operations prevented the accounts on this head from being as exact as they would be hereafter. The charges of the several Presidencies appeared as below.

Result of the Year 1798-9, *collectively.*

Revenues.—Bengal	-	6,153,615	
Madras	-	2,109,220	
Bombay	-	374,586	
Total Revenues	-		8,637,421
Charges.—Bengal	-	4,124,291	
Madras	-	3,543,686	
Bombay	-	1,270,622	
Total Charges	-		8,938,599
Net charge of the three presidencies	-	301,178	
Add, Supplies to Bencoolen, &c.	-	120,661	
Total	-		421,839
Add further Interest paid on debts—			
Bengal	-	509,900	
Madras	-	160,488	
Bombay	-	57,107	
			727,495
Deficiency of the Revenues from the Territories, &c.	-		1,149,341
Deduct, Amount Sales of Imports	-		542,941
The Difference	-		606,400

is the amount in which the charges incurred, and the interest paid on the debts, have exceeded the resources from the territorial revenues, and from the sales of imports.

Amount advanced for purchase of investments, payment of commercial charges, and in aid of China investments.

Bengal	-	877,684	
Madras	-	403,957	
Bombay	-	189,138	
Bencoolen	-	36,345	
Total advances for Investment	-		1,507,124
Cargoes invoiced from India to Europe in 1798-9, with charges	-		1,224,504

GENERAL VIEW.

Result of the Estimates 1799-1800, *collectively.*

Revenues.—Bengal	-	6,196,733	
Madras	-	2,507,594	
Bombay	-	368,366	
Total Revenues	-		9,072,623

Charges.—Bengal	4,157,553	
Madras	2,739,230	
Bombay	1,450,476	
Total charges		8,347,259
Net estimated revenue of the three presidencies		725,434
Deduct, supplies to Bencoolen, &c.		100,920
Remainder		624,514
Deducted from interest on debts		915,687
Net deficiency from the territorial revenues		291,173
Deducted from estimated amount sales of imports		624,727
The remainder		333,554

is the amount estimated to be applicable in the year 1799-1800, to the purchase of investments, payment of commercial charges, &c.

DEBTS IN INDIA.

Amount stated last year	11,032,645
Amount this year	12,995,526
Increase	1,962,881
Debts transferred in the year	274,516

DEBTS BEARING INTEREST.

Amount last year	8,933,448
Amount this year	10,190,528
Increase of debt bearing interest	1,256,880
Amount of interest payable by the accounts of last year	758,135
Amount of interest payable by the accounts of this year	915,687
Increase of Interest payable annually	157,552

ASSETS IN INDIA.

Consisting of cash, goods, stores, &c. last year	9,922,903
Ditto by the present Statements	10,259,107
Increase of Assets	336,204
Deduct, increase of assets from increase of debts, the state of the Company's affairs in India is worse by	1,626,677

HOME ACCOUNTS, presented 24th April and 11th instant.

Aggregate amount of sales 1799-1800		10,160,610
Less than last year		154,646
Deficiency on Company's goods alone	969,330	
Excess on private trade goods	797,021	
Excess on sale of neutral property	107,672	
The sales of the Company's goods estimated at		7,863,000
Actually amounted to		7,367,727
Less than estimated		495,273
The receipts on the sales of the Company's goods estimated at		7,840,528
Actually amounted to		7,209,849
Less than estimated		630,679
Charges and profit on private trade, estimated at		120,000
Actual Amount		202,969
More than estimated		82,969

GENERAL RESULT.

The Balance was expected to be against the Company at the close of the year 1799-1800 to the amount of	565,988
Whereas, notwithstanding the deficient receipt from the sale of the goods, and notwithstanding the aid afforded to India and China exceeded the estimate, by a small issue of bonds by a less payment on customs and Freights, and by the protraction of the intended payments to the Bank, the actual balance proved to be in favour	403,322
Being better than estimated	969,310

ESTIMATE, 1800-1801.

Receipt for sales of Company's goods	6,201,000
Result—The balance is expected to be against the Company on the 1st of March 1801	368,013

DEBTS AT HOME.

On the 1st of March, 1799	7,103,762
On the 1st of March, 1800	5,830,222
	1,273,540

Assets at Home and Afloat.

On the 1st of March, 1799		17,119,628
On the 1st of March, 1800		16,185,950
Decrease		933,678
Deducting the increase of assets from the decrease of the debts, the state of the affairs at home, is better to the amount of		339,862

CHINA AND ST. HELENA.

Balance at China last year against	1,073,607	
Ditto, by present accounts, ditto	220,022	
Better this year at China		853,585
Balance at St. Helena on the 30th September, 1797, as stated last year	54,248	
Ditto, on 30th September, 1798, by present accounts	62,235	
Increase at St. Helena		7,987
Total improvements at St. Helena and China		861,572

GENERAL COMPARISON OF DEBTS AND ASSETS.

Increase of debts in India		1,962,881
Decrease of debts at home		1,273,540
Net increase of Debts		689,341
Increase of assets in India	336,204	
Decrease of assets at home	933,678	
Decrease	597,474	
Deducted from balance at China, which was better by	853,585	
Ditto, St. Helena, ditto	7,987	
	161,572	
Net Increase of Assets		264,098
deducted from the above increase of debts, shows the state of the Company's affairs in a worse point of view than in last year by		425,243
To which add, the amount of Cargoes to India included in the home assets arrived in India so as to be included in the stock there		202,450
The Total		627,693

Mr. Dundas made some observations upon the causes which had occasioned the great increase of expenditure, and having showed that these causes now ceased to exist, he drew very favourable conclusions both politically and commercially as to the future aspect of the Company's affairs. The Resolutions which he moved upon the above statements were then agreed to.

Among the minor measures relating more to individuals than to public finance, which occupied the attention of Parliament in this session, was one which arose out of Mr. Thelluson's extraordinary Will. The Lord Chancellor (March 18) brought in a Bill to declare illegal in future all trusts and directions to be contained in deeds or Wills, for accumulating the profits or produce of real or personal estate, and thereby postponing for an undue period of time the beneficial enjoyment of the property accumulated. In introducing this Bill, the Noble Lord mentioned a singular executory devise which two eminent conveyancers had recently been instructed to draw, according to which the next heirs were not to become possessed of the property "during the lives of any of the present Peerage of Great Britain."

Mr. Abbott also introduced (May 19) a very useful Bill, in which he was strongly supported by the Attorney General and Mr. Tierney, for charging public accountants with the payment of interest. The object of this bill, which many flagrant instances of defalcation loudly demanded, was by diminishing the eagerness with which public money was unnecessarily drawn into their own hands by official agents, to take away any undue motive for procrastinating settlements, and to lessen the hazard arising from the possible insolvency of the parties.

Much inconvenience having been experienced from doubts, which had arisen in regard to the right of his Majesty to dispose of his own private property; a Bill adjusting the law on this point was framed in consequence of a message from the Crown. (June 19—July 3.) It met with some opposition from Mr. Nicholls, who contended that the King possessed no right of the kind: and shewed as precedents that George II. contested and obtained an annuity left by George I. to the Queen of Prussia; and that George III. recovered a sum of money left to the Duke of Cumberland by George II. Mr. Sutton being authorized by the Prince of Wales to express his acquiescence in the Bill, Mr. Nicholls still persisted that this consent could not affect the rights of other persons. He objected to the introduction of so important a change in the established law at the close of the session, and denied that the Attorney General could possibly support it as only a declaratory law. The Attorney General in reply admitted that there was much doubt and difficulty upon the subject, and therefore argued for the necessity of a Parliamentary declaration. He cited a number of instances, from the earliest period, in which our Monarchs had disposed of private property by will; and among other vexatious cases which had occurred, mentioned one in which the present King was unable (al-

though willing to do so) to permit of the disposal of the Princess Amelia's property according to her bequest by Will. He pressed also upon the House the hardship of preventing his Majesty from exercising a right possessed by the meanest of his subjects, that of providing for an affectionate child, or remunerating a faithful servant. The Bill passed through its several stages without farther opposition.

In the last week of the session Mr. Tierney and Mr. Pitt presented and moved their respective Finance Resolutions, in the same manner as in the preceding year. The previous question was carried on each of Mr. Tierney's, and Mr. Pitt's were afterwards agreed to.

The Resolutions were as follows:

Mr. Tierney's Finance Resolutions.

1. That the amount of the public funded debt, on the 1st of Feb. 1793, was 238,231,248*l.* exclusive of long and short annuities, and annuities for lives to the amount of 1,373,550*l.*; of which sums, stock to the amount of 10,242,100*l.* had been purchased by the commissioners for redeeming the national debt, and annuities to the amount of 79,880*l.* had fallen in; reducing the actual amount of the debt, on the 1st of February 1793, to 227,989,148*l.* and the annuities to 1,293,670*l.* And that on the 1st Feb. 1800, stock to the amount of 32,404,845*l.* and annuties to the amount of 119,880*l.* had been redeemed, and had fallen in; reducing the actual amount of debt existing before the war, on the 1st Feb. 1800, to 205,826,403*l.* and the annuities to 1,253,670*l.*

2. That the total amount of stock created since the 5th Jan. 1793, (including the amount created by the sums borrowed in the present session, and after deducting 12,328,449*l.* purchased by the commissioners on the 1st Feb. 1800) is 252,964,226*l.* of which sum the interest on 7,502,633*l.* is payable by the Emperor of Germany, and the interest on 15,315,000*l.* is payable by Ireland; and that annuities have been granted, since the 5th Jan. 1793, to the amount of 542,664*l.* per annum; of which 9,791*l.* is payable by Ireland, and 230,000*l.* by the Emperor of Germany.

3. That the total amount of the public funded debt (after deducting 44,733,294*l.* purchased by the commissioners, and 12,133,371*l.* on account of land tax redeemed) was, on the 1st February 1800, 446,657,258*l.*; of which sum 22,817,633*l.* is on account of Ireland and theEmperor of Germany; leaving a funded debt charged on Great Britain of 423,839,625*l.* including 56,445,000*l* provided for by the tax on income: and that the amount of annuities charged on Great Britain was on the 1st Feb. 1800 (after deducting what have fallen in), in short annuities 548,930*l.* and long annuities 1,007,612*l.*

4. That the sum applicable to the reduction of the national debt was, on the 1st February, 1793, 1,427,143*l.* and on the 5th Jan. 1800, 4,649,870*l.*

5. That the annual charge incurred by the permanent debt, on the 5th of January 1793, was 10,325,866*l.* including 1,000,000*l.* applicable to the reduction of the debt; that the annual charge incurred by the permanent debt,

created since the 5th Jan. 1793 (exclusive of interest payable by Ireland, and including the charge incurred by the loan of the present session) is 8,582,395*l.* including 1,901,700*l.* applicable to the reduction of debt; and that a farther charge of 497,735*l.* per annum is guaranteed by parliament, in default of payment of the interest of certain loans by his Majesty the Emperor of Germany.

6. That, exclusive of anticipations of the receipt of certain taxes, and payments on loans to the amount of 8,360,960*l.* the unfunded debt in exchequer bills, unprovided for, or provided for out of funds which have proved insufficient, was, on the 5th Jan. 1800, 11,999,740*l.* That the debt of the navy, remaining to be provided for, was, on the 5th of Jan. 1800, 5,992,288*l.* That under the heads of treasury, army, barracks, advances from civil list, deficiency of ways and means for 1799, and re-payments to be made for services not voted but paid out of grants for 1799, outstanding demands, as far as the same can be made up, remained to be provided for on the 5th Jan. 1800, to the amount of 2,048,540*l.* And that the total amount of exchequer bills, navy debt, and demands outstanding, unprovided for on the 5th Jan. 1800, was 20,040,568*l.* of which sum 7,548,272*l.* has been since provided for out of the loan of the present session, leaving an unfunded debt unprovided for, of 12,492,296*l.* exclusive of 3,000,000*l.* advanced as a loan to the public by the Bank, for the renewal of the Bank charter.

7. That the net produce of the old permanent taxes existing previous to the war, was, on the 5th Jan. 1793, 14,284,000*l.* That the net produce of the old permanent taxes existing previous to the war, was on the 5th January 1800, 15,586,504*l.* That the net produce of the taxes imposed since the 5th of Jan. 1793, amounted in the year ending the 5th Jan. 1800, to 8,205,290*l.* And that the total net produce of the permanent taxes, on the 5th Jan. 1800, amounted to 23,791,794*l.*

8. That the total official value of all imports into Great Britain, in the year ending the 5th of Jan. 1793, was 19,659,358*l.*; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th Jan. 1793, was 18,685,399*l.* That the total official value of all imports, in the year ending the 5th Jan. 1800, was 29,945,808*l.*; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th January 1800, was 24,505,125*l.*

9. That the total official value of British produce and manufactures exported, in the year ending the 5th of January 1793, was 18,336,851*l.*; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th Jan. 1793, was 14,771,409*l.* That the total official value of British produce and manufactures exported in the year ending the 5th Jan. 1800, was 24,084,088*l.*; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of Jan. 1800, was 18,804,254*l.*

10. That the total official value of foreign merchandize, exported from Great Britain in the year ending the 5th Jan. 1793, was 6,568,346*l.*; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th Jan. 1793, was 5,469,014*l.* That the total official value of foreign merchandize, exported in the year ending the 5th Jan. 1800, was

11,906,608*l.*; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th Jan. 1800, was 11,677,381*l.*

11. That the total sum to be raised in Great Britain in the year 1800, may be estimated as follows, viz.

Interest of public funded debt, charges of management and sinking fund, on the 5th of Jan. 1800, after deducting the interest payable by Ireland - -	19,307,000
Interest, &c. to be incurred and paid between the 5th Jan. 1800, and the 5th Jan. 1801, on stock created by loans in the present session to the amount of 18,500,000*l.*	962,850
Interest on exchequer bills, estimated to be the same as paid in the year ending the 5th Jan. 1800 -	1,021,626
Civil list - - - - - -	898,000
Other charges on the consolidated fund, estimated to be the same as in the year ending the 5th Jan. 1800 -	239,297
Civil government of Scotland, pensions on revenue, militia and deserters warrants, and bounties for promoting fisheries, &c. estimated as before - -	647,183
Charges of management of the revenue, estimated as before - - - - -	1,629,297
Estimated charges of collecting income tax - -	150,000
Supplies voted for 1800, exclusive of votes of credit, 1799	35,686,552
Advance to Ireland - - - -	2,000,000
Vote of credit for probable contingencies - -	1,400,000
Interest payable for imperial loans - -	497,735
	64,404,012

12. That it appears by the report of a Committee of this House in 1791, that the actual expenditure of the peace establishment (including the annual million for the the sinking fund) was, on an average of five years, ending the 5th Jan. 1791 - - 16,816,985

That the additional charge incurred by debt created since 1793, exclusive of interest payable by Ireland, is -	8,582,395
That the additional charge to be incurred for increased amount of exchequer bills outstanding, is -	55,000
That the additional charge to be incurred for interest of navy debt is - - - - - -	150,000
That the additional charge incurred on the consolidated fund is - - - - -	131,650
That the additional charge incurred for a sum annually voted for redemption of debt is - -	200,000
That the additional charge on 18,000 seamen, the number employed in the last peace, from augmentation of pay, addition to their provisions, and increased price of naval stores, cannot be estimated at less than -	351,000
That the additional pay to the army, on the same number	

as in the last peace, deducting stoppages, cannot be less than - - - - - -	170,000
That the increased charge of half-pay and Chelsea, cannot be estimated at less than - -	130,000
That the increased charges of the ordnance, calculated on the numbers in the last peace, cannot be estimated at less than - - - - - -	49,600
And that the future peace establishment (exclusive of any charges to be incurred by interest on sums to be paid on winding up the expences of the war, exclusive of any augmentation in the naval or military establishments beyond the last peace; and exclusive of 497,000*l.* interest due by the Emperor of Germany, and guaranteed by parliament), cannot be estimated at less than - - - - - -	26,636,530

13. That the gross produce of the tax on income for the year ending the 5th April 1800 (exclusive of voluntary contributions), did not exceed the sum of 5,801,624*l.*

14. That the amount of 3 per cent. stock (of which the interest is to be defrayed, and the principal to be redeemed by the tax upon income) created in 1798, was 16,000,000*l.*; in 1799, 19,250,000*l.*; and in 1800, 21,195,000*l.*; making a total amount to be redeemed by the tax on income, of 56,445,000*l.*

15. That, supposing the war to end with the present year, the net annual produce of the tax on income to be 6,000,000*l.* and the 3 per cents. to be on an average at 80, the sum of 56,445,000*l.* together with the interest thereon, would not be redeemed until the beginning of the year 1810; and that the probable annual expenditure during the first nine years of peace (exclusive of any charges to be incurred for sums to be paid on winding up the expenses of the war, or any increase in the naval or military establishments, beyond the last peace) cannot be estimated at less than 32,600,000*l.*

Mr. Pitt's Finance Resolutions.

1. That the amount of the public funded debt was, on the 5th Jan. 1786, 238,231,248*l.* exclusive of long and short annuities, and annuities for lives, to the amount of 1,373,550*l.* That on the 1st of Feb. 1793, stock to the amount of 10,242,100*l.* had been purchased by the commissioners for redeeming the national debt; and annuities to the amount of 79,880*l.* had fallen in, and had been carried to their account; reducing the actual amount of the debt, on the 5th January 1793, to 227,989,148*l.* and the annuities to 1,293,670*l.*; and that on the 1st of Feb. 1800, stock to the amount of 32,404,845*l.* had been purchased by the commissioners for redeeming the national debt; and annuities to the amount of 119,880*l.* had fallen in and been carried to their account; reducing the actual amount of debt existing before the war, on 1st Feb. 1800, to 205,826,403*l.* and the annuities to 1,253,670*l.*

2. That the amount of the capital of the public funded debt, created since the 1st of Feb. 1793 (including the amount to be created by sums borrowed in the present session of parliament, and exclusive of 7,502,633*l.* 3 per cent. stocks, created by advances to the Emperor of Germany) was on the 1st Feb. 1800, 257,787,792*l.* That the amount of long annuities created during the same period was 312,604*l.* per annum, exclusive of 230,000*l.* created by advances to the Emperor of Germany. That of these sums, 15,315,000*l.* capital, 9,791*l.* long annuities are on account of Ireland, and 56,445,000*l.* is provided for by the tax on income, leaving a permanent debt of 186,027,792*l.* charged on Great Britain. And that on the 1st Feb. 1800, 12,328,449*l.* had been purchased by the commissioners for redeeming the national debt; reducing the said permanent debt, created since the 5th Jan. 1793, to 173,699,343*l.* exclusive of long annuities to the amount of 302,873*l.* per annum after deducting the annuities payable by Ireland.

3. That the total amount of the permanent funded debt charged on Great Britain, after deducting the sum of above 44,000,000*l.* redeemed by, and the annuities fallen in to the commissioners, and 12,133,371*l.* transferred to the commissioners on account of land tax redeemed, was, on the 1st Feb. 1800, nearly 368,000,000*l.* together with short annuities to the amount of 549,130*l.* and long annuities to the amount of 987,947*l.* after deducting the annuities provided for by Ireland.

4. That the sum annually applicable to the reduction of the national debt, in pursuance of the act passed in 1786, was 1,000,000*l.*, being about 1-238th part of the capital of the permanent debt then existing; and, for 1793, was 1,427,143*l.*, being about 1-160th part of the permanent debt existing in 1793, and may, for the year 1800, be estimated at 4,730,000*l.*, being about 1-82d part of the permanent debt existing in 1800.

5. That the annual charge incurred on account of the permanent debt, on the 5th Jan. 1786, was 9,297,000*l.* before any fund was created applicable to the reduction of the debt, and on the 5th Jan. 1793 was 10,325,000*l.* including 1,000,000 applicable to the reduction of the debt; and that in the said sum of 10,325,000*l.* is included the interest of 32,404,000*l.* capital stock redeemed, and the amount of annuities fallen in and transferred by the commissioners, making together the sum of 1,097,000*l.*

6. That the annual charge incurred on account of the permanent debt created since the 5th Jan. 1793, (including 314,000*l.* permanent interest and charge on loan of the present session), amounts to 8,582,429*l.* per annum, of which 6,311,479*l.* is for interest, annuity, and charges of management, of such part of the said debt as was unredeemed on the 1st Feb. 1800, and 1,902,000*l.*, being one per cent. sinking fund on the capital of the said debt applicable to the reduction thereof, and 369,000*l.* is the interest of such part of the said debt as was redeemed on the 1st Feb. 1800; and that a farther charge of 497,735*l.* per annum is guaranteed by parliament, in de-

fault of payment of the interest of certain loans by his Majesty the Emperor of Germany.

7. That the outstanding demands, exclusive of unfunded debt, and exclusive of the anticipation of certain duties annually voted, and including 816,658*l.* being payments for services, not being part of supplies 1799, and including 447,039*l.* deficiency of ways and means 1799, was, on the 5th Jan. 1800, 4,154,488*l.*; the whole of which has been provided for, part thereof in the former session of parliament, and the remainder in the present session.

8. That the unfunded debt (exclusive of the anticipation in the usual form on certain duties annually voted) on the 5th Jan. 1793, amounted to 8,925,422*l.* and on the 5th Jan. 1800, to 14,406,288*l.*; of which, 1,914,000*l.* was provided for in the present session of parliament, leaving an unfunded debt of 12,492,288*l.*, which increase of 3,566,866*l.* beyond the amount of the unfunded debt on the 5th Jan. 1793, is occasioned chiefly from an addition of 1,000,000*l.* exchequer bills, and of an additional navy debt arising from increased demands during the war, and bearing no interest.

9. That the net produce of the permanent taxes existing on the 5th Jan. 1784, then amounted to 10,194,259*l.*; and that taxes were afterwards imposed to defray the expenses of the war, ending in 1783, amounted in 1786 to 938,000*l.* making together 11,132,090*l.*

10. That the net produce of the permanent taxes existing previous to the year 1784, adding thereto about 938,000*l.* imposed, as above stated, in 1784 and 1785, and 137,000*l.* arising from the consolidation act, and from duties imposed in 1789, was, in the year ending the 5th January 1793, 14,284,000*l.*; on the 5th January 1794, 13,941,000*l.*; on the 5th Jan. 1795, 13,858,000*l.*; on the 5th Jan. 1796, 13,557,000*l.*; on the 5th Jan. 1797, 14,292,000*l.*: on the 5th of January 1798, 13,332,000*l.*; on the 5th Jan. 1799, 14,275,000*l.*; and on the 5th July 1800, 15,432,254*l.*; which last sum, after deducting the duties arising from the consolidation act, and those imposed in 1789, exceeds the net produce of the permanent taxes on the 5th January 1784, together with that of the taxes imposed in 1784 and 1785, by 4,163,254*l.*

11. That that the actual net produce of the taxes, imposed since the 5th Jan. 1793, amounted, in the year ending the 5th July 1800, to 8,477,100*l.*; and that on the part of these taxes the produce of one year has not yet been received, and only 113,707*l.* of those imposed in the present year, estimated at 350,000*l.*; and that the total net produce of the permanent taxes in the year ending the 5th of July 1800, amounted to 23,909,354*l.*

12. That the total gross receipt within the year (deducting re-payments, discounts, and drawbacks, and also deducting all loans and monies paid to government) was, in 1797, 23,076,179*l.*; in 1798, 30,176,303*l.*; and in 1799, 34,750,976*l.*; being an increase, compared with 1797, of 11,674,797; and compared with 1798, of 4,574,673*l.*

13. That the total gross receipt applicable to the service of the year 1799, exclusive of loans and ex-

chequer bills, was estimated in the resolutions of the House of Commons, on the 3rd July 1799, at 38,144,000*l.*; and that the actual gross receipt so applicable, taking the produce of the income duty at 5,801,624*l.*, the seventh instalment of the aid and contribution at 650,000*l.*, and the voluntary contribution at 255,000*l.* amounted to 38,857,171*l.*, exceeding the above estimate by 713,171*l.*

14. That the total value of all imports into Great Britain, in the year ending 5th Jan. 1784, was 13,122,235*l.*; and on an average of six years, ending 5th Jan. 1784, was 11,690,829*l.* That the total value of all imports into Great Britain, in the year ending the 5th Jan. 1793, was 19,659,358*l.*; and on average of six of years, ending the 5th Jan. 1793, was 18,685,390*l.* That the total value of all imports into Great Britain, in the year ending the 5th Jan. 1800 (supposing the imports from the East Indies, of which no account has yet been made up, to be the same as in the preceding year) was 29,945,808*l.*, making an increase, as compared with 1783, of 16,823,573*l.*; and with 1792, of 10,286,450*l.*; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th Jan. 1800, was 24,407,000*l.*: making an increase, as compared with the average to January 5th 1784, of 12,717,000*l.*; and with the average to Jan. 5th 1793, of 5,722,000*l.*

15. That the total value of British manufactures exported from Great Britain, in the year ending the 5th Jan. 1784, was 10,409,713*l.* and on an average of six years, ending 5th Jan. 1784, was 8,616,660*l.* That the total value of British manufactures, exported from Great Britain in the year ending the 5th Jan. 1793, was 18,336,851*l.*; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th Jan. 1793, was 14,771,049*l.* That the total value of British manufactures exported from Great Britain, in the year ending the 5th Jan. 1800, was 24,084,000*l.*; making an increase, as compared with 1783, of 13,674,375*l.*; and with 1792, of 5,748,000*l.*: and on an average of six years, ending the January 1800, was 18,804,000*l.*; making an increase, as compared with the average of Jan. 5th, 1784, of 10,188,000*l.*; and with the average to January 5th, 1793, of 4,033,000*l.*

16. That the total amount of foreign merchandize exported from Great Britain, in the year ending the 5th Jan. 1784, was 4,332,909*l.* and on an average of six years, ending the 5th Jan. 1784, was 4,263,930*l.*—That the total value of foreign merchandize exported from Great Britain in the year ending the 5th Jan. 1793, was 6,568,000*l.*: and on an average of six years ending the 5th Jan. 1793, was 5,468,014*l.* That the total value of foreign merchandize exported from Great Britain, in the year ending the 5th Jan. 1800, was 11,906,000*l.*; making an increase, as compared with 1783, of 7,574,000*l.*; and, with 1792, of 5,338,000*l.*: and on an average of six years, ending ending 5th Jan. 1800, was 11,677,000*l.*: making an increase, as compared with the average to Jan. 5th, 1784, of 7,414,000*l.*; and with the average to Jan. 5th, 1793, of 6,209,000*l.*

17. That the total sum to be raised in Great Britain, in the year 1800, may be estimated as follows, viz.

Interest of public funded debt, charges of management, and sinking fund, on the 5th Jan. 1800, after deducting interest payable by Ireland	19,307,000	
Interest, &c. to be incurred and paid between 5th Jan. 1800 and 5th Jan. 1801, on stock created by loans in the present session to the amount of	962,000	
Interest on exchequer bills, estimated to be the same as paid in the year to 5th Jan. 1800	1,021,626	
The civil list	898,000	
Other charges on consolidated fund, estimated to be the same as incurred in the year ending the 5th of Jan. 1800	239,297	
Civil government of Scotland, estimated as before Pensions on hereditary revenue, ditto Militia and deserters warrants, ditto Bounties for promoting fisheries, linen manufactures, &c. estimated as before	647,183	
Charges of management of the revenue, estimated as before, including the expence of collecting the income tax	1,757,543	
Making the total permanent charges to be defrayed out of the gross receipt of permanent revenue		24,832,649
Supplies voted for 1800, exclusive of 1,914,000*l.* to defray vote of credit, 1799		35,686,552
		60,519,201
Advance to Ireland	2,000,000	
Vote of credit for probable contingencies	1,400,000	
Interest payable for imperial loans	497,000	
		3,897,000
Making in the whole the sum of		64,416,201

18. That the gross receipt of the permanent revenue (after deducting re-payments for over entries, drawbacks, and bounties, in the nature of drawbacks) amounted, in the year ending the 5th of July 1800 to 28,224,000

That the tax on income is estimated to produce, for the year 1800 7,000,000

That the tax on imports and exports may be estimated to produce 1,250,000

That further sums are applicable to the service of the year 1800 as follows:

Surplus of consolidated fund, after completing grants to 5th April 1800	597,000
Re-payments from Grenada, imprests, and lottery	826,000
And that the remainder of the supply for the year 1800 is provided for by a loan, on account of Great Britain of	18,500,000
And a loan for Ireland of	2,000,009
And by exchequer bill to be charged on supplies, 1801	3,000,000
And loan from the Bank of	3,000,000
And expected additional produce of taxes, 1800	240,000
Making in the whole the sum of	64,637,000

19. that estimating the gross receipt of the permanent revenue to continue the same as in the year ending the 5th July 1800, and adding thereto the additional expected produce of the permanent taxes imposed in this session of parliament, the total amount to be raised by permanent and temporary taxes, for the service of the year 1800, may be computed at the sum of 36,714,000*l.*

20. That it appears, by a report of a Committee of this House 1791, that the actual expenditure (including the annual million for the reduction of the public debt) on an average of five years of peace, ending the 5th Jan. 1791, and including sundry extraordinary expenses for the armament of 1787, and for payments to American loyalists, and other articles of a temporary nature, amounted to	16,816,985
But the peace establishment was estimated by the said Committee at	15,969,178
And that the expense of the year 1792, amounted nearly to that sum.	
That the additional permanent charge incurred by the debt created since 1793, exclusive of interest payable by Ireland, is	8,582,395
That the additional charge to be incurred for increased amount of exchequer bills outstanding is	55,000
Interest on money for satisfying increased navy debt at 5 per cent. at	150,000
That the additional charge incurred on the consolidated fund, is	131,650
That the additional charge incurred for a sum annually voted for the redemption of debt is	200,000
And that the future peace establishment (exclusive of any charges to be incurred by interest, on sums to be paid on winding up the expenses of the war; and of any augmentation which may take place in the naval or military establishments, but allowing for increase of pay and other expences	700,000
And also exclusive of 497,000*l.* interest on loans due by	

the Emperor of Germany and guaranteed by parliament) may be estimated at - - -	25,788,223
21. That the produce of the tax on Income, in the year ending the 5th of April 1800, appears to be -	5,801,624
Voluntary Contribution - - -	255,000
Duty on Exports and Imports may be calculated at -	1,250,000
	7,306,624

And that the produce of the permanent taxes imposed previous to the 5th Jan. 1793, has, in the year ending the 5th July 1800, exceeded by nearly 2,000,000*l.* the sum estimated by the committee in 1791, as necessary for the peace establishment.

22. That during the continuance of the tax on income, after the conclusion of the war, if the produce in future years should amount to 7,000,000*l.* the total annual expenditure may be estimated at about 33,000,000*l.* including therein the said sum of 7,000,000*l.* applicable annually (over and above all other sums in the hands of the commissioners) to the reduction of debt.

23. That the amount of 3 per cent stock, created in the years 1798, 1799, and 1800, and of which the interest is to be defrayed, and the principal to be redeemed by the act on income is 56,445,000*l.*

24. That, supposing the war to end with the year 1800, the 3 per cent stock, to remain on an average of three years after peace at 80*l.* and the tax on income to produce 7,000,000*l.* per annum, the capital stock of 56,445,000*l.*, together with the interest payable thereon would be redeemed in the year 1808.

CHAPTER XIV.

Measures of internal policy. Renewed suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. Speeches of the Attorney General, Messrs. Sheridan, Wyndham, Sir F. Burdett, Messrs. Canning and Wilberforce. Second reading. Speeches of Messrs. Hobhouse, Sturges, Sir F. Burdett, the Attorney General, Messrs. Tierney, Sheridan, and Canning. Third reading in the House of Lords. Speeches of Lords King, Carlisle, Holland, and Eldon. Attempt upon the King's life by Hadfield. Bill in consequence of the attempt. Inquiry into the causes of scarcity of Corn. Report of the Committee. Motion of Lord Hawkesbury. Debates in the House of Lords on the Report. Second Report to the House of Commons. Lord Hawkesbury's Resolutions. Incorporation of the London Flour Company. Poor Laws. Bull Baiting. Speeches of Messrs. Wyndham and Canning. Lord Auckland's Motion to supersede the necessity of examination at the Bar in Divorce Bills. Speeches of Lord Mulgrave and the Bishop of Rochester. Bill prohibiting intermarriage of Adul-

terers. Speeches of Duke of Clarence, Lord Mulgrave, Lord Eldon, and Bishop of Rochester. New Bill. Speeches of Duke of Clarence, Bishop of Rochester, Lords Auckland and Mulgrave. Third reading. Speeches of Lords Westmorland, Carlisle, and Bishop of Rochester. Debates on the Bill in the Commons. Speeches of Sir William Scott, Messrs. Erskine, Wyndham, Attorney General, Master of the Rolls, and Mr. Wilberforce. Bill lost. Monastic Institutions in England. Sir H. Mildmay moves for a Committee of Inquiry. Resolution. Speeches of Mr. Wyndham, Sir H. Mildmay, Messrs. Hobhouse, Erskine, Sheridan, and Perceval. In the House of Lords, Speeches of Bishops of Rochester, Winchester, and Lord Chancellor. Mr. Abbot's motion on dormant and expiring Laws. Inquiry into the Management of the Prison in Cold Bath-Fields.

LITTLE change had taken place in the internal disposition of the country, and precautionary measures were still necessary to prevent open manifestations of disaffection. Early in the year (Feb. 13) the Attorney General moved for leave to bring in a Bill for the renewal of the Act which enabled his Majesty to secure and detain persons suspected of conspiring against his person and Government, which Act was to expire on the 21st of March.

Mr. Sheridan objected to the Motion, as the chief plea for this renewed suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, was not disaffection in this country, but the existence of dangerous principles in another. Not one imprisoned person had hitherto been brought to trial; and two persons only, an Irishman and a Swedish Baron had been arrested since April 1799.

Mr. Wyndham considered the question to rest upon this point, namely, whether any change had taken place since the last suspension, to require measures different from those which Parliament had then pursued? even if a change had taken place, the cessation of the mischief would prove to a certain extent the efficacy of the remedy, and thus far would be a reason for its continuance. He admitted the decrease of Jacobinism, but he did not therefore believe all danger to be at an end; and (in allusion to the trials at Maidstone) he put the case of an acquitted traitor, of whose guilt no doubt could be entertained, and over whom, therefore, some power of this kind was most desirable.

Sir F. Burdett said that Ministers seemed to suspend the Habeas Corpus as a matter of course. He complained of the vague and undefined nature of the term Jacobinism, and observed, that when a Bill like the present was passed, very little difference remained between one Government and another. He entered into elaborate statements of the horrors of imprisonment, the brutality of the gaolers, and "the tortures of body and mind endured by the captives;" and proceeded, till he was called to order by the Chair, bitterly to stigmatize the House of Commons; in which "he knew that majorities depended not upon language and reasoning, but on power."

To these unmeasured assertions Mr. Canning replied, that if any man could bring himself to doubt upon the nature or the existence of Jacobinism, the Honourable Baronet's speech would effectually remove his delusion. On the continent, he shewed that Buonaporte had raised these principles to the highest ascendancy which they could reach, for though a military despot, he was a Jacobin in heart. He argued that from the fewness of arrests, it was evident Ministers might be safely trusted with this power, and in conclusion ridiculed Sir F. Burdett's highly wrought pictures of imprisonment, which might find a fitting place in the pages of a modern novel.

Mr. Wilberforce said a few words in favour of the Motion, and on a division leave was obtained to bring in the Bill, the numbers being, Ayes 69, Noes 9.

On the second reading it was opposed by Mr. Hobhouse, who observed, that it was a singular proceeding to originate the Bill on the appearance of danger, and to vote its continuance when danger had disappeared. The remainder of his speech applied more to the rejection of negociation than to the point immediately before the House, unless that in conclusion he reprobated the whole conduct of Ministers as calculated to raise false alarms and groundless panics, and as grasping at illegitimate power by a system of terror. Many persons, he observed, had been lodged in gaol solely on a warrant of the Privy Council, without the exhibition of any affidavit against them; and for such gross breaches of the law, Ministers must one day come to the House for a Bill of Indemnity.

Mr. Sturges shewed the futility of believing that the late change in the Government of France had extinguished Jacobinism. The French Revolution, unlike all others, was not confined to local effects, but being a Revolution in the opinions, doctrines, and principles by which all Governments were held together, every State within its reach was shaken by its concussion. Now the acquisition of unbounded power by revolutionary means could not be a discouragement to rebellion, nor was a successful usurpation the best antidote to treason; yet such precisely was the last change in France. He then proceeded to defend the measure on precedents; and he alluded to the instance (which however he did not applaud) of the conspiracy against the life of King William. On the discovery of this plot not only the Habeas Corpus was suspended, but a power was given to the Crown to continue those who had not been tried, in custody, first from year to year, and afterwards during pleasure. On his demise this power was given to Queen Anne, and after the accession of the House of Hanover, it was renewed successively to George the Ist. and IId., so that the last surviver of these unfortunate persons (by name Bernardi) died in Newgate at the age of 82, in 1736, after forty years imprisonment, without any allowance from Government.

Sir F. Burdett again commented on the declamations against Jacobinism. He thought it would be better to repeal the Habeas Cor-

pus altogether, than so continually to suspend it, for the repeal would not change the law of the land, but the suspension did. By this and other similar measures Ministers had left nothing of the Constitution to the country but its corruptions.

The Attorney General denied that the Bill was proposed as a matter of course. He justified it on the Report of the Secret Committee in March last, subsequento which no satisfactory evidence of any diminution of disaffection had been given.

Mr. Tierney said that the Report which the learned Gentleman referred to contained a direct argument against the present measure, for it recommended the suspension to the first of March 1800, and a specified time being mentioned, it was fair to infer that it was not considered necessary after that time.

Lord Belgrave supported the Bill at some length. Mr. Sheridan drew a contrast between the French and English characters, and maintained that because a corrupt people, debased under a despotic state, had first broken, and then dashed about the chains which held them, it was no sufficient reason why the people of another country, accustomed to a mild and beneficent Government, should have their liberties curtailed on unfounded suspicion. Nor should it be inferred, that because the licentiousness of France had demolished all that was excellent in human institutions, the freedom of England would therefore do the same mischief. He denied the applicability of the precedent recited by Mr. Sturges; in King William's time the Jacobites were powerful among the nobility and landed interests; and the Act alluded to was a specific Act to confine those whose moral guilt was ascertained, while the present was to shut up every man on vague suspicions. He then reviewed the distracted state of Ireland, which he attributed less to French principles than to British counsels, and commented upon some abuses of power in the case of Colonel Despard, and in the application of the Alien Bill.

Mr. Canning exposed the fallacy of Mr. Sheridan's leading argument, which confounded the mass of the people of England with the immediate objects of the Bill, who alone would be under its coercion —not however that because the objects were few, the Bill therefore was unnecessary; for few as they were they were capable of important mischief. He then passed to the dangers with which France still threatened us, and pointed out as the greatest evil of the Revolution, the facility with which ambition might gratify itself at the expence of millions of the human race. Were he to define ambition, he would say it was that quality in the human mind, that altered its colour as circumstances might alter, but the nature of which was invariably the same, and led to good or evil, according to the temper and pursuits of the person whom it swayed. Such had been the passion of every leader in the revolution, whose chief features and peculiar qualities were now met and blended together in Buonaparte. He admitted the distinction which Mr. Sheridan had taken between the

French and English character; but remarked from the example of Swisserland, how easy it was to pervert even proverbial mildness, candour, and simplicity, into qualities the very reverse, by the contamination of evil principles! With us our liberties were to be preserved by Civil arms. We had secured them with less bloodshed than any other nation in the world; and it was not upon the plain of battle, but upon the floor of that House, that the Constitution of England recorded its greatest triumphs.

The Bill was read a second time by a division of 98 to 12.

On the third reading of this Bill in the Lords, it was opposed by Lord King, who considered the suspension unjustifiable unless in case of open insurrection or danger of foreign invasion; till late years the measure had only been adopted three times since the Revolution: on account of the assassination plot in the reign of King William; in 1715, and in 1745; and even then so jealous was Parliament that it limited the suspension to three months.

Lord Carlisle briefly supported the measure, because, as his Lordship expressed himself, he did not wish to see that statute which he reverenced as the fortress of our liberties, made use of as the stronghold of rebellion.

Lord Holland commented on the protracted and indefinite extent to which this Bill had been drawn out. Out of the seven years of the war the Habeas Corpus Act had been suspended five; and of the multitudes who had been imprisoned by the operation, few had been brought to trial, and only one convicted. Much as had been said of the evil consequences of the French Revolution, the Noble Lord said, he believed one of its worst effects to be the discredit into which it had brought the cause of real freedom: and as to the leniency with which Government might exercise the extraordinary powers confided to it, he could not but think that the good treatment of the subject was more secure in the protection of law, than in the discretion of individuals; besides which there was yet another danger, that by ceasing to owe obligations to the Constitution, we might cease also to regard it with affection, and we might see without regret another erected in its place.

Lord Eldon argued in favour of the Bill, and observed, that many cases of treason might occur, in which, for want of two witnesses, no legal conviction could be obtained, though not a shadow of doubt existed as to the guilt of the parties.

The Bill was read a third time. Contents 30.—Non-contents 3.

In the month of May, a very considerable sensation was excited throughout the country, by the extreme danger to which the King's life was exposed twice in the same day. The first time, as there is every reason to believe, from a singular accident; the second from the hand of a madman. On the morning of the fifteenth of this month, while his Majesty was attending the field exercises of the grenadier battalion of the Guards in Hyde Park, during one of the vollies a gentleman standing not

many feet distant from the King, was severely wounded by a ball; on the strictest examination, no trace of any design could be discovered, nor, indeed, was any suspected, notwithstanding the extraordinary attempt which succeeded it. As the King stepped into his box in Drury Lane Theatre in the evening, a pistol was discharged at him by a man in the pit. The assassin was immediately secured, and in the following month he was tried for high treason. He proved to be a discharged soldier, of the name of Hadfield, and the clearest evidence of insanity being established, a verdict of Not Guilty was returned. The dignified courage and firmness displayed by his Majesty on this occasion, contributed not a little to increase the public joy at his escape. His chief care, at the moment in which the shot struck the Royal box, was directed to the Queen, and he remained with the utmost composure throughout the whole performances of the evening.

If this attempt had succeeded, the crime would have been High Treason, and two witnesses would accordingly have been necessary to establish the fact; whereas, in a case of common murder, one witness is sufficient. To remedy this contradiction, and to extend to the Royal person that protection which was already possessed by the meanest subject, a bill was framed by the Attorney-General for regulating trials for High Treason, and misprision of treason in certain cases; and also for the safe custody of insane persons charged with offences. Its first operation was upon Hadfield himself, who, after his acquittal, was placed in Bethlem Hospital.

The deficiency of the last harvest had created no slight apprehension of scarcity, and to quiet the very general and increasing alarm, a Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into the reality of the alleged danger, and the best means of preventing or remedying it. The Report of this Committee, which was presented on Feb. 10. among other matters which were treated in an indecisive and unsatisfactory tone, admitted the deficiency; recommended a legislative prohibition of the sale of any bread which had not been baked twenty-four hours, as likely to diminish the consumption greatly; and approved of the policy of Government in leaving all speculations in the purchase of foreign corn in the hands of individuals. When this Report was taken into consideration, (Feb. 18.) Lord Hawkesbury reprobated, as a false notion, that which supposed the war to have prevented the importation of corn; on the contrary, he shewed, that during the last seven years the importation had been as high as at any preceding period; in 1796, when it amounted to 900,000 quarters, higher. Our supplies were almost wholly from the Baltic and America; for before the war, France did little more than provide for her own wants; and the produce of the Netherlands was consumed by the United Provinces, and the less fertile districts of the Rhine. One-third of our own countrymen did not eat wheaten bread, and as

the quantity consumed was, on an average, a quarter yearly to each individual, we needed between eight and nine millions; and to complete this, taking one year with another, we were obliged to import about one-twentieth of our consumption. The deficiency of the late crop might be estimated at about one-third of the usual crop, and this added to the former one-twentieth, would give the quantity necessary to be imported, deducting the stock in hand from the former harvest and surplus importation, which together might be rated at much more than a month's consumption. On these grounds his Lordship calculated our wants at about 600,000 quarters. The Noble Lord by no means imputed the inadequacy of our produce to supply our wants to any deterioration of agriculture; on the contrary, he cited as a proof of our increasing husbandry, that during seven years of the most prosperous peace which the country ever enjoyed, the number of inclosure bills amounted only to 227; whereas, during the last seven years of war, they had been 479. He referred our deficiency, therefore, to our increasing population, and laid it down as a general principle, which experience sanctioned, that no highly flourishing state, which had attained the period of its grandeur, ever produced enough to support its inhabitants. After alluding to the necessity of practical economy, and remarking that twice within five years we had been visited by scarcity, Lord Hawkesbury moved for leave to bring in a Bill for enacting the prohibition recommended in the Report of the Committee.

Mr. Hobhouse insisted that the war increased our consumption, closed many foreign sources of supply, and enhanced the value of all articles, by the increased price of freight and insurance.

The Speaker strongly recommended the use of entire wheat, from which the bran had not been taken away. He mentioned, also, damaged wheat, potatoes and rice, as useful substitutes. Mr. Wilberforce added soup and oats to this list, and wished more encouragement to be afforded to our fisheries. Leave was then given to bring in the Bill, which passed through all its stages on the following day.

A Committee, similar to that which had been appointed by the Commons, was moved for by Lord Auckland in the House of Lords. (Feb. 14.) Generally speaking, his Lordship said, he did not look for much advantage from Parliamentary interference with the produce and distribution of the necessaries of life, yet still he did not think it practicable, nor even desirable, to keep a subject of such great national anxiety from the cognizance of the guardians of the nation. He estimated the last year's produce at little more than half a crop, the stock in hand at two months consumption, and the supply which foreign countries could afford between the last harvest and the next, at not more than 660,000 quarters; what deficiency remained could only be supplied by reduction of consumption. The Motion was agreed to, and a message was sent to the Commons to request a copy of their Report.

A few days afterwards (Feb.

20.) the Archbishop of Canterbury moved a Resolution to the following effect. That it being expedient to reduce the consumption of grain, an agreement be laid upon the table of the House, to be subscribed by such Lords as think fit to adopt it, purporting, that till the tenth of October next, they will permit no greater consumption in their families than one quartern loaf of wheaten bread per week for each individual, and also that during the same period they will discontinue all pastry.

The Earl of Darnley objected to any legislative interference on the subject. He denied the accuracy of the statement made by Lord Auckland on a former night, on the authority of Messrs. Arthur Young and Claude Scott, both of whom from facts within his Lordship's own knowledge, he thought extremely mistaken; in regard to the Right Rev. Prelate's resolution, he thought a similar agreement, which had been entered into in 1795, had produced an unfavourable operation, and that any such proposition tended to create an artificial scarcity. He wished, that if any Parliamentary step was taken, evidence should first be given at the bar of the House; and doubting the existence of any real scarcity, he concluded by moving the Order of the day.

Lord Liverpool approved the Report of the Commons and the Archbishop's Resolution, but at the same time thought the danger had been exaggerated.

Lord Auckland defended his former statement, and then passed to additional facts. In times of plenty, it appeared from inquiry, that the average consumption, exclusive of pastry and waste of all kinds, was about a quartern and a half per week for each individual, or nearly fifteen ounces a day. It was now proposed to reduce this to ten ounces a day, and in all families above the labouring classes such a reduction would be practicable. Add to this the discontinuance of pastry, and we might calculate the saving at more than one-third.

Lord Suffolk observed, that one-third of the inhabitants of one quarter of the globe subsisted on rice alone. Lord Grenville pointed out the impolicy of any compulsory measure, and thought that frequent agitations of the question, by creating an unnecessary degree of alarm, would increase, rather than lessen, the evil. The Lord Chancellor expressed his dissatisfaction that the Report of the Commons was founded on the evidence of two gentlemen only. From many opportunities of investigation during the last twenty-five years, he had been able to verify an opinion of Mr. Burke, that the average produce of corn, taking the whole country through, was not more than twenty bushels an acre.

Lord Darnley having withdrawn his opposition, the Resolution and agreement were carried, and a message was sent to acquaint the Commons therewith.

A second Report was presented to the Commons from the same Committee on a subsequent day, (March 6.) After stating a variety of facts upon which Resolutions were founded, it gave the following reasons why the Committee was unwilling to suggest any measure which should stop distillation

from grain. That the annual quantity of barley consumed in the English distilleries, amounts to between 220,000 and 250,000 quarters, that as the distillers only work from November to May, not more than 55,000 quarters can be wanting to complete their works for the present year; that they were already prohibited the use of wheat; that great numbers of cattle are fed from the refuse of distilleries; and consequently, that if grain was not to be used in them, either the supply of meat would be diminished, or the price materially increased, by driving the cattle-feeders to purchase at high rates, a quantity of grain not much less than that consumed in the first instance in distilleries. The Committee then stated, that after strict inquiry, there was reason to believe that the adoption of economical arrangements in private families, had in many instances reduced the consumption of bread and flour one-third, and that the prohibition of the sale of new baked bread, according to a declaration of the company of bakers, had diminished the consumption in the Metropolis at least one-sixth.

The following Resolutions were proposed by Lord Hawkesbury, and agreed to after a short debate. —"1. That it is the opinion of this Committee, that whenever the average prices of wheat and fine wheaten flour, ascertained and published in the London Gazette, under the authority of any Act or Acts of Parliament, shall be less than 90*s.* per quarter of wheat or sack of wheaten flour respectively, there shall be given on every quarter of wheat, and on every barrel of fine wheaten flour, which shall be imported into Great Britain from any port of Europe south of Cape Finisterre, or from any port in the Mediterranean, or in Africa, or from any of his Majesty's Colonies in America, or the United States, before October 1, 1800, a bounty equal to the difference between such average prices in the London Gazette, and 90*s.* per quarter of wheat, or barrel of flour respectively.—2. That whenever the current price of rice imported into this kingdom, to be ascertained by the prices in the London market, shall be less than 35*s.* per cwt., there shall be given on every cwt. of rice imported into Great Britain before the 1st of October, 1800, a bounty equal to the difference between such average price and 35*s.*—3. That the duties now payable on Swedish herrings, dried or cured, imported into this kingdom, do cease and determine. 4. That leave be given to bring in a Bill to encourage the cultivation of potatos on waste lands for a time limited. 5. Also a Bill to explain and amend an Act xxxvi. Geo. III. intituled an Act for the better regulation of mills. 6. Also a Bill for better regulating the price and assize of bread. 7. Also a Bill to prohibit for a time limited the use of wheat in making starch.

These Resolutions were agreed to, and Bills brought in pursuantly. Two others were afterwards added, (March 19.) one when wheat was less than 85*s.* per quarter, giving a bounty equivalent to the difference on all wheat imported from the ports of the Baltic, of Germany, or North of the Texel, till October 1. The other

when it was less than 90*s.* giving a similar bounty to importations from Archangel.

The opposition raised by the millers to the manufacture of any but the customary bread, induced a number of gentlemen to associate for the purpose of making and selling an inferior mixed bread. A Bill was read the third time (July 5.) for incorporating these persons by the name of the London Company, for the manufacture of flour, meal and bread. Though introduced by Lord Hawkesbury, it met with strenuous opposition from Mr. Perceval, as a dangerous monopoly, and was carried upon a division by a majority of four only, the numbers being 48 to 44. On the suggestion of Mr. Sheridan, the Speaker decided (the debate on the Loyalty Loan in 1797, being the nearest precedent which he could find) that such Members as had a private interest in the Bill, could not vote upon it. Three votes were accordingly disallowed, the consideration of a fourth (a member who had retired when the discussion of eligibility commenced) was got rid of by negativing a motion that he do attend in his place. An adjournment was then moved and negatived by 35 to 17—so that the Bill passed, and was sent up to the Lords. On its second reading, and in its remaining progress, it was warmly opposed by the Duke of Clarence, the Earl of Westmoreland, Earl Stanhope and Lord Hobart; and supported by the Lord Chancellor and the Earl of Liverpool.

Two attempts at some alteration in the Poor Laws, failed in the course of this Session. Mr. Whitbread proposed a Bill (Feb. 11.) enabling the Justices to regulate the minimum of wages to Labourers in Husbandry. Mr. Pitt opposed its principle, though he did not object to the leave asked, on general grounds, first on the impolicy of shackling any mercantile transaction, and secondly on the single standard which it proposed for all the varieties of possible cases. He was convinced that the distresses of the poor would be best alleviated not by any general law, but by parochial aid administered by those best acquainted with their situation; and he professed himself friendly to the system of Poor Laws in England, although he allowed that of late years it had greatly degenerated from its original simplicity and efficacy. Mr. Whitbread's Bill was thrown out on its second reading (Feb. 21.) on the motion of Lord Belgrave.

Mr. Baker also brought in a Bill to prevent for a limited time the removal of casual poor, notwithstanding they may have received casual relief. He grounded it on the enormous expence which removals occasioned, the litigations which they produced, and the destruction which they occasioned to individuals whose distress otherwise might only be temporary, by removing them from established connections to the poor-house of their birth place in which perhaps they had long been unknown. Mr. Pitt supported it on similar arguments. Many an industrious mechanic, he observed, without some such Bill, might under the present severe pressure, be transported from a place in which he had been long useful,

and would soon become so again, to one in which he was not only useless, but a hopeless pauper and a permanent burden. It was opposed by Sir W. Pulteney, and others, as holding out encouragement to idleness and dissipation, as likely to be generally nugatory and partially mischievous. On its second reading it was thrown out. Ayes 23. Noes 30.

The amusements of the poor occupied the attention of the House for two nights, (April 2.) Sir William Pulteney asked leave to bring in a Bill for preventing the practice of Bull-baiting. When the Bill was reported after its committal (April 18.) the cowardly and ferocious sport which it sought to abolish, met with a defender in Mr. Wyndham, who in a laboured speech of great ingenuity and ability argued in favour of the custom. He said that if he had sooner known of such a Bill having been before the House, he should have opposed it, because he considered it a measure which the House ought not to entertain. It went to do away a practice that had subsisted as long as the country itself; and the evils of which, so far from being encreased, there was every reason to suppose had been of late years considerably diminished. For his part he had never been present at a bull-baiting in his life, and he believed there were many persons who had never heard of such a thing: no complaints had ever been made of the practice, and therefore he thought it a subject unworthy of legislative interference, which ought never to be exercised on trifling matters. These were not fit times for that busy meddling spirit, that *pruritus legis ferendæ*, with which some gentlemen appeared to be actuated. It would now appear, as if every man who, from local or personal motives, wished to put a stop to any particular practice, had nothing to do but to bring in a Bill for that purpose, which, on account of the impropriety of discussing it, stood a chance of passing into a law; but which on account of that very impropriety ought never to have been introduced into Parliament. His broad objection to this Bill was, that the evil it complained of, if such existed, was not of magnitude enough to call for legislative interference. This little petty meddling spirit of legislation was an evil of much greater extent than any it complained of, and should never be countenanced by that House. A great part of this system was founded on the supposed condition of the poor. On the subject of the poor, he was happy to inform those gentlemen present, that they should soon see a publication, which would only require to be seen, in order that it might be read, the work of a man who was one of the greatest ornaments of his country while he lived—

Qui, quid sit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non.
Planius ac melius Chrysippo et Crantore dicit.

He meant the late Mr. Burke. The gentlemen who appeared so much the advocates of the poor, and used a language so like that of cant and hypocrisy, were running into an evil worse than that which they appeared desirous of preventing: they were for depriving the poor of all their amuse

ments, without even considering what had been the practices in this country, as well as in every other part of the world, at all times. If gentlemen would look back to the ancients they would find the religion of those people so interwoven with sports and amusements, that almost every day appeared a holiday with them. Let them also see what were the practices in Roman Catholic countries; where they would find that the poor enjoyed much more relaxation and amusements than they did in this country. He certainly believed that the poor of England enjoyed more physical comforts than those of any other country; but there was no country where such pains were taken, and such a war was raised, to deprive them of all their comforts arising from amusements.

In the fine climates of Spain and Italy, it was usual for the poor, after the labour of the day, to amuse themselves with dancing the greatest part of the night to the music of the guitar. But should any such thing as a dance, or what was more commonly called a *hop*, occur in this country, the magistrates were all up in arms directly, and the sound of a fiddle is considered by them to be as abominable as the sound of an organ was formerly by the dissenters in this country. If a few strolling players were to come into a country village, their arrival was looked upon by the magistrates to be as dangerous as that of a set of wild beasts. Then if the poor, debarred of every means of recreation, should meet in public-houses, this must not be allowed them. If it be asked how they are to spend their holidays, the answer is—"let them go home and read their Bibles."—This was certainly a very good thing; but those who desired it to be done should set the examples themselves. It was not, however, a recreation. But, happily for this country, the people had a species of hardy athletic exercises, which contributed very much to give them a martial spirit; and it originated from the same spirit by which a person of higher rank was actuated to fight against the enemies of his country; because it was followed by a trial of skill, and a certain degree of glory to the victor.—The game of cudgel-playing was one of those; and if two men found amusement in breaking each other's heads with sticks, it was very fair game to do so. Boxing was another amusement, which, though it was much cried down, and was often attended with dangerous consequences to the combatants, he would never attempt to discourage. He did not think that it made the people savage or brutal. The sports of a people went a great way to form their national character. The people of England, who took delight in practices which some called brutal, were the very reverse of ferocious; they might sometimes be harsh, unmannerly, and rude; but he would assert that no people in the world had a greater horror of bloodshed, nor a greater aversion to the use of deadly weapons. Let this conduct be compared with the gentleness and humanity of the French, who had never followed the savage custom of boxing: compare it with that of the Spaniards: and even in Hol-

land a different spirit would be found to exist: of this an instance lately occurred, in which the most fatal consequences arose from a little affray with some Dutchmen, which, with Englishmen would have ended in a black eye or a bloody nose. It was well known that the English were not only as brave and as prodigal of their lives as any people in the world, but were always the first to forbear all manner of fury in success, and to spare the lives of the vanquished. He certainly admitted that the practice of bull-baiting was very different from the manly, athletic exercises he had just mentioned, because there was some degree of cruelty in tormenting an animal; but even this had its use; it served to cultivate the qualities and keep up the breed of those useful animals called bull-dogs—a breed which he was sorry to see degenerating very much, so as to be nearly lost. England had long been famous for this breed of dogs, and they were mentioned so early as the days of Augustus; even some of our ships had taken their names from these animals. But the practice of bull-baiting was objected to on the ground of its cruelty, and that too by the very men who gave their sanction to the game laws, and monopolized to themselves the noble practice of shooting. He would ask them, if there was no cruelty in that practice? Certainly not, if every bird was killed on the spot; but he himself was shooter enough to know that for one bird that was killed a dozen went off wounded. He would ask those Gentlemen if there was no cruelty in hunting? What would the poor, who were already deprived of the liberty of shooting, say to those Gentlemen of fortune who were endeavouring to cut them off from all kinds of amusements? Why, that those latter were worse savages than they; that they were not content with having all nature before them, and monopolizing to themselves the right of killing game, but that they took delight in tormenting poor timid animals that ran away to save their lives; that they pursued these animals until their horses could scarcely put one foot before another. That that still was not sufficient to satisfy them; but they panted for the honour of being in at the death; or, in other words, of gratifying their ferocious dispositions by seeing the entrails torn from the animal that had been so long a victim to their cruelty. He wished to caution the House not to afford the lower classes of the people an opportunity of using such language as this. He was far from wishing to treat the magistrates of this country with any kind of disrespect; but he was sorry to observe that they were too much in the habits of using an unnecessary and vexatious controul over the lower classes of people; and like those persons who were always preventing children from enjoying their recreations and amusements, thought that every kind of controul was useful to the poor. Many persons thought that the lower classes had nothing to do but to eat, drink, sleep, and work. This disposition, he feared, grew out of the system of the poor-laws, which was the source of a very great and unfavourable

change in the manners of the lower classes in the country. It was perhaps thought that if they partook of amusements they must spend their money and be a burthen on the parish. For his part he held a different opinion, nor did he think these men had any right to prescribe to the poor the work they must perform, as they would do to their servants; and the principle they went upon was as mean and sordid as the laws were bad that gave rise to it. But whatever the principle in which the present Bill originated, might be, he would always oppose that petty spirit of legislation, which enters into that House on the suggestion probably of some little consequential man in the country whose hedges might have been damaged, or whose wife might have been frightened at seeing a bull-bait. But the feelings of the lady who should make loud complaints to her husband against the brutes in human shape who had caused her so much alarm, were not at all affected at the cry of the hounds, or the sight of the hunters, who were inflicting greater torture on other animals: all this was very fine. This Bill would have an injurious effect on the moral character of the people: it led men into the commission of all kinds of crimes, when those things were made legally criminal, which the people would never believe to be morally criminal. It would be disgraceful to the House to sanction such a Bill; and he would move to put off the further consideration of it for six months.

Sir William Pulteney defended the Bill, and said that in certain manufacturing counties, the people were taken away from their work for weeks together by going to bull-baits; and in places where the practice was unknown the people were as brave as in any other parts of England.

Mr. Canning rose to re-state some of the propositions, and exhibit in their genuine order some of the arguments of his Right Hon. Friend, which had been misunderstood and misrepresented by the Hon. Baronet. The general scope of what was urged against the Bill could not, without great violence, be said to embrace harsh or invidious distinctions in favour of the poor against the rich. It could not be the object of his Right Hon. Friend to degrade a class which he so highly valued, yet it could no more be his object to deprive of long tolerated amusements a class of the community confessed by all to be entitled to every consideration from that House. The Hon. Baronet seemed to consider it an egregious absurdity to discuss the present question at large, he, (Mr. Canning) admitted that it was a great absurdity to go at length into the discussion, because never, in his mind, was so absurd a question brought before Parliament. But if the Bill was thus absurd, it was the reason of all others the most pressing for discussing its merits, unless, indeed, it should be contended that the measure ought not to be discussed at all. What his Right Hon. Friend chiefly insisted on were two propositions, and if he understood these distinctly they were, that, 1st, Legislative interference is not necessary; and 2dly, if it be necessary, that the practice of bull-baiting cannot be

suppressed without appearing to make an unjust distinction in favour of the higher classes, whose sports and whose amusements are, in many respects, not less boisterous and brutal than those of the lower orders. Such propositions it was easy to comprehend in their application and force, and whatever Gentlemen on the other side chose to say to the contrary, for one, he was certain his Right Hon. Friend meant not to arm the prejudices of one description of the people against the other. He was sure his Right Hon. Friend meant not to pursue with vindictive comment, or hold up to public detestation, the favourite amusements of the gay and the opulent. But what severity was there in observing, that if Gentlemen really intended to regulate and restrain the amusements of the lower orders, it would be well *if* the rich would begin with a self-denying ordinance. Mr. Canning then took a rapid view of the general argument of the Right Hon. Secretary, and inferred from his reasoning in this place, that the House would not act worthy of itself and of its dignity, in passing the present Bill. He reminded the House of the full attendance last year on the Game Laws, and supposed it as a case, that during the discussion of that subject last Session, a foreigner had come to hear the debate, and having asked what was the subject, was told, "Why nothing but a difference of opinion between some of the Members whether they shall begin one month sooner or later, to shoot a few birds that are curiously dished up with a little bread-sauce." And suppose the same foreigner to be under the gallery at the moment he was speaking, what would again be his surprise to find that not a question of war or peace—not whether we should grant subsidies to foreign Princes—not a debate on laws for general national regulations, occupied the full attention of so large a body of the representatives, but a question respecting bull-baiting! [a laugh] The Hon. Baronet had expressed disapprobation of the practice of permitting *hops* in various parts of the metropolis; but whatever might be the antipathy of the Hon. Baronet to the amusement of dancing, surely there was some indulgence due to *hops*, which might well be supposed to tend to the increase of his Majesty's subjects. As to cock-fighting, he never attended such exhibitions; but it was easy to conceive that even that sport, if the cause of evils, was also the source of genuine enjoyment. On general grounds, therefore, on the ground that the practice of bull-baiting conduced, as his Right Hon. Friend had stated, to give an athletic vigorous tone to the character of the classes engaged in it, and that to this hour it is permitted throughout the whole kingdom of Spain—on the ground also that legislative interference, especially in minute affairs, is always impolitic, he should sit down, heartily approving of the Motion made by his Right Hon. Friend.

Mr. Sheridan said, that two more extraordinary speeches than those of the Right Hon. Secretary and the Hon. Member who had just sat down, he seldom, if ever, heard in that House. The former was not merely contented with ge-

neral expressions of disapprobation of the amusements of the higher classes, but appeared to wish to excite the lower orders to rancorous opposition to the magistracy of the country; while the latter did little more than endeavour to enforce and illustrate similar doctrines. The Hon. Member said, that nothing could be a greater absurdity than the Bill of the Hon. Baronet; now how did he make out this assertion? Was it the greatest absurdity possible to attempt to suppress a brutal and disgraceful sport? The greatest absurdity in this case was the Right Hon. Secretary making a long Speech to shew the absurdity of a measure which, if absurd, must be obviously so, and would therefore be most readily discovered in its true character, and of course exploded. But what was the full latitude of approbation of bull-baiting which the Hon. Member avowed? Why one gentleman (the Right Hon. Secretary), and another (his Hon. Friend), told the House, that the practice was now fast dying a natural death; but, "ah!" adds the other (Mr. C.), "I nevertheless hope I shall see many bull-baitings." This was in the true style of a sportsman; for the Hon. Member would at all events come in at the death. Thus then it was manifest that gentlemen meant not to confine the sport of bull-baiting to the lower orders, for most certainly it was now adopted into the circle of amusements for Members of Parliament. With respect to much of the speech of the Right Hon. Secretary, it was so fanciful and metaphysical, that however the country Members behind him might be entertained by it, he (Mr. Sheridan) derived little if any gratification from it, though, if considered as a whole, it could not but be deemed as abounding in truly Jacobinical doctrine. The allusion to the magistracy of the country had this tendency in a high degree, for what indeed could be so Jacobinical as to compare country justices to little children. Had such invectives come from their (the Opposition) side of the House, how loud would have been the Right Hon. and Hon. Members against (what they would call) sedition. Certainly every class in the community was in every respect entitled to enjoy all rational sports and all innocent amusements, but there might be some harm in giving wide dominion to the opinions of those gentlemen who that evening, for the first time in their lives, stepped out of the beaten path, and, in seeking to amuse the poor, sought at the same time to subject the amusements of the rich to invidious comment. No doubt it was fitting that the poor should take recreation from labour, and indulge in general sports; and it was not harsh to say, that while we are indulging ourselves in all amusements, they ought at least to be permitted to enjoy some. He trusted there was not a man in that House, or out of it, more heartily the friend of the poor than himself; and he entirely concurred in opinion with the Right Hon. Secretary as to the impropriety of the magistrates interfering with hops and fairs, &c. But the principle was not carried far enough. The Hon. Member (Mr. Canning) alluded

to the practice of bull-baiting in Spain; but would he say that it is the effect of that sport, so prevalent among them, to raise the Spanish mind to heroism? Did he think that it was bull-baiting which caused the superiority of the Spaniards in courage over the English. [A general laugh.] It was contended that the sport did not brutalize those concerned in it; that it is even not inconsistent with a humane disposition. Nothing could be less founded in truth than this. How was the fact? Why, every instance of bull-baiting was an instance of renewed ferocity in the manners of the people. Did not those engaged in those sports prepare the dogs for the pursuit by much previous instruction? and differing even from other barbarous games, was not the animal pinned, and the dogs let loose into his sides, while he is denied the means of defence? Yet this was the sport which fired the martial spirit, which aroused and confirmed the native courage of Englishmen!—The contrary was the truth. However, if the Right Hon. Secretary should ever be present at a baiting, no doubt he would let the bull loose, which certainly would be an effectual mode of raising the gallant pride of a warlike populace. [A general laugh.] It was idle to talk of the humane disposition of persons engaged in such pursuits. The practice of bull-baiting, with all its circumstances, must be allowed to be the most beastly and brutal, the most unworthy of man that ever prevailed in society. The Right Hon. Secretary had said, that the breed of bull-dogs was spoken of so early as in the time of Augustus, but what did this prove? Not, surely, that the bull-dog is a generous animal; the nature of the bull-dog is the most worthless of any breed of the genus of animals to which he belongs. He is indeed the vilest animal that exists. So far from being courageous, he is sly, artful, and insidious, and having once got fast hold of the poor bull, he never lets him go, no more than a placeman lets go his place. [A loud laugh.] In alluding to what Mr. Wyndham said of gentlemen canting about the Poor, Mr. Sheridan observed, that however the Right Hon. Gentleman might think it fit to use such language, those who sat on the Opposition Benches, as they were called, instead of giving the Poor of England bull-baiting, would give them beef.

Mr. Sheridan in conclusion said that an Hon. Friend of his intended shortly to bring in a Bill for preventing inhumanity to animals in general, especially to horses, which were seen every day in our streets treated with most vicious and unmerited cruelty. He concluded by declaring his cordial approbation of the Bill.

Mr. Canning explained.

Sir Richard Hill thought the question before the House worthy of legislative consideration. The legislature had frequently interfered with the sports of the public, as in the instance of bear-baiting, which was now prohibited, and for the discovery of persons engaged in it, there was allowed a

reward of 10*s*. The practice of bull-baiting was general in many counties, in Staffordshire in particular the lower orders spent much of their time, and all their wages in feats of this sort. Their days and nights were employed in pinning down the poor bull and preparing the ferocious dog. Was not the practice, therefore, worthy of legislative interference? He hoped the Secretary at War would not take this up as a party question, and that if he would not consent to peace being restored to mankind, he would at least let the brute creation be at peace. He spoke it from his own knowledge when he stated that there were several petitions in the petition-office in favour of the Bill, but it was thought needless to present them, so much was the general humanity of the House relied on. He trusted therefore, that the House would display a conduct worthy of its character, would listen to the call of humanity, and let the Bill go on.

Mr. Martin supported the original motion. The House could not more strongly express its humanity than by passing the Bill.

The public little expected the display of talent which was called forth by this debate, unfortunately, and to an ill purpose, for the Bill which might have produced great benefit, was lost by a majority of 2; the numbers being 43 to 41.

But a measure deeply connected with the morals of the country, more particularly as the higher classes were concerned, was contested with more warmth than any subject, public or private, which came before the House during this session.

On the 21st of March the Lords were summoned to take into consideration the Standing Order, directing that every person petitioning for a Bill of Divorce, should, if the House thought fit, be examined at the bar of the House on oath, to prove that he had not been guilty of any collusion, in respect to his wife's adultery.

Lord Mulgrave began his speech with expressing his conviction, that he rose under circumstances of great difficulty. When the Standing Order, for the rescinding of which he meant to move before he sat down, was first made, he had taken the liberty to state his sentiments in objection to it, but his argument, though founded in sincere conviction on his part, had been of no avail: in fact, his not having been able to succeed, was to be ascribed to the great weight of high authority that was opposed to him by the noble and learned Lord upon the Woolsack. Those sentiments, however, which he then took the liberty of submitting to their Lordships, he still entertained, and he had waited since the Order had been in force with great patience, to watch the effect of it, and to see if any great good should result from means which he considered extremely bad in themselves. His Lordship said, he felt the highest satisfaction in seeing so full an attendance, because he was confident he might rely with perfect safety on their Lordships' candour and justice. He declared that he stood on this occasion single and unsupported; he had neither sought the opinion of

any other noble Lord, nor had he the slightest means of being acquainted with the sentiments of any individual Peer present, respecting the Standing Order in question, further than he could collect from the speeches of those noble Lords, who had argued in support of the Motion when it was first introduced, but he was sure their Lordships would consider the arguments that he might urge, without regarding the insignificance of the individual who should have the honour of addressing them. In the whole of his reasoning, his Lordship said, he should confine himself to the first part of the Standing Order, as he could not allow himself for a single moment to imagine that their Lordships would do so unjust a thing as to insist on a rigid enforcement of the latter part of it. The principle of the resolution, which constituted the Standing Order, in the first view of it, his Lordship said, clashed with the leading principles of the jurisprudence of England, was directly repugnant to the known and established rules of the law of evidence, and to every feeling of equity and justice; it being an established rule and maxim of law—a maxim of law held sacred in every Court of justice, as well the Courts of Common law as the Ecclesiastical Courts, that no man should be subjected to interrogatories which went to criminate himself; that, nevertheless, was precisely the operation of the Standing Order; for what could be the rational construction of it, but the obliging a petitioner for a divorce Bill to come to their Lordships' bar, and furnish proof of his own criminality? Lord Mulgrave said he could regard the Order only as an order of suspicion—an Order which implied a suspicion of the justice of the Ecclesiastical Courts, in which the suit for a divorce *a mensa et thoro*, had been instituted, and of the justice of the Courts of Westminster-Hall in which the action of trespass for damages had been tried, and in each of which Courts, Ecclesiastical as well as Common law, the case had always been fairly tried, and solemn decisions given, previous to its coming under their Lordships' cognizance. Inferences of suspicion, however against the conduct of those Courts, were neither supported by presumption nor fact; and the high characters and known integrity of the Judges and officers of each of them, ought surely to place them far above suspicion. The next point of view in which the operation of the order presented itself, was, he observed, as an unjust and general suspicion of persons applying for relief under a heavy stroke of domestic misfortune, who are more properly the objects of compassion than of suspicion. Nor could he conceive how suspicion of criminality could attach to persons under such circumstances obliged to petition for a divorce. Did their Lordships see cause for such suspicion from the general tenour of the divorce cases which came before them? [The Bishop of Rochester nodded.] His Lordship said he regretted at observing that the Right Rev. Prelate, by his gesture, seemed to answer in the affirmative; but, great as that au-

thority was, it did not satisfy his mind, or completely remove his doubts, because the general inefficiencies of the Standing Order, as well as the inconveniences and mischief attending, whether enforced or not, were great and serious. Let their Lordships consider for a moment, how painful it must be for a man of honour and character to have his feelings additionally wounded, and a new and poignant pang given to his anguished mind, while writhing under the torture of a consciousness that his domestic peace and comfort were ruined for ever, by being publicly placed at the bar of that House, and "made the fixed object for the slow and moving finger of scorn to point at," for the rest of his days. Let any of their Lordships put themselves in such a situation, and consider what their feelings must be—nay, even let them consider what must be the impression upon the mind of the petitioner who was summoned to be at hand, ready to be examined, (even where he was not eventually called to the bar), while he was in attendance in the Court of Requests, or some adjoining chamber of the House, the marked object of general observation, and sometimes of derision? It was loading him with infamy, and as a punishment for what? for having been unfortunate, for having been deeply injured, and wounded in the nicest point, by the loose principles of his weak, perhaps his wanton wife.

Let their Lordships further consider, exclusive of the cruel pain inflicted on the person in waiting, even when the Order was not enforced, what a dilemma they were placed in between the justice of the House and the credit of the innocent man, who clears himself upon his oath at the bar. If the party were an honourable and virtuous man, and bold enough in the consciousness of his own innocence to come forward and offer to be sworn, and then steadily declared, that he neither had practised any collusion, or in any manner connived at his wife's adultery, what was the situation in which their Lordships placed that man? Was there nothing in the weight of authority of that House? Would it not produce a prejudice against the integrity of the individual, who had been examined at their bar, which he must sensibly feel? Their Lordships would, undoubtedly, be satisfied by his testimony, and convinced of its truth, but might not persons without doors, especially at a distance, say, "Aye, it's true, he was examined, and he got through it. But is it likely that the House of Lords would have subjected him to examination, if they had not had good grounds of suspicion against him? Would the House of Lords, therefore, upon due reflection, think that it was consistent with their honour, their dignity, or their justice, to institute so close and critical an examination upon light grounds, and without an adequate reason? No, no, he has sworn through, but I have my doubts." In fact, his Lordship said, the whole of the Standing Order was an Order of general and injurious suspicion, without any sufficient grounds for it. It was impossible to believe, that the description of persons

who sued for divorces, were the panders of their wives adultery, and the accomplices of their seducers, taken generally, without doing the most flagrant injustice to the morals and sense of honour of the gentry of this country, who were the larger number of petitioners for divorce Bills. The gentry of England—and did the House think so meanly of that description of individuals; were their Lordships so satisfied of their depravity, that they verily believed that, in a majority of instances, the seduction of the wife originated more in the conduct of the wife, than in the artifices of the seducer? Was that the sort of compliment that the House meant to pay so respectable a body of men as the gentry of England; was it the sort of compliment the House thought they deserved? It was unjustifiable to assume, as a general suspicion, that an husband could be so lost to all sense of shame in his intercourse with society, that he would condescend to become the instrument of his own disgrace. His Lordship said, he was fully convinced that this suspicion was not justified, either by experience, or any speculation of common sense, taken on the ordinary dispositions of men. Speaking ironically, his Lordship said this strange suspicion must have been founded upon some idea of extraordinary sympathy between the dispositions of the parties, somewhat like that mentioned by Diodorus Siculus*, to have prevailed in the island of Cyrnos, (Corsica) where the wife being in labour, the husband took to his bed, and received cordials and broth for a certain number of days, being visited by his friends, and treated like a lying-in lady. In this case of divorces, the Standing Order seems to consider the husband as under the influence of a different sympathy, by which the loss of his wife's virtue and delicacy, is immediately followed by a loss, on his part, of every feeling of honour, and all value for dignity or integrity of character. The object of the Standing Order was said to be, to deter persons from lightly or criminally making applications for divorces, by increasing the difficulties of obtaining them, with a view to prevent their marrying again, and pursuing a course of wife-traffic. But how could this end be more easily obtained by examining the injured husband than any other party. If it were deemed necessary to examine one of the parties, why not examine the lady? If the objection to examine the lady were insuperable, let the examination be held out *in terrorem* to the adulterer, and let the seducer be brought to the bar to be questioned. There could be no reason, *primâ facie*, to let all the suspicion rest on the aggrieved person.

The mode of ascertaining the truth of this general suspicion, his Lordship said, he held to be more objectionable than the suspicion itself, because it was directly contrary to the principles and practice of the law of evidence. His Lordship professed himself to be

* Book 5. Chap. xi.

perfectly aware of the disadvantages, under which one of his profession (the military) lay, when he attempted to touch on points of Law. He knew he could not presume to vie with great and learned authorities in that House on such topics; he flattered himself he had a general knowledge of the Law of England, and that from his having been many years a Member of the other House, he knew enough of the common and statute Law, to qualify himself to do his duty in Parliament, and, indeed, on the present occasion, he had referred to books to fortify himself in his declaration, that the principle of the Standing Order was directly contrary to every known maxim of Law, and every rule of the law of evidence. It is a maxim of the Common law, "*Nemo testis esse debet in propriâ causâ.*" In Wingate's Maxims of the Reasons of the Common Law *, a book of admitted authority, he states it as a maxim, "The Common law reputeth, a man will deal for his own best advantage; upon this ground, says he, a party cannot be witness in his own cause, for the law presumeth he will speak for his own best advantage; and, therefore, neither should a party to an usurious contract, be admitted to be a witness against the usurer, as he thereby would become *testis in propriâ causâ*, and avoid his own bonds and assurances, and although he raise up an informer, yet *in rei veritate* he is the party." He further quotes Britton, who lays it down, "that he that challengeth a right in the thing in demand, cannot be a witness, for he is a party in interest, and will advantage himself as much as he can." The inference is obvious upon this, and must strike every noble Lord, viz. that the connivance at the wife's adultery, is more disgraceful than any usury, and the object of divorce affecting the whole domestic happiness of the party's life, a greater interest than any sum of money to be affected by usurious contract; it therefore necessarily follows, that if in a case comparatively less than that of adultery, viz. that of usury, no man can be a legal witness in his own cause, how much more inadmissible as a witness ought a man to be, who has a palpable and direct interest in his own divorce? Blackstone † lays it down, "that interested witnesses may be examined upon a *voir dire*, if suspected to be secretly concerned in the event." A *voir dire*, his Lordship observed, was merely an examination as to the fact of the existing interest, but in the case of divorce under the Standing Order, the thing is ascertained in its fullest extent, the interest is not secret, the witness is the principal party, and, in a manner, the only one; and therefore, that which, in the Common law, is matter of examination to set the witness aside, is under this standing order, the reason for selecting him for examination, Blackstone further says, "or the interest may be proved in Court, which last is the only method of supporting an objection to the former class (namely, infamous persons) for no

* Maxim 116. R. 453. fol. 1658.

† Vol. iii. p. 370. 8vo.

man is to be examined to prove his own infamy." Yet, by this Standing Order, the petitioner for a divorce is examined to a fact, which must involve him in disgrace, if he affirm the suspicion on which he is called.

The Standing Order not being consistent with the present practice of the law of evidence, is it analogous to any thing forming still a part of the Common law? The only similar process known to our laws, his Lordship remarked, was the ancient process called *wager of law*, a process still in force, though never in practice. The proceeding was this: a party demands his *wager of law* upon an action for debt on simple contract, where the debt might have been balanced, or the goods restored without any evidence of either. The claimant having sworn to his claim, and produced his *secta* or *suite* of witnesses, the defendant was admitted to his wager of law, that is, to make oath of the liquidation of the debt, but at the same time, he was obliged to produce eleven *compurgatores*, neighbours who were ready to take their oaths, that they verily believed the defendant swore the truth on this occasion, and was incapable of taking a false oath. The tenderness of the law of England, however, on the subject of perjury, has introduced a different process, instead of the action on simple contract, to bar the wager of law, and every late Act of Parliament on matters where wager of law might be claimed, expressly excludes it. But in the case of the Standing Order, the analogy fails in its most essential points. No *secta* or *suite* of witnesses are produced by the House, and the important point of the compurgators, which are calculated to make the witness seriously consider before he gives his testimony, and to give weight to interested evidence by the testimony of indifferent persons is thereby omitted. But above all, an essential difference drives us out of this last hold, that the Standing Order has upon the Common law of England. The wager of law is never required, and was only admitted, when in full force, in very few cases, and at the solicitation of the defendant; whereas it is here forced on the party, on penalty of the whole failure of his suit. We are driven, therefore, to seek for precedent in the Civil law, in which we find a party, in some degree, forced to swear in his own cause. By the *sacramentum decisionis*, where one of the parties in the suit, not being able to prove his charge, offers to refer the decision of the cause to his adversary, who was bound to accept it, or tender the same oath back. Here again, however, we fall short of the little good provision of this barbarous process of the Civil law, for it is not in this case between party and party, but the Judges not being able to ascertain a point, put the party upon his oath, and the party of course has not in this case, as in the *sacramentum decisionis*, the power of tendering back the oath. Judge Blackstone observes that the English law does not thus, like the Civil law, reduce the defendant to the dilemma (if he is wrong) either of confession or perjury.

The only remaining judicial

proceeding, which is perfectly consonant to the practice of the Standing Order, Lord Mulgrave said, was such as their Lordships could not be supposed intentionally to adopt. It was the purgatory oath of the Canon Law, by which, in criminal cases, the priests were admitted to swear to their own innocence, when accused, but they still had the cautionary, though weak, guard of the compurgators. The purgatory oath was introduced in the ancient Gothic Constitution of Sweden, by the clergy in Civil, as well as criminal causes. An ancient writer on the law in that country * observes, that "the clergy having thereby sown a very large crop of oaths, received a very ample harvest of perjuries, part of the punishment for perjury, in those times, being an heavy pecuniary fine which went to the coffers of the clergy. A practice similar to the purgatory oath formerly existed in the Court of Chancery of this country, but the genius and spirit of the English law drove it from that Court, and a succession of legal and enlightened chancellors corrected the abuses and evil practice of their ecclesiastical predecessors. The hold of this practice of the Canon law upon the spiritual Courts was, however, so much stronger as to require the interposition of the powerful engine of an Act of Parliament to displace it, and it was abolished by the Act of the 13th of Charles II. cap. 12, clause 4. "Provided also, and it is hereby further enacted, that it shall not be lawful for any archbishop, bishop, vicar-general, chancellor, commissary, or any other spiritual or ecclesiastical judge, officer, or minister, or any other person having or exercising spiritual or ecclesiastical jurisdiction, to tender or administer unto any person whatsoever the oath usually called the oath *ex officio*, or any other oath whereby such person to whom it is tendered or administered, may be charged or compelled to confess or accuse, or to purge him, or herself of any criminal matter or thing whereby he or she may be liable to any censure or punishment, any thing in this statute, or any other law, custom or usage to the contrary hereof in anywise notwithstanding." Let their Lordships, therefore, seriously ask themselves, whether they were now willing, under a truly Protestant reign, to revive a judicial practice, which had been thus exploded in rather impure times, and to introduce any thing like a similar practice into a proceeding, uniting at once, the exercise of their judicial and legislative functions?

His Lordship having thus elaborately enforced the three heads, under which he had arranged his argument, viz.—1st. The injustice on which the Standing Order was grounded.—2d. The illegal means for attaining its object; and 3d. Its general inefficiency and the inconveniences and mischiefs attending it, whether enforced or not, came at length to consider the effect it would have on the person examined at their bar in a moral and religious view,

* Stiernheok *de jure Suconum*, lib. i. c. 9.

and here he begged leave most earnestly to address himself to the Rev. Bench opposite to him, and to appeal to the serious consideration of the Right Rev. Prelates present, whether they were willing to lend their support to the continuance of a Standing Order, which held out a powerful and almost irresistible inducement to perjury? He had already shewn, that in former times, when the Roman Catholic bishops and archbishops sat as Lord Chancellors, and the Popish clergy monopolized most of the superior offices of the law, though there was not so much general learning and knowledge in the world as there was at present, they took care to multiply oaths for the worldly purpose of enriching themselves, by the increase of perjuries. The Right Rev. Prelates of the present more enlightened times, conscious of the awful solemnity of an appeal to the Deity, he was persuaded would act in a contrary manner, and would rather wish to diminish than to encourage an unnecessary addition to the number of oaths. Let them for a moment turn their attention to the different effect, that the oath, imposed under the operation of the Standing Order, would produce on different minds; on the virtuous and on the profligate, and on men, who, though they had fallen into vicious courses, had not gone so far as to have altogether abandoned all sense of reverence for the Almighty. Let them suppose an individual of the latter description under examination at the bar of the House. Though so far loose in his morals, and dissipated in his conduct as to have acted in a way that sufficiently shewed he was superior to shame, he might not be dead to a sense of Religion; alarmed and terrified at the idea of flying in the face of his Creator, he would in all probability confess his guilt. Boldly as he had disregarded the world, and brazened it out to all mankind, he would not have the audacity to brave his God. Thus the deep sense of Religion impressed on his mind would be made the test of his guilt, and his condemnation. Look again at another description of persons, and the consequence would be still worse. With some the sense of shame even superseded all regard for Religion. A man of this latter description to avoid disgrace would take the hazard of perjury. In either of the two dilemmas the case was equally repugnant to the law of evidence, and to every principle of justice and morality; he could not, therefore, but earnestly press them on the consideration of the Right Rev. Bench, and upon that of the House in general. Exclusive of the mischievous tendency of the Standing Order, when considered in regard to its serious effect in the light in which he had just viewed it, had any good purpose resulted from it since it had been resolved and put upon the books? He understood only three petitioners for divorce Bills had been examined under its authority, and not one of them had lost their Bills. His Lordship took a summary view of his whole argument, and said, the more he considered the reasonableness of the suspicion cast upon the injured husbands, by the ob-

vious construction of the Standing Order, the more he was astonished that an enlightened House of Parliament, like that in which he then had the honour to address their Lordships, could reconcile it to their judgment. He even thought the practice of the Abyssinians preferable, among whom it was recorded, that when the husband fails in conjugal fidelity, the wife is punished by a very heavy fine for her neglect of duty, as the Abyssinian legislators conclude, that if a woman was sufficiently kind and affectionate, and as full of attentions as her duty required, the husband would not have gone astray. He flattered himself the House would at least give him credit for having had no other motive for having taken up so much of their time than what arose from a deep sense of Religion, the powerful impulse of humanity and a sincere love of justice. His Lordship moved "That the Standing Order be rescinded."

The Bishop of Rochester said, he did not rise to entertain the House with anecdotes from Abyssinia, nor to attempt to follow the noble Lord, who had displayed so much brilliant eloquence, through the vast field of argument he had gone over. There was one point in which he cordially agreed with the noble Lord, namely, that the subject in question was one of the greatest importance; but he could go with him no farther. He rose to oppose the noble Lord's Motion, because he was an enemy to every proceeding that made the obtainment of Bills of divorce a matter of ease. He was persuaded that this was not the moment to relax in abolishing any of the checks which the wisdom of the House had placed upon divorce Bills, because he was firmly convinced that the frequency of divorces was the source of all the evil that sapped the morality and manners of the people. Nothing could more effectually tend to weaken all the bonds and ties of virtuous society, than what went to diminish and depreciate the sanctity of marriage. They had all seen that the first step taken in a neighbouring country to break down all the fences of law, Religion, and morality, and to introduce that violence, insubordination and anarchy, that had over-run so many States, was the open and daring profanation of marriage sanctity. Notwithstanding the ingenuity and ability with which the noble Lord had endeavoured to persuade the House to rescind the Standing Order, he was ready to give him full credit for being as firmly attached to virtue, morality, and Religion, as any Peer present; he was, therefore, the more surprized to hear a Nobleman of his very respectable character and sound judgment, stand up as an advocate for the removal of the salutary guard, that the wisdom of the House had provided, as some check to the profanation of the marriage contract, a matter of the last importance to a people professing themselves to be Christians. With respect to the subject immediately under consideration, he had attended closely to the proceedings on divorce Bills for several years, and in many of these previous to the instituting the Standing Order, he had seen

provisions introduced, that had an obvious tendency to derogate from the sanctity of marriage, and these provisions, he had remarked, were uniformly and strenuously supported by the admirers of Jacobinism. He, by no means, intended to rank the noble Lord among persons of that description, he knew him to entertain sentiments infinitely more honourable. As to the idea that the noble Lord had urged so strongly, that the Standing Order threw a suspicion on the conduct of the Ecclesiastical and Common law Courts, it was altogether unfounded. Neither the one nor the other of those Courts had the means of getting at the possible collusion between the husband, the wife, and the adulterer, which the Standing Order gave the House, and if the noble Lord had consulted those, who, like himself, had always paid particular attention to divorce Bills, or had taken the opinion of professional men, they could have told him, that nothing was more common than collusion between the parties in such cases, and that, in various instances, on the score of seduction or adultery, the parties had agreed to get rid of each other: and, in some cases, the adulterer or the lady accommodated the husband with proof, to render the wished for divorce easy to be obtained. In those proceedings for divorce the wife made no defence, and it was no secret, that in a divorce, a very few years back, where a man of high rank, a Member of that House was implicated, the proceeding was collusive although 3000*l.* was the amount of the damages given by the Jury.

With regard to all the noble Lord's arguments upon the law of evidence, not one of them was applicable in the instance of the operation of the Standing Order. The law of evidence had no relation to a petitioner for a divorce Bill, a petitioner of that sort did not come to their bar, when he was once called there to be examined as a criminal; he came to ask a favour, for a matter of favour it was, and not a matter of right. Divorce *a vinculo matrimonii* was unknown to our laws; there was no law whatsoever that authorized and empowered either the Courts of Common law or the Ecclesiastical Courts to grant it. The Ecclesiastical could not absolve the marriage contract *in toto*, unless it were satisfactorily established, that the marriage was *ab initio* bad. No action could be brought which could obtain it. All that either the Ecclesiastical or Common law Courts could do, was for the former to grant a divorce from bed and board, a mere separation, on the parties giving bond to avoid all criminal or adulterous intercourse. The latter, the Courts in Westminster-hall, could only try the fact of adultery before a jury, who were empowered to give damages proportionate to their measurement of the injury. A divorce *a vinculo matrimonii* must, therefore, be a special legislative Act, originating in that House, and consequently, when a man came to that House with a petition for a Divorce Bill, he came to solicit a favour, and was bound to submit to such rules as the House should in its wisdom think proper to lay down, in or-

der to guard against collusion in cases of Divorce Bills, and this Order had answered the purposes intended. The noble Lord had asked, would he or his brethren throw such a stigma upon the character of the gentry of England, who were those most likely to petition that House for Divorce Bills? The noble Lord was extremely mistaken. Divorce Bills hed been applied for and obtained, not merely by the higher ranks, the gentry of England, but also by the inferior orders of men, even by tradesmen and mechanics. Dissipation, therefore, was daily spread, and breaches of the marriage vow lamentably frequent among all ranks. The operation of the Standing Order was obviously beneficial, and there had been only three examinations of petitioners for Divorce Bills, during the two years it had been in existence, for it passed but in 1798; and that was a proof of its utility, as it prevented persons, who were not conscious of their purity, from risking the hazard of being examined as to collusion. There were but few instances in which the honour and purity of the husband were suspected, unless there existed *primâ facie*, strong reason for suspicion. The learned Lord on the woolsack, would recollect with him a case somewhat recent, where a Member of the House had petitioned for a divorce, and his Bill had even passed the second reading, when circumstances came out that proved how little claim he had for a divorce, and no noble Lord ever moved that his Bill should be read a third time. Collusion, though a strong and insurmountable objection to a Divorce Bill, was not the only one. The petitioner was not entitled to his Act, but upon proving that he was entitled to the domestic character of a good husband, though great allowance, undoubtedly, was to be made, and great compassion felt for the situation of an innocent, virtuous, and deeply injured husband, who might be called to be examined at their Lordships' bar, all that compassion and feeling for him must yield to the imperious and paramount duty of preserving the morality of the people. With respect to the objections on the score of inducement to perjury, to almost every other case the same objections were applicable; it was inseparable from the nature of things, that cases should not occur, in which individuals may not be desperate enough to put their souls to the hazard. In regard to the noble Lord's comparison of the operation of the Order, to that of the purgatory oath of the Canon law, it had as little application as the other law arguments brought forward that evening. In the present case, no crime was imputed to the party. The petitioning for a Divorce Bill was his own act, and he was only subjected to an examination, that it might be seen, whether he was entitled to such an extraordinary favour of the legislature. Their Lordships sat there as legislators and Statesmen for the due and vigilant discharge of that duty, and every other consideration must sink before it. It well therefore became their Lordships to have made the Standing

Order in question, and on that account, as well as for the reasons he had stated, he should oppose the noble Lord's Motion to rescind the Order.

Lord Auckland said, that the subject in debate seemed to be nearly exhausted by the two able and eloquent speeches which their Lordships had heard; and, therefore, that he would confine himself to a few incidental observations. During the twenty-six years that he had been in Parliament it had frequently happened to him to give particular attention to proceedings in cases of divorce; and he was not conscious that in any instance he had shewn a suspicious disposition, or undue severity, or a disregard to the principles of justice and of law. He had always acted towards the party injured with that delicacy which is due to family calamity and to unmerited distress. He had at the same time observed towards the other parties, that candour and moderation which ought to be maintained by every man who has not the unchristian presumption to believe himself exempt from the influence of natural passions and human infirmities. Still, however, he had discharged this part of his Parliamentary duty in several instances with pain, and in almost every instance with disgust. Besides he had felt dissatisfied with the dispensation of a legislative remedy, which is not equally within the reach of all who equally stand in need of it. His principles were so well known, that he should not be suspected of a want of zeal for the privileges and distinctions which belong to rank and property. The sad experience of many nations had recently proved to the world, that distinctions and inequalities must subsist in Civil society. But rank and property cannot have a claim to the exclusive benefit of divorces; and yet that benefit is confined to the higher classes by the great expence which attends it. This partial advantage was objectionable in another point of view; it tended to expose to public remark and discussion the weaknesses and vices of men of rank and opulence, and of those who ought to give examples of good order and of morality. At any rate, if the jurisdiction were proper to be maintained by their Lordships, it ought at least to be exercised with great strictness and purity. Under these impressions, far from agreeing with the noble Lord, that the actual proceedings are too rigorous; he had often been inclined to take the sense of the House on a proposal to introduce a new restriction, and to make a Standing Order, that no Bill of Divorce shall be admissible without a clause to make it unlawful for the offending parties to intermarry. [A general cry of hear! hear!] Their Lordships' approbation and concurrence so strongly marked, would from that moment make it his duty to mature such a provision, and to establish this new discouragement to adultery, either by a legislative act, or by the separate mode of a Standing Order, if it should be found necessary or thought proper.

After what he had said, it seemed almost superfluous to add, that

he was decidedly of opinion not to rescind the Standing Order, which was made the object of that day's discussion. The noble Lord had considered that measure, in a point of view, totally foreign to its true nature, and having suffered himself to be misled in his first principles, had been led to take positions, which no powers of reasoning or of eloquence could make tenable. The noble Lord had done him the honour to refer to a work of his on the "Principles of Penal Law." Since the publication of that work, he had passed through so long a career of different employments and avocations, that he was not ashamed to confess himself little conversant in law or in legal arguments. Still, however, he knew enough to know, that a party suing for a divorce, and called upon to declare whether there exists any collusion in the case, cannot, in any just sense or construction, be compared to a criminal required to give evidence of his own innocence: and, therefore, the noble Lord's reasoning relative to the law of evidence, usury, compurgators, wager of law, &c. &c. were utterly inapplicable to the present case. In this instance the petitioner for a divorce applies for a legal remedy, to which he is evidently and avowedly not entitled, if he should have been guilty of any base collusion with the adulterer or adulteress.

The principle, therefore, of the Standing Order is just, and the exercise of it has always been conducted without either cruelty or harshness. In many cases it is known to be indifferent to the petitioner, whether he shall appear at the bar to answer any questions which he can safely and honestly answer. In other cases, and where the adultery may have been attended with circumstances which place it above suspicion, and which may distress the mind of an injured man, the House has always exercised its discretion, and has not thought it necessary to call the petitioner.

In short, when he considered the principle of the proceeding, the importance of preventing collusion, and the moderation with which their Lordships had invariably employed the Standing Order now objected to, he hoped and trusted that it would not be rescinded; on the contrary, he was confident that it would be maintained, as long as the House should exercise its legislative powers.

His noble Friend would not suspect him of any personal allusion in what he was going to say. The high esteem and respect to which his noble Friend's character was justly entitled, would make it impossible to entertain any such suspicion. He would not hesitate, therefore, to declare, that he held in abhorrence any proposal, which, however unintentionally, seemed to imply any approximation towards the system of legalized prostitution and profligacy, now prevalent in a neighbouring country. Great Britain had preserved her existence amidst the paroxysms, and convulsions, and downfalls of nations, by the effect of our being a little less irreligious and less immoral than others. He hoped and trusted that Par-

liament would steadily and zealously defend and improve those important boundaries of morality and Religion, and would resist every proposal which might tend to undermine or weaken them.

Lord Mulgrave, in a short reply, commented on the argument of the Right Rev. Prelate, and that of Lord Auckland, and having heard at the table that there had been more divorce Bills since the Standing Order had been made, he made that fact an argument in support of his Motion; as it proved the inefficacy of the Standing Order; he therefore said he hoped and flattered himself that he should have the vote of the Right Rev. Prelate.

The Bishop of Rochester went over some of his former arguments, and shewed the danger of collusion between the different parties in causes of divorce. He repeated the case of an adulterer, who had even submitted to pay the penalty of 3000*l.* by suffering judgment to proceed against him, without ever producing a deed of collusion between him and the other party, which, if known, would have protected him against incurring such a penalty. His Lordship was decidedly against altering the Standing Order, or relaxing the precautions adopted, with a view to prevent the facility of obtaining divorces, which in many cases that had come before that House, he had reason to think had been sought after by means of undue collusion between the parties.

Lord Grenville, the Lord Chancellor, and the Bishop of Durham, each recommended Lord Auckland's suggestion to the serious notice of the House—after which Lord Mulgrave's motion was negatived.

A Bill prohibiting the intermarriage of the adulterers was accordingly soon afterwards (April 2) introduced by Lord Auckland, who mentioned that a similar measure had been proposed twice before, by the Duke of Athol in 1771, and by the present Bishop of Durham in 1779; and in both cases it had been rejected by a small majority in the House of Commons.

On the second reading (April 4) it was opposed by the Duke of Clarence, who argued that it took away from the unhappy victim of an unprincipled seducer the only hope of partial restoration which was left to her. The Bishops of London and Durham supported it, and the latter remarked upon the great increase of divorces in modern times: from the reign of Henry VIII. to that of the present King not more than 40 divorces had been obtained, whereas during the present reign no less than 98 had been granted.

Lord Mulgrave by no means admitted that the comparative number of divorces was a true gauge of comparative morality. Those who thought the present Bill would effectually prevent seduction had little knowledge of human nature; it might add to the dexterity of the libertine; but it never would diminish the *quantum* of vice.

Lord Eldon rose, and powerfully contended for the necessity of supporting the Bill, the object of which was, his Lordship de-

clared, of the highest importance to the well-being and existence of the safety of the State itself. It was indisputably the first of all objects that could engage their Lordships' attention, to do all in their power to maintain, as far as possible, the public morals; on their preservation depended all that was dear to society, and what could more tend to sap the foundation of public morality, than violating the sanctity of marriage, and through that powerful medium, setting to the middling and lower ranks an example of depravity of the most dangerous kind? It was not, his Lordship apprehended, so much the object of the present consideration of the House, whether the Bill would answer the most desirable purpose of wholly preventing the progress of the enormous crime of adultery, as whether it would not have a tendency, by its salutary operation, to check and diminish that crying evil. It was impossible to look on the crime of adultery without feeling, as Members of a great and powerful community, from the highest to the lowest in it, the necessity of shewing an abhorrence of that crime; and he protested for himself, that his mind was so made up on the subject, that he saw reasons for this measure in the very arguments that had been urged against it, not from want of address in the use of them, but from the nature of the subject to which they applied. It had been stated, that adultery had been increased by what was called a contract, that a marriage should take place between the delinquent parties, in case a divorce should be the consequence of their criminal commerce. For his part, his Lordship confessed, he was not sufficiently a man of the World to know much respecting this sort of contract. He had not intercourse enough with the many "honourable men," who make seduction their business, and adultery their chief pleasure, to know much of the estimated validity of such contracts in Courts of false honour, this he knew, however, that although no such contract could legally be entered into, as the law recognised no immoral engagement, yet a simple and silly woman might be induced to imagine that there was some validity in such a contract, and on that erroneous conception surrender her virtue, violate her honour, and forget the solemn and sacred engagements, under which she had pledged her faith to her husband at the altar. By the present Bill, she was instructed, that she could not ultimately marry her paramour, but must make up her mind to meeting all the disgrace, and all the ruin of reputation that a breach of the marriage vow would entail upon her. What, he would ask, was the plain English of all the cant he had heard that day respecting the honourable intentions of an adulterer? Could any form of words, any ingenuity of mind, any power of eloquence, conjure up for a single moment, what would serve to throw a ray of true honour on the seducer of the married woman? Such a man ought to be hunted from society, as its bitterest enemy; as the inveterate foe of morality; the malignant fiend whose determined purpose it was to undermine pri-

vate happiness, wherever he found it, as the surest means of destroying all public virtue. He was conscious, it was a vain thing for an insignificant individual like him, to speculate on what was the opinion of these men of honour respecting adultery, but it was not a vain thing, for that House to take upon itself the task of protecting, as well as they could protect, the interests of public morality. One way to do so, was to enable females to be on their guard, as far as the law could put them on their guard, against the attacks of these same men of honour, who, instead of being received into the graces of the fair, ought to be consigned to public infamy; for he would ask any thinking man, was it fit that this country should remain in its present situation in this particular? In respect to it, their Lordships had the best interests of a nation to guard and protect, and that on an object, which called for as much wisdom as it created anxiety. Their Lordships were bound not to look at what these men will engage for, but for the best guard of virtue, and the most powerful prevention of infamy—for that which was the best security of private families, remembering always that private families constituted one great family. His Lordship lamented sincerely that his learned Friend, the most respectable head of the Common Law, Lord Kenyon, was not present. That noble and learned Lord had often, much to his own credit, and to the public benefit, delivered to juries his opinion upon adultery, an opinion well known and much admired. In the judicial rank to which his Majesty's favour had raised him, he declared it would be his greatest praise to follow the virtuous and truly laudable steps of that Noble Lord, and setting his face on all occasions that might present themselves, against the progress of the crime of adultery. At present, the only remedy, as the law stood in the case of adultery, was a Civil remedy, an action of trespass for damages. He hoped he had a just esteem for the laws of his country, they were generally excellent, but in some points they might be defective. He hoped he had a just esteem for Religion and morality; but he could not help saying, that nothing could be politically good, that was not morally so. The act of adultery was at present by law, only a Civil trespass, and for which any damages could be given as a satisfaction, as some persons called it: but was there a man living who would consider any damages, however large, as a compensation in his mind, if he had the mind of a man, for the injury done him? It was a crime, which not only robbed the husband of his comforts, the wife of her honour, the family of their credit, but which often deprived innocent children of the invaluable blessings of a good education and virtuous example; a consideration that embraced the progress and the character of the rising generation. Lord Eldon said, the Legislature had told him, that whatever his wishes might be upon the subject of adultery, we must only lay down the law as a question of damages; but if it

be true, as had indeed already appeared, that the law does not criminally punish; and it had attempted in vain to have Civil redress from the adulterer, he would say that the law stood in such a state as the Legislature should not suffer it to continue in. What then was he to think of what he had heard from the illustrious Duke, for whom he bore the truest respect, a loyal respect, that the man who obtained damages for the injury done him by the seduction of his wife's affections, who did not return the damages to the seducer, but put them in his own pocket, was not to be considered as an honourable man. Such an idea, he would venture to say, had never entered into the head of any man in Westminster-Hall; but surely, if the fact was, as the illustrious Duke had represented it to be, and that the only remedy the law at present gave by a Civil action was so weak, and so ineffectual, it was high time for the House to interfere, as a branch of the Legislature, and to provide a more efficient remedy than a Civil action. He stated these things as applicable to those of the higher ranks of society; but he would add with pleasure, that, speaking of the middle and ordinary ranks of men, this nation was a nation of virtue; however, the best people might be corrupted, and the question was, whether a rapid progress was not now making in that way? If the great bulk of the people were free at present from this vice, as he knew they were, it should be the care of the Legislature to keep them so, and that could not so well be done by any other other means as by throwing difficulties in the way of the vices of the higher ranks of life. He stated this because he was certain of the fact; he perceived that juries saw the evil of the progress of adultery in its true light; they were not wanting in their attempts to suppress it; they did at least all that the law allowed them to do in this case; and now their Lordships would give him leave to ask them, whether it was right that in the House of Lords the co-operation to suppress this vice should be wanting? But was a helpless woman to be abandoned? If he were to answer that question through his heart, it would be an easy answer; but the answer of a Legislator must come from the head; because judgment and considerations of justice, and not the private feelings of a man, were to guide the policy of the law. In that point of view, it was punishment and correction, and not lenity and compassion, that were to be applied to the case of a woman who had committed adultery. This was the doctrine of the law in all cases: suppose a poor helpless girl was robbed of her innocence, what would a private man say? Why, that he was very sorry for it; but what did the law say? That she was to be regarded as a prostitute. Why? because others should be deterred from following her example. The severity of punishment was not from the vindictive spirit of the law against offenders, but for a prevention of crimes, which was true compassion for the innocent. If this be

the way the law spoke of a helpless girl deprived of her innocence, what were we to say of a woman who, at the altar of God, swears to be true and faithful to the man to whom she joins herself in the bands of holy wedlock, who is bound to secure his honour, and to bring up his children in the paths of virtue; and who forfeits all these solemn pledges, and brings all her family into disgrace by an act of wanton lewdness? Why should such a woman have more favour shewn to her, than the law extended to her own unmarried daughter? These were points for their Lordships' consideration, when they were told they ought to have compassion on the case of the unfortunate woman in considering her adultery. His Lordship said he was for a mild punishment in every case where a mild punishment would repress an evil; but if it could not repress it, then a more rigid one must be adopted. It was for the Legislature to say, whether the punishment for adultery should remain for ever as in a Civil case only. But where the crime was complicated, and made up of an irreparable damage to the individual, and an enormous injury to the public, he was ready to say that something more must be done against this prowler upon domestic happiness, and public morality, the adulterer. Why might not a criminal proceeding be applied, and a verdict of damages be changed into a criminal punishment, by fine and imprisonment? If, upon due deliberation upon the matter, he was confirmed in the opinion he held at the moment, he would pledge himself to their Lordships to bring forward a measure of that nature.

The Bishop of Rochester, in an able, learned, and strongly argumentative speech, defended the Bill from the objections that had been urged against it. He referred to the former practice of punishing adultery with death, and said, that although he loathed and held in utter abhorrence every thing that passed in the time of the Commonwealth, yet the law which prevailed in that time was not peculiar to it. It was the law in much more ancient times, as History shewed. It was the law during all Pagan time; it was the law of the Hebrews, in Herod's time, although in the latter periods of the Jewish history it was neglected, and some *dashing* Hebrew ladies broke through it; it was the law also in the best and purest days of Rome. His Lordship referred to the Julian law, and read certain passages from the *Reformatio legum* to prove his assertions, and to shew in what light, even in the most luxurious and depraved periods of the Roman Republic, that man was thought of who condescended to marry an adulteress. His Lordship asserted, that the last thirty years of the last century, notwithstanding the gallantries of the loose Court of Charles II. were pure times, compared with the present, in respect to adultery and divorce. He declared he was by no means for punishing adultery by death; but the Scripture, in one part, sanctioned that doctrine, though in another it allowed, that in some cases a man might put away his wife:

but in the Scripture were to be found strong arguments, for in no case allowing the disjunction of the marriage vow. When the Christian religion made its way in the world, the punishment of adultery by death was put an end to; he was by no means for reviving it, but he thought if that part of the Julian law was adopted, which declared the man who married an adulteress infamous, (the *lenocinium mariti*) it might have a salutary effect. His Lordship concluded his very learned speech, with declaring that he was astonished to hear it said, that a lady of high rank, if she should have been divorced from her husband for adultery, would be *ruined*, if the Bill under consideration were to pass. He had always understood that a married lady *was* ruined, and her character gone for ever, after she had been convicted of adultery; he therefore most earnestly implored their Lordships to shut their hearts against all appeals for compassion, for a person so guilty of a violation of every moral and sacred tie as a proved adulteress.

After a few words in favour of the Bill from Lord Grenville and the Lord Chancellor, it was read a second time, and commited after a division. Contents 30—Not Contents 11.

On the next reading (May 16) Lord Auckland withdrew this Bill, in order to introduce another which should be more effectual. Besides the provision of the former Bill, which prevented the intermarriage of the parties, it had a clause, making the offenders liable to fine and imprisonment, as in cases of misdemeanor. On the Motion that it be printed, Lord Moira opposed, and Lord Eldon supported the Bill. The Duke of Clarence discussed it at considerable length, and examined with much closeness all the arguments and authorities adduced by the Bishop of Rochester in the debate on the former Bill. Having traced the punishments among the Jews, Greeks, and Romans, for this offence, his Royal Highness, on the authority of Montesquieu, preferred the modern policy. He then, in opposition to the present reasonings of the learned Prelate, read some very eloquent passages from a sermon preached by him at the anniversary of the Magdalen Hospital about five years since, in which the necessity of lenity to the fallen female was most impressively and pathetically inculcated, and implored the House to adopt the mild spirit of Christian Charity which at that time had actuated the Bishop.

The Bishop of Rochester said, he was sorry to trouble the House a second time, but called upon, as he had been, by what fell from the illustrious Duke, he could not avoid it. He owned it was far from his imagination when he came down to the House, that he should have occasion to rise in his own defence, and to clear up the charge which the illustrious Duke had founded on some extracts from a Charity Sermon, preached long ago by him at the Magdalen, with a view to induce the congregation to feel pity for those objects which it was the design of that Charity to rescue from infamy and prostitution. His Lord-

ship pointed out the great difference between exhorting an auditory to compassionate unfortunate women of a low rank, never connected in a connubial state, but after having been thrown upon the streets in a state of prostitution, and by charity restored and preserved from the basest state of beggary and vice; pleading the cause of such miserable beings, and supporting persons in elevated life, in a profligate breach of the marriage vow, when their education and duty ought to have restrained their depraved passions. In Religion, undoubtedly, there was Christian Charity, but in departing from the rigour of the law, in the punishment of such a dangerous crime, with a view to the morals of the people, it was a different matter, because the happiness of mankind depended on it. The Bishop added other arguments in support of the Bill.

Lord Auckland rested his introduction of the present Bill, upon the strong sentiment expressed by their Lordships on a former occasion, and stated the following facts to prove the alarming increase of divorces. In the last 130 years, 132 divorces had taken place by Act of Parliament. Eight in the first forty-five years, fifty in the next sixty, seventy-four in the last twenty-five. In the four years immediately preceding the present session, there were twenty-nine bills, exclusive of five rejected, and in the last session alone ten, exclusive of two rejected. Passing over that part of his proposition which affixed punishment to the seducer, since it had been met with few objections, and those of an indefinite nature, his Lordship proceeded to consider how far it was consistent with the House of Peers, the hereditary guardians of the welfare and well-being of the people, to contaminate the trust reposed in them, by permitting a woman who had once broken a sacred and solemn vow, to go back with the partner of her crime unblushingly to the altar which she ought to approach with agony and horror, and to be ready to authorize her iniquity, *toties quoties*, whenever she thought proper to repeat it. He characterized these proceedings as giving birth to steady, grave, and well-regulated adultery, to a code of vice framed for a privileged caste, who could afford to defray its expences. He then viewed the proposed measure as it regarded the seducer, and in answer to the reasoning which urged, that by preventing intermarriage, the seducer was released from the honourable obligation which he now felt, and which was in many cases the chief barrier against his attempts, Lord Auckland expressed his ignorance of this species of honour, or as he termed it, "this non-descript plant in the pleasure-garden of modern morality." Still he thought, that a man possessing sentiments which had any relish of legitimate honour, could not but be checked in his intentions, from the recollection that reparation, even to this little extent, was no longer within his power.

Lord Mulgrave answered this speech by professing, that it was only his cordial assent to the principle of the proposed Bill which led him to object to its provisions, because, in fact, they would be

impotent for prevention, but oppressive and impolitic in punishment. It was assumed, that the promise of marriage after divorce was the great engine of seduction in the hands of the man; but Lord Mulgrave ridiculed this notion, and observed, that such a broad and brutal proposal of speculative disgrace, if offered, would in truth be a woman's best security. He illustrated this position very ingeniously, by imagining that the assurance of a place in the Magdalen might be considered a fit bait for the virtue of innocence, and that on such a ground a Bill might be brought in for the suppression of that charitable institution. The Bill, if carried, would be no prevention to the woman, it would be an encouragement to the man, and the legal infliction of fine and imprisonment would be light in comparison of the penalty of matrimony, which at present he must pay at the tribunal of public opinion. In opposition to the Bishop of Rochester, Lord Mulgrave then examined the Scriptural doctrine of divorce, and he cited Cranmer's opinion in the case of the Marquess of Northampton, in Edward the VIth's time, in confirmation of his own view. He then alluded to the case of Foljambe, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, where, in the Star Chamber, a second marriage after a divorce from the first wife for adultery was pronounced void, and he admitted that the constant practise of the Ecclesiastical Courts ever since, had been guided by that precedent, which indeed was consistent with the Canon law; this, however, he contended, bore reference only to the separation, *a mensâ et toro* which was all the Ecclesiastical Court could grant, and attached to the injured husband, not to the guilty parties; it had, therefore, nothing to do with the act of divorce, *a vinculo matrimonii*, which it remained for the House of Lords to frame. He then assumed his belief, that the law of God permitted the marriage of both parties upon a divorce for adultery, and reasoned like an experienced casuist on the text Matt. xix. 9. The Bill as proposed, he said, violated an established maxim of jurisprudence, that where no mutual relation exists no duty can attach, for it dissolved the bond of matrimony on the side of the injured husband totally, on the side of the offending wife only partially. He objected to the mockery which the Bill presented, in seemingly offering a double mode of proceeding to the plaintiff, by action for damages, or by criminal indictment; when, in fact, by annexing divorce to the criminal process only, the Bill took away all choice. He concluded by condemning the proposition as likely to promote the crime which it professed to diminish, as adverse to the interests of morality, contrary to sound policy, and at variance with the law of God.

The Bishop of London thought some new regulation absolutely necessary, as the present laws were inadequate to repress adultery.

Lord Grenville argued on the same grounds, and cited the opinion of the Law Lords, that in no instance was there any possibility of visiting the crime with a punishment proportioned to it. He himself had never been present at the

passing of a divorce Bill, by which he did not think the House disgraced and degraded. He considered the barrier proposed, by rendering subsequent intermarriage illegal, as likely to produce very salutary effects.

The Bill was then ordered to be printed. In the Committee upon it, Lord Eldon proposed a variety of verbal amendments which were agreed to; after which (May 23) Lord Auckland moved the third reading.

The Earl of Westmoreland opposed the farther progress of the Bill. He had seen no examples produced of the efficacy of penal laws against adultery, either from the experience of Roman Catholic countries, or of Scotland; nor if such had been brought forward, did he think that any increase of the crime was proved in this country. He was convinced also, that the principles of our law, and the maxims of our ancestors, were extremely jealous of any innovation, which should expose the liberties of the subject to the discretion of a judge; and he therefore opposed the Bill as an uncalled-for speculation, which might produce much mischief.

The Earl of Carlisle attributed the increase of divorces, among other causes, to the enormous damages given in the Courts below, to our accession of population, commerce, and consequent luxury. He spoke in terms of no little contempt of the Ecclesiastical Courts, which he designated as an Augean stable, and lamented that the framers of the present Bill, by which so many new penalties were enacted, had not freed the offender from the torment of prosecution by Civil law. This omission, he said, confirmed him in an opinion which he had always entertained, that monkish seclusion (for there were legal as well as ecclesiastical Monks) was not apt to qualify a man for legislation. The studies of a recluse did not lead to a knowledge of the world, and in order to correct morals, it was necessary to mix with society, to dive into the minds of men, to be acquainted with their actions, and to search out their motives. For want of this information, a consummate Lawyer, or a holy Prelate, might be very inadequate to the formation of laws which would improve mankind. His Lordship concluded by expressing his approbation of making adultery penal, and deprecating, in all cases, any pecuniary compensation to the husband.

Lord Eldon observed, that no more tenderness was shewn to the Ecclesiastical Courts in the present Bill, than in all other Acts of Parliament in which these Courts were concerned. He did not, by any means, wish to abolish pecuniary damages in cases of adultery, and he saw no preventive for the crime so likely to operate effectually as the forbidding intermarriage; for the permission now given by law was, if any thing, an inducement to the offence.

The Dukes of Bedford and Cumberland opposed the motion, and the Bishop of London supported it. But the most powerful champion for the Bill, whom Lord Carlisle's unnecessary sarcasms called up, was the Bishop of Rochester. He commenced by expressing the diffidence with which he ought to rise after the admoni-

tion of utter incapacity which he had received, but he was encouraged by the example of a learned Lord and a Right Reverend Prelate near him, who had been equally included in the sweeping censure which attached to legal and ecclesiastical Monks, and who, nevertheless, had ventured to deliver their opinions. He was still more emboldened, however, by the declarations of the Statute book, which, in spite of the Noble Earl's contemptuous opinion of Divines and Canonists, had uniformly considered these despised persons as the most competent judges in that branch of law, with which the present question was more immediately connected. He then entered into a defence of the Ecclesiastical Courts, which he maintained acted upon a wise well digested system, with regular and known forms, administered with as much integrity and ability as those of any other Court of Law or Equity. After this, he replied to the several objections which had been advanced against the Bill, first that it changed the law of the land; this the Bishop denied, for it created no new crime, it only affirmed the old law, and secured obedience to it by ampler penalties; next he maintained, that all intermarriage of the offending parties, though now permitted, was absolutely contrary to the true principles of the English law, and the original intention of the legislature in granting Bills of divorce; for that on this point, the Canon law, so far as it is not altered by statute, was the Common law of England, and that by the Canon law, parties separated *a mensâ et toro*, were forbidden during each other's lives to contract matrimony with any other person. In the *Reformatio Legum* it was proposed, in cases of separation for adultery, to give the injured party leave to marry; this *Reformatio Legum*, however, never having passed into a law, relief was afforded by private Bills of divorce, which, in removing the difficulties brought upon the husband by his adulterous wife's guilt, assuredly never intended to facilitate the ultimate effect of her wicked purpose. Cranmer's exposition of the law in Lord Northampton's case was, indeed, that of a monk, for it was founded on a mere logical subtilty.

This view of the law, however, by no means led to the inference which had been unjustly fastened upon it, that all marriages so contracted were invalid, and all children born from them illegitimate. It is true, that the validity of such marriage rests on no better grounds than a practice swerving from a principle; but this is not the only instance in which wise laws have suffered a tacit repeal by the general neglect of them, and the error must be corrected for the future without retrospect. The learned Prelate then very elaborately examined the divine law, and established a conclusion in direct opposition to that drawn on a former night by Lord Mulgrave: from the sermon on the Mount, and the first Epistle to the Corinthians. The Bishop pronounced that the cohabitation of a wife divorced for adultery with a new husband, the former husband living, is adultery by the Christian code.

In regard to the double punish-

ment which the new Bill proposed, the Bishop professed to speak with considerable caution, as it belonged in strictness to Monks of another order; but he was sure the suggestion was not new to the law, and it was a good thing to introduce a penalty which no possible collusion could evade.

He then considered the possible effect of the Bill, and with great power and eloquence, regarded it in a variety of views. He conjured their Lordships in conclusion to remember that justice, not compassion, to the guilty, was the great principle of Legislation; and that even compassion might find more worthy objects in the illustrious suppliants at the bar—conjugal fidelity, domestic happiness, public manners, and the virtue of the sex — these now knelt before them, and implored the benefit of their wisdom and protection.

Lord Mulgrave and Lord Grenville respectively opposed and supported the Bill, which was afterwards read a third time. Contents, 48; proxies, 29—77. Noncontents, 41; proxies, 28—69.

The debates on this Bill, in the House of Commons, were far less animated. On the first reading (May 26) it was opposed by the Attorney-General and supported briefly by Mr. Pitt, who thought that the severity inflicted on the few would operate beneficially for the whole. The division was, Ayes, 152. Noes, 38.

On the second reading Sir W. Scott defended the present state of public morality, and denied that the increase of divorces was any proof of increasing licentiousness. The state of public opinion and the laws respecting marriage must be taken into consideration. Before the Reformation marriage was a Sacrament with which no human legislature could interfere, and divorces therefore were not allowed. Even after that great event, the Canon law seemed to consider marriage, though not a Sacrament, an ordinance so high, mysterious, and sacred, that even adultery itself could not dissolve it: and so lately as in 1668, it was with the greatest difficulty that Lord Roos's divorce Bill was carried through the House of Lords, when all the Bishops but three voted against it. Such was the reason why so few applications for divorce till the middle of the present century. Expence then became the great difficulty, but this too diminished as the wealth of the country increased. One thing however was plain, that there were as many sentences of separation *a mensâ et toro* before as since the Reformation—for the last thirty years these had not much increased. From 1770 to 1780 there were 44, from 1780 to 1790, 23, and from that year to the present 52. He considered marriage as partaking of the nature both of a Civil and a Religious ceremony, and he wished that the Legislature should always keep the matter of divorce in its own hands, instead of leaving it, as in every other Protestant country, to the subordinate Courts. In regard to the present Bill, he should suspend his opinion, but he sincerely wished that it had been directed against adultery in general, rather than the adultery of one sex only. He then expressed his doubts as to many of the clauses, and upon the whole was inclined

to think that it tended to hold out a premium to the adulterer in proportion to the terror which it held out to the adulteress. The Bill was then read a second time.

The Master of the Rolls moved its committal (June 10). Mr. Erskine observed that the defect in our law, which it was the object of the Bill to remedy, had corrupted our morals, and almost encouraged adultery; which though the most dangerous of all misdemeanors was not to be found in the criminal code of England. In this respect our law presented a strange anomaly. He argued this point at length on general principles. On his own personal experience at the bar, which in conducting cases of this kind, he said, was perhaps unequalled, he pronounced upon the impropriety and the senseless absurdity of considering adultery as a Civil injury, and not a high public offence. He had often been at a loss when he recollected what he was asking from a jury for the sufferer, since a man who could consider any sum in the world as a satisfaction in damages, for such an injury, evidently deserved no damages at all; so that by giving damages where none could be received as satisfaction, and allowing no criminal prosecution, the law seemed to be most curiously contrived to disappoint both the sufferer and the public. In regard to the clause preventing intermarriage with the adulterer, it had his hearty support, for he thought in the outset it would expose the snare of seduction. On this principle of universal law, no contract, above all the most sanctimonious, should be founded on a criminal breach of it, nor should a woman be permitted to go to the altar with a man who had seduced her to violate the sacred obligation formerly offered at it. The fault, judging again from his own melancholy experience, rarely lay with women, and he therefore believed that a severe punishment inflicted on the seducer might check the crime; since if adultery was made a misdemeanor, it was probable that the offender would not be received again into society as if nothing had occurred.

Sir Gilbert Heathcote and Mr. M. A. Taylor opposed the Motion. Mr. Wyndham was of opinion that the Bill would scarcely produce so much good effect as some gentlemen anticipated; and he attributed the increased laxity of public morals, to our increased wealth. He refused to admit the argument urged by Mr. Erskine, that adultery should be made a misdemeanor in order to preserve the harmony of the criminal code. This might be true as a general doctrine, but it was far too loose to be adopted as a ground of legislation. Besides this, though the law against adultery was not, in terms, a penal law, it became so in effect, since a penalty was inflicted in the shape of a fine. The Bill was hasty, immature, and got up by chance; and the chief objection to it was, that it did not operate as a prevention on both sides. With regard to marriage itself, he considered it a matter in which laws could do least and manners most to protect it: but as the Bill admitted of infinite modifications he wished it to go to a Committee.

Sir Wm. Scott agreed with Mr.

Wyndham that legal provisions could little hope to prevent this crime, but he held that if the present measure could only correct the evil to a certain degree, no one ought to oppose its adoption. The Civil law did not recognize adultery as a crime, and the punishment inflicted by the Ecclesiastical law was inapplicable from the change of manners. He again contended that no increase of licentiousness was justly chargeable on the present times, as far at least as proof could arise from the frequency of conjugal infidelity. Still as the legal provisions were confessedly inadequate, he wished this Bill to proceed.

The Attorney-General thought the Bill, as far as it went to regulate divorces, would trench upon the privileges of Parliament. Much however might be done in a Committee, to render it salutary. With respect to the clause which made adultery a misdemeanor, he decidedly wished it to extend to the husband as well as the wife. He should vote for the committal without pledging himself to support the third reading.

The Master of the Rolls said the object of the Bill was misunderstood. It was neither to impose penalty nor punishment, but to prevent crime. Whether adultery had increased or not he would not take upon himself to determine, but divorces certainly had done so in a most alarming degree. He objected to the existing law, from the door which it opened to collusion, and from the facility which it afforded to persons to free themselves by their own delinquency from the bonds of marriage. At present a man might pay his addresses to the wife of a virtuous husband and the mother of a numerous family, with equal confidence as if he were addressing a young lady who never had been married. The provisions of the Bill were well calculated to correct these abuses.

Mr. Wilberforce argued, first upon the moral question, and then pointed out some cases in which, though the crime was consummated, no legal penalty could reach it. From this he proceeded to the fitness of the present time for some additional enactment, while the principles of the people were still good, though their practices were beginning to be immoral. He gladly voted for the committal, as he considered that the question penetrated to the inmost recesses of domestic happiness, and the very foundations of civil society.

Sir F. Burdett Jones strongly protested against any legislative interference with marriage, which ought to depend upon far other securities. The present Bill, instead of answering its professed purposes, would prevent matrimony by surrounding it with consequences and penalties altogether disgusting. Statutes might surround, but they could not protect the virtue of women. Secrecy would be substituted for reformation, and the law would only undermine public morality. He argued against the clause by which intermarriage was prohibited, on the ground that it would create a third class in society, between the virtuous and the abandoned, for that the seduced woman, if not

allowed to reappear as the wife of the seducer, would come forward in a far more mischievous character.

Sir Ralph Milbank, Mr. Bastard, Sir G. P. Turner and Mr. Sheridan opposed the Bill. The last gentleman characterized it as a matter of experiment, and denied the increase of adultery. On a division, there appeared for the committal, 104; against it, 143. So the Bill was lost.

The settlement of French Priests in this country, which had been occasioned by the Revolution, and the formation of certain Monastic Institutions, although by no means on an extensive scale, naturally created some alarm among a people so jealous of the encroachment of Popery as the English are. A controversy which had been carried on at Winchester between Dr. Sturges, Chancellor of the Diocese, and Mr. Milner, a Roman Catholic Priest, who had published the history and antiquities of that city, appears immediately to have induced Sir Henry Mildmay, its representative, to move (May 22) for a Committee of the whole House, to consider of an Act, 31st of the King, intituled "an Act to relieve upon conditions and under restrictions, the persons therein described, from certain penalties and disabilities to which Papists, or persons professing the Popish Religion, are by law subject." After eulogizing the tolerating spirit of England, the Hon. Bart. expressed his wish, that although, on a principle of humanity, we had permitted those emigrants, who were already under vows of monastic seclusion still to continue in them, we should by no means continue this indulgence after the death of the present Monks, nor permit the admission of any new members into their societies. He mentioned that in two monastic institutions, which had fallen under his own observation at Winchester, several persons had been suffered to profess themselves, and that Roman Catholic schools, which were not in existence before the establishment of the convents, had of late considerably increased. After enumerating the dangers which might be apprehended from the dispersion of 5000 priests of the Roman communion, over the face of the country, and the attraction held out by seminaries, in many instances affording gratuitous education, he stated that it was not his intention to introduce any new restraining laws, but only to make the existing laws clear and intelligible. He moved the two following Resolutions. I. That it is the opinion of this Committee, that the temporary residence in this Kingdom of certain monastic societies, should be permitted subject to the provisions of an Act, 31 of his present Majesty, intituled an Act for establishing regulations respecting aliens arriving in this Kingdom, or resident therein in certain cases, and that the admission of any new members into such societies should be prohibited, and that the names and numbers of the persons belonging thereto, should be annually returned to the Court of Quarter Sessions of the county, in which they reside. II. That all persons undertaking the public education

of youth in the Romish faith, should also return annually to the Court, a list containing the names and numbers of their pupils, together with the names and places of abode of their respective parents; and that a power be given to magistrates appointed by Quarter Sessions, to inspect such institutions at pleasure.

Mr. Jones and Mr. Newbolt supported the Motion. Mr. Hobhouse thought it trenched upon toleration, and considered the Alien Act sufficient to prevent the abuses complained of. Mr. Pitt commended the liberality of the Resolutions: he denied that they infringed upon that toleration which was sanctioned by the Constitution, and which never contemplated the establishment of monastic societies in this country. He did not think the Alien Act, which enabled Government to send foreigners out of the Kingdom, could be applied with propriety in the present instance; as, unless these unfortunate people were advertized of what they were prohibited from doing by a legislative Act, it would be hard to expel them from the asylum which they had found, for conduct which they did not suspect to be a crime.

The Resolutions were agreed to. When they were reported on the following night, Mr. Wyndham said, that he thought the measure unnecessary, and therefore improper; and that as he saw no danger from Popery, he would provide no remedy against it; as by so doing, he should sanction a jealousy which he had much rather see going to sleep, than rising up after so long an interval of rest. The Report was agreed to, and a Bill accordingly brought in by Sir H. Mildmay, on June 5th. It was read a second time, June 11, and on the motion for its committal, June 23, Mr. Wyndham again rose to oppose it on the ground that the alarm was causeless. He admitted, that he himself was a pretty good alarmist, but after the standing monument of giving entire dominion to the Roman Catholic Church, which the French Revolution had afforded for the last ten years, he thought there was no reason to suppose that a handful of Priests, neither intriguing nor ambitious, would all at once alienate its members from our Protestant Church. He pursued this argument at some length, and then commented upon the increasing love of legislating on trifles, which in latter days had made nothing so cheap as Parliamentary law. He saw no greater danger from the establishment of monasteries, than from the conventicles of the numerous other sects who dissented from the Established Church; and he was astonished at the severe and acrimonious spirit still pervading Protestants against Roman Catholics. No interference with religious opinions could be politic in a State, unless on the strongest grounds; and the present Bill, as far as it related to convents, was in direct opposition to the established principles of law, which in general proposed to save a man from the acts of others, whereas this proposed to save him from his own act. As to conversion, if the Divines of the Established Church fed their flocks with spiritual food, the delusion would not be propagated; but, instead of this, they preferred rais-

ing a cry of The Church in danger; while, in fact, if Proselytism existed, it was a disgrace only to the clergymen of the parishes in which it took place. Penal laws could never defend the country against Popery; and Mr. Wyndham, for his part, thought that Opinion might be far too much under the protection of law, for a little opposition was no bad thing, and might be as useful in the Church as in the Senate to make people attend to their duty. He deprecated the Bill also, as narrowing the field of intellectual exercise and fair discussion, and as raising an illiberal prejudice against a number of unoffending persons who hitherto had found a safe asylum on our shores.

Sir H. Mildmay replied, that it was a mistake to suppose that the Bill introduced any innovation—it went upon the same principle which pervaded all our laws regarding persons who professed the Romish persuasion. In 1791, when similar principles were acted upon, his Right Honourable Friend gave them his support, although the evil then was barely within the limits of a most remote possibility. Now, in 1800, when it absolutely exists, he conceives it beneath the dignity of legislative interference. The Hon. Baronet proceeded then to shew the benefits we had conferred on the refugee Priests, and that the only return we required on their part, was, that they should abstain from meddling with our Constitution in Church and State. He had been assured by some respectable Roman Catholics, (and his Right Hon. Friend had asserted the same thing) that their numbers were decreasing; so that the proportion between Roman Catholics and Protestants was not now more than one to one hundred. Sir H. Mildmay then shewed, that in 1687, with a bigotted Roman Catholic on the Throne, surrounded by officers of State of the same persuasion, and every avenue to wealth, honour, and preferment attainable only by that influence, the proportion, according to Hume, was "something less than one to one hundred." Upon this he rested a strong argument, that if the apprehension of the prevalence of Popery at that time went a great way to create the Revolution, we could not be wholly exempt from the same danger now, while the same proportion existed. He then passed to the schools, and proved from their own advertisements, that they undertook the education of children, whether of Popish or Protestant parents, indiscriminately; and in some cases of indigence, free of all expence; which could be considered in no other light than that of a bribe to obtain the instruction of Protestant children. In a letter which the French Bishop of St. Pol de Leon wrote in reply to a complaint made by the Bishop of Winchester on this subject, the Romish Bishop avows that he considers his Priests as perfectly justified under the letter of our existing law. Now, if our laws are so inaccurately drawn up as to be subject to misconception by those very persons to whom they were meant to be applicable, this alone was a sufficient reason for reconsidering them.

Mr. Hobhouse contended, that the penalties inflicted by our laws on Roman Catholics, referred no-

to their Religious, but to their Political tenets; and that the Bill of 1791 had been introduced to relieve those who had renounced these objectionable principles. So far from imposing additional restraint, he rather wished for a review of the penal code, to expunge all rigorous laws against the Roman Catholics, even though dormant. Mr. Hobhouse stated here, that the societies of English ladies, who were bound by vows abroad, and who had resided in England since 1794, were 17 in number, and contained on the whole rather more than 300 persons, including a few French or Flemish servants. Those ladies were for the most part sprung from some of the most respectable families in the Kingdom. The societies of foreign ladies were four only, and consisted of about fifty individuals. Of male societies there were only four, three of which were entirely composed of English, from Douay and Bornheim. Of the French emigrant clergy, probably not 500 out of the 5000 now in England, belonged to any Religious Order. These institutions were not formidable in point of numbers; neither were they increasing; for it appeared by the obituary, that sixty women had died, and no more than twenty had been admitted in their stead. Nor was their wealth a cause of alarm: their houses and moveables were destroyed by our enemies, and their funds, lodged in the Vienna bank, were seized by our magnanimous ally, the Emperor: so that they subsisted upon private bounty, and their own labours in education. In their schools he had the authority of the Lady Abbesses to say, that they never knowingly admitted the children of Protestant parents; and that two instances only had occurred, in both of which, when the deception was discovered, the children were instantly dismissed. In one point he thought the schools were a national advantage, for it was far better that Roman Catholic children should be educated at home than abroad, as without these schools they would be. On the whole, he pronounced the Bill to be inexpedient, intolerant, and brought forward at a most unseasonable moment.

Sir William Scott said, that the difficulty in regard to these institutions arose from the uncertainty of their duration. It was understood that the members of them would return home at the conclusion of the war; if this were to be two or three years hence, a very slight regulation might be sufficient; but if they were to continue any length of time, or to become permanent, they obviously were proper subjects for legislation. They were institutions which, in a Protestant country, should be discountenanced as unfriendly to Religion; from their numbers and compactness, they had greatly the advantage over the parochial clergy, who were mostly scattered over the country in small livings, and therefore must maintain an unequal contest against societies. He objected, however, to the Bill, because its provisions were permanent, and the subjects of it most probably were transitory. With regard to the part relating to schools, he thought it of much importance; for it had long struck

him, that in a country where any man might take a large house, and collect a school without any proof of his morals or learning, the task of education might fall into hands in which it ought not to continue without the inspection of the Legislature. He should, however, oppose the Bill—first, because it went farther than was necessary; and, secondly, because he thought a very short Bill, containing one or two provisions, would answer all the purpose.

Mr. Erskine defended the tolerating spirit of our laws as they regarded Popery, and said, that we ought to look at the Roman Catholic Religion at the time in which they were framed, to arrive at a right judgment upon it. He then reviewed the progressive relief which had been produced by change of times and opinions, and thought it hard that the Legislature should be suspected of being weary of humanity, because in a case quite new it became necessary to temper that humanity with a prudent consideration for its own people. He then proceeded to shew, that the Bill before the House, so far from being penal, would rather be an enabling statute; and he proved from existing laws, the severities which might at any time be called into action against the Roman Catholics, without some such provision as the present measure held out. One point in it, however, he hoped would be amended in the Committee. As it now stood, the number of Monks was not to be filled up as it became diminished by deaths, so that no future emigrant would receive benefit by the Act. He wished a power to be given to his Majesty, to grant his Royal Licence to those who might come afterwards, under similar circumstances, with some reasonable limitation in point of numbers.

Mr. Sheridan argued against the necessity of the Bill, and stigmatized it as insulting the pride and alarming the feelings of the Roman Catholics. He pointed out the possibility of its creating a fresh popular cry against them; and he deprecated all the eulogies on what was called toleration in this country. Toleration was a word he almost hated, for it was but another name for mitigated persecution. He read numerous documents, all tending to prove that the education of Protestant children had never been intermeddled with in the conventual schools, and he ridiculed the causeless alarm about conversion and proselytism. From this he passed to the controversy at Winchester, in which city he described the Roman Catholics to be eminently unpopular, and after bestowing much praise upon the erudition and abilities of Dr. Sturges and Mr. Milner, he traced the present debate up to their theological dispute. In conclusion, he remarked upon the peculiar unseasonableness of the particular time which had been chosen for the introduction of such a Bill, at a moment when we were on the brink of Union with a country, three-fourths of the inhabitants of which were Roman Catholics.

Mr. Perceval supported the Bill. On a division that the Speaker do now leave the chair, there appeared, Ayes 52, Noes 24. On the 4th of July, the Bill was read a third time, and ordered to be in-

tituled, "An Act to prevent any addition to the number of persons belonging to certain Foreign Religious Orders or Communities lately settled in this Kingdom, and to regulate the education of youth by such persons."

On the motion for its committal after the second reading in the House of Lords (July 10), the Bishop of Rochester observed, that he did not oppose the reading of the Bill a second time, because at that period of the session it seldom happened that there was a very full attendance of Lords on their Parliamentary duty, and when the day for the second reading of the Bill arrived, those Lords who did attend generally took up the printed papers from the table, only the moment before the order for the second reading was moved; they could not therefore be supposed to know what the nature and provisions of any Bill were before it had been read a second time. The Bill having, however, now been read a second time, he had a right to conclude that Noble Lords were masters of it, and to proceed to state on what grounds he rose to oppose it as a Bill altogether unnecessary, dangerous, and unconstitutional, which he would do as shortly as possible. His Lordship said, in consequence of the most antichristian persecution that ever history had instanced in a neighbouring Kingdom, great numbers of the clergy of that Kingdom, as well secular as those belonging to a variety of Religious orders and institutions, had been forced to seek, and, seeking, had found refuge in this hospitable, humane, and charitable country, whose Protestant Church made it the safe and sure asylum of the persecuted and oppressed at all times, and on all occasions. It would have been a degrading departure from the noble and truly honourable spirit of the national character, if we had not with open arms received under our protection, such a body of unfortunate men as the clergy of France, driven from their native Kingdom, their professional duties and Establishment, by the fell rage of Revolutionary violence and Jacobinical fury. Much to their credit since their residence among us, these exiles had conducted themselves inoffensively, and in such a manner as to warrant and entitle them to the protection they had received; he had not heard of any attempts on their part to fly in the face of the laws of the country, or to afford ground of jealousy or apprehension to the Government, by any designs to disturb its tranquillity, or to take any steps to endanger its safety in its Civil or Religious establishments. He saw, therefore, no occasion for any fresh law to prevent or guard against mischiefs, which were not even apprehended, or if there were any cause for their apprehension, were amply provided against by the existing laws. His Lordship said, that in consequence of the grounds of alarm against Roman Catholics and Popery that have of late years gradually worn away in this country, its natural proneness to toleration, as far as it could be allowed with safety to Church and State, and the mild principles of our Protestant persuasion, and of the mind and Go-

vernment of the Prince upon the throne, and his immediate predecessors, several Acts had passed for the relief of Roman Catholics from the severe penalties to which they stood exposed under the Acts of James I. and the 1st of William III., and various preceding statutes, but that nevertheless the relief granted them in those Acts were rather confined to particular clauses of the particular statutes to which they referred, than to those statutes in general. All the penalties, therefore, enacted by former laws, which were not specifically repealed, were still in force against Roman Catholics, and it was expressly provided by the present Bill, that every member of such Religious orders and societies (as were mentioned in the preamble of the present Bill) were still to remain and be deemed to be subject to the Alien Act in all its provisions, and continue to be so deemed. What end then could it possibly answer to be making and passing a new, unnecessary, and nugatory law, when the existing laws, if duly enforced, were fully adequate to every purpose of prevention and punishment, if any attempt were made to provoke the vengeance of insulted laws? Even if those Roman Catholics who had profited by the relief afforded them by the nineteenth and thirty-first of the present King, did any thing disorderly or that exceeded the specific relief thereby afforded them, they were liable to the penalties of the unrepealed penal statutes against Roman Catholics, and ultimately and in all cases subject to the disposal of the Alien Act, which referred equally to foreign Roman Catholics in this country and to his Majesty's natural born subjects.

The Bishop went into a minute historical detail of the various penal enactments against Roman Catholics, which were to be found in different statutes from the reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, down to those of William III.; and after pointing out such of them as were repealed by the Acts of the 19 and 31 of the present King, stating what penalties still remained unrepealed, which from their nature and severity were sufficient to deter Roman Catholics from all the acts, from the performance of which they were specially restricted by this Bill. He read a list of the several Religious institutions that had taken up their residence in different counties in this Kingdom, four of which only consisted of male foreigners, amounting to thirty-one persons; and others of females, amounting to twenty-four. The number of monks and nuns in this country could not reasonably excite alarm, and being scattered through several counties of England, were, both from their known want of power and want of means, incapable of injuring society. The Rt. Rev. Prelate enumerated the individuals of the several classes of monks, such as the English Benedictines, the Dominicans, the Carthusians, the Franciscans, &c. of whom only four are French, the remainder being natives of this country. If, then, their number was so limited, if their proneness to a life of solitude and ease was

not to be questioned, what real necessity was there for a Bill like the present, especially while there were penal laws existing to correct abuse. The nuns were some old, and some young ladies of exemplary abhorrence from the looser and gayer pleasures of the world. They had taken the veil according to their prejudices or their habits, but was that House quite certain that the cause of Religion would be advanced, its interests promoted or secured, by the suppression of an order of females, whose follies, if they were such, were confined in their influence to the purlieus of the nunnery? His Lordship said, that against Roman Catholics, natural born subjects of the King, he knew of no statutes that would apply; they had a right to reside here, provided they did nothing contrary to the law of the country. He said there could be no danger in the nunneries, as they were now conducted, because those ladies who had been driven from the convents of France to England, took a house or houses, in some county or other, and lived together in seclusion and conformity to their Religious habits, customs, and ceremonies. Such people were generally persons of families of fashion, well educated, and wholly unfit to mix with the lower orders and ranks of the people. They sought relief, and founded their only satisfaction in the quiet performance of their Religious duties, and in conformity to the orders and acts of their Institution. To turn out these ladies to mingle with people of fashion, and join in the dissipation and luxurious pleasures of modern times, would be to expose them to the severest martyrdom. They could not condescend to smear their cheeks with vermilion, to expose their necks and arms naked to their shoulders, and to dedicate their nights to noise and revelry, either handing out cards at loo, or shaking dice out of a dice-box, and go through all the other practices of a fashionable rout. Living as they did, they lived happy and harmless; for surely no danger was to be apprehended from a number of old and young women living secluded in a house by themselves. Much was said of the policy of preventing an acquisition of nuns to those convents; and undoubtedly, if the prevailing disposition of the sex were domestic retirement, there might be some reason to apprehend that a severely Religious education would engender a wish in some minds to take the veil. But no noble Lord knew so little of the vivacious, ardent spirit for which the sex is at present so remarkable, as to be led to suppose that the women of England will, in any great number, take the veil.—*(A laugh.)*—As to the education afforded by Roman Catholic Institutions, he had been solemnly assured that they took only the children of Roman Catholics. He was glad, therefore, that they had come to reside here; because he had ever considered it as a cruel and an unwise policy to prevent the children of Roman Catholics from being educated in England, as the consequence was, that all the children of families of that persuasion (many of them the first families in this Kingdom) were heretofore

obliged to be sent abroad for their education; now they could be educated at home; and no man will dispute that a Roman Catholic education at home in England was much less likely to be attended with dangerous consequences, than a Roman Catholic education in a Roman Catholic country. That the priests of that country might wish to make converts he did not pretend to deny; it was natural for every man who had a religion, Roman or Protestant, to feel a zeal to make converts to that Religion which he thought concerned the soul's safety, and would be conducive, in his judgment, to secure the best and future interests of its votaries and professors. By "every man who had a Religion," he meant in England those Christians who acted up to the thirty-nine articles, and the confession of the Saxon churches. Those who conformed to the ancient discipline of the Protestant Church, as settled at the Reformation; not those who wished to reform further, who denied the divinity of our Saviour, who compared the son of Mary to Socrates, who wanted to get rid of the Athanasian Creed, and denied the efficacy of Grace as a means of salvation; he gave such men little credit for zeal. But if the Roman Catholics in general felt a zeal to make converts, the law of Great Britain had provided the means to restrain and keep this zeal in order within the British dominions; and he had no doubt but the unfortunate French priests, to whom we had afforded protection, had a prudence to forbear any conduct offensive to the laws of that country, in which they had found refuge. With regard to profession, the Bishop said, that after the strictest inquiry, he had found but two instances, and those of two young ladies who had been noviciates in convents abroad, with a full intention to take the veil. —[He was proceeding to state the place and nunnery in this country, in which they had professed, when he was called to order by the Lord Chancellor, who submitted to the Right Reverend Prelate whether as the facts he was stating were highly illegal, and liable to exemplary punishment, it was proper to draw the attention of the public to the exact place where such facts had passed; at least, whether such information ought to be given within the hearing of those below the bar?] The Bishop thanked the noble and learned Lord for his hint, and said he would barely state generally that the ladies allowed to profess, had been noviciated in convents abroad, with a view to take the veil; but that the convents being driven here, they had followed, professed, and taken the vows here. It was necessary, however, to add, that the superiors of the nunneries had been extremely angry at such imprudent conduct, and had taken great pains to guard against any such thing happening again.

After much more observation and detail, to prove that the Bill was unnecessary, and that the existing laws, if enforced, were fully adequate to any possible evil to be apprehended from the Roman Catholics in this country, his Lordship came at last to prove that

the Bill was unconstitutional and dangerous, by means of the alarming power it would put into the hands of the Crown. Immediately after its preamble, it made it "lawful for his Majesty, his heirs and successors, to grant licences to such religious Orders or Communities, professing the Roman Catholic faith, as were in this Kingdom, to continue to reside therein during the continuance of the present war, and one year after, (a pretty large lease he was afraid!) and to perform and observe, within their respective Houses, the rites and ordinances of their respective Institutions; any law or statute to the contrary notwithstanding." Had noble Lords considered what were the rites and ordinances of the Roman Catholics, and the enormous power this enactment gave to the Crown? Penance was a rite and ordinance of Roman Catholics, and would his Majesty expose any of his subjects to corporal severities, which were sometimes ordered and inflicted among other acts of penance? Besides, the superiors of those Religious Institutions must have the authority of the Pope, by the medium of his Bull, for sanctioning such discipline. Would they allow the Pope's Bulls again to come into England, and give the Crown a suspending power, for such it would have with respect to all the various and express statutes that had been passed against the authority of the Pope in this country? After laying considerable stress on this point, the Bishop said, there was one clause of the Bill to which he owned he should feel no objection, were it not for the other parts of the Bill with which it was connected, and that was the clause obliging Roman Catholic schoolmasters to return at the general yearly, or general quarter sessions of the peace, a list of the names of such persons individually as are or have been boarded by them, with the names and places of abode of their respective parents or guardians. Such a regulation, his Lordship said, he sincerely wished extended to all schools, those of the Protestant Dissenters, as well as those of the Roman Catholic Dissenters; for he believed we had much less to dread from the latter than from some of the former, in whose schools the doctrines of Jacobinism, sedition, and infidelity, were but too frequently inculcated, to his certain knowledge; and these, in some of their schools, under the name of Charity schools, Sunday schools, and schools to *enlighten* children in and about the metropolis. As the law now stood, the masters of such schools had nothing to do but to make general professions of their belief in the principles and conformity to the practice of the Protestant Church, and then were left to do infinite mischief by poisoning the minds of the growing generation. He hoped, in a future session, that Parliament would turn its attention to this truly important object. Of the attempt of the Roman Catholics to take the children of Protestants to educate in the tenets and practice of Popery he had little apprehension, because, if such an attempt were made the whole park of the artillery of the existing laws would im-

mediately be pointed against such as offended in that manner, and there would be no difficulty in prosecuting to conviction, as it was a mere *qui tam* business, half the penalty going to the informer. After a further series of remarks against the Bill, the Bishop concluded with moving, "that the Bill stand committed for that day three months."

The Bishop of Winchester defended the Bill as necessary both to quiet the apprehensions of the country, and to give protection to the Establishments in question. He did not entirely approve that part of it which was directed to the regulation of schools, but he would not on that account oppose a measure which generally was good.

Lord Grenville conceived the Bill to be intolerant, without even the plea of necessity. The enabling part cast an undeserved odium upon individuals against whom no improper conduct had been objected, and the restrictive part was ill-timed and nugatory.

The Lord Chancellor, though with no particular liking to the Bill, still wished it to go to a Committee. Some comments which his Lordship made on the controversy between Dr. Sturges and Mr. Milner, called up the Bishop of Rochester, who was proceeding to express opinions at length upon the merits of the antagonists, nor did he desist, though repeatedly reminded of his breach of order, both from the Woolsack and by Lord Hardwicke, till he had loudly stated, that he thought in many instances Mr. Milner had greatly the advantage of the Chancellor of Winchester.

On the question being put, it was resolved in the affirmative, that the Bill be committed that day three months. Accordingly, the Bill was lost.

Mr. Abbot proceeded in the useful path which he had marked out for himself by his attention to the dormant laws in the last Session, by moving for a Committee on the state of the Public Records (Feb. 18). He traced the history of these, "The People's Evidences," as they had been well called from the confusion into which they had been thrown during the Civil war. In Queen Anne's time, Lord Halifax and Mr. Harley carried into effect that magnificent compilation of State Papers known as *Rymer's Fœdera*. As this principally related to our foreign transactions, Lord Halifax and Lord Somers afterwards proposed to the House of Lords the investigation of our domestic papers, which was carried on through the succeeding reigns to the commencement of that of his late Majesty. After the fire which happened in the Cottonian Library, another inquiry was set on foot by Parliament, and carried on in some measure effectually, in others less so, till the present time. There were numerous collections, however, to which that investigation had not extended—the Courts Maritime and Ecclesiastical—the Repositories of Scotland—of our Universities and Cathedrals—and the three great collections, the Royal, Harleian, and Sloanian, now in the British Museum. He then enumerated some of the practical evils

resulting from the want of authorized depositories for, and a general arrangement of, these documents. Records, noticed in Reports more than a century ago, were still lying within the walls of the House, and no man knew their contents. Docquets of judgments, materially affecting the titles to landed property, were lying in the Courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas, exposed to daily risk of fire, and actually perishing from damp. Any of the ancient decrees in the Exchequer relating to tithes, boundaries, customs, and other rights might be falsified or removed without check or restraint. In the office of the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer, from want of accommodation, the records were inaccessible. In the Pipe Office, where by law the *quietus* of every public accomptant ought to be recorded, such was the confusion that no person, however deeply interested, could obtain a certificate of his final balance or discharge. All special Commissions for High Treason, and the proceedings on them, were suffered to remain in the unauthenticated custody of private individuals. Mr. Abbot then explained the great value of these public records, the destruction of which had been proposed by the levellers of the last century. They were the sole guarantee of many descriptions of property, of much land, Corporate franchises, Ecclesiastical tenures, and Election rights. They were the only precedents by which the two Houses of Parliament could be guided in their transactions with each other. He trusted, therefore, that it was not too much to assert, in the language of Lord Halifax's Report, "that it will be a public damage and dishonour to the Kingdom to suffer such monuments of antiquity to perish." The leading points he should propose were these:—To digest and methodize returns made by the proper officers of every repository throughout England and Scotland—to regulate the buildings in which the records were kept—to form catalogues and calendars, and facilitate means of access to them. The consequences to which he looked were, first, the salutary stimulus such a visitation would apply; then the discovery of many valuable documents. A point Mr. Abbot illustrated by observing, that there existed Surveys of the nature of Domesday Book as late as the reigns of the three first Edwards, which probably might be found complete. And, above all, the conviction which Parliament could scarcely fail to receive from the new light which would be obtained of the facility and the necessity of establishing a general Registry of all instruments affecting landed property. A system, from which the happiest consequences resulted in Scotland, Ireland, and two of our most populous districts, Middlesex and Yorkshire. The advantages of such a measure were clear as it regarded our juridicial system, the security and good faith which it would establish in all transfers and conveyances of land, and the new and reasonable source of Revenue which it would open. He concluded by moving for a Select Committee "to inquire into the

Public Records of this Kingdom, and of such other public instruments, rolls, books, and papers, as they shall think proper; and to report to the House the nature and condition thereof, together with what they shall judge fit to be done for the better arrangement, preservation, and more convenient use of the same.

The Master of the Rolls seconded the motion, and the Committee accordingly was appointed. An Address, comprising the leading topics of Mr. Abbot's speech, and requesting his Majesty to give directions accordingly, and assuring him that the House would make good the necessary expenses, was framed by the Committee, agreed to by the House, (July 11) and presented to the Throne before the close of the Session.

An Address also was moved and carried (July 22) by Sir Francis Burdett, praying for an inquiry into the state and management of Cold Bath Fields' prison, in which many abuses appeared to have taken place. A Motion for Parliamentary inquiry, which the Hon. Baronet first suggested, did not meet the approbation of the House, and was withdrawn.

CHAPTER XV.

Views of Government respecting the Union with Ireland. Mr. Cook's Pamphlet. Violent feeling in Ireland against the question. Public meetings. Meeting of the Irish Parliament in 1799. *Speech of the Lord Lieutenant. Amendment to the Address in the Lords. In the Commons. Strong language of Mr. Barrington. Speeches of Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Plunket, and Mr. Ponsonby. Majority of one against the Amendment. Debate on the Report of the Address. Fresh Amendment moved by Sir L. Parsons. Carried by a majority of five. Joy of the Anti-unionists. Lord Castlereagh proposes and obtains an Adjournment. Continued public meetings. Circulation of Mr. Pitt's Speech by both parties. Regency Bill. Speech of Mr. Foster. The Bill lost. Farther adjournment. Close of the Session. Speech of the Lord Lieutenant. Increased confidence of Ministers. Activity of the Marquess of Downshire. His dismissal from his public employments. Meeting and Resolutions of the Roman Catholics of Dublin. Opening of the Irish Parliament in* 1800. *The Union not mentioned in the Lord Lieutenant's Speech. Amendment moved by Sir L. Parsons. Speeches of Messrs. Grattan and Corry. Majority for Ministers. Aggregate meeting of the City of Dublin. The Earl of Clare presents a Message introductory of Mr. Pitt's Resolutions into the Lords. Bitter sarcasm of Mr. Grattan. Lord Castlereagh pre-*

sents a similar Message to the Commons. Duel between Messrs. Grattan and Corry. Motion of Sir J. Parnell for a new Parliament. Resolutions of the Irish Parliament, approving the English Resolutions. Presented to the English Parliament. Debate in the English House of Commons on the King's Message. Speeches of Messrs. Pitt and Grey. Motion of Mr. Grey that a Committee be instituted to secure the independence of Parliament. His Speech. Speech of Lord Hawkesbury. The Motion negatived. The Resolutions committed and agreed to by the Commons. Debates upon them in the Lords. Lord Holland's Motion for a Committee to consider the disqualification of the Roman Catholics. Speeches of the Marquess of Lansdowne and Earl of Liverpool. The Resolutions pass the Lords. Address to the Throne. Bill in the Irish Parliament for regulating Elections. Countervailing Duties. Bill of Union passes the Parliament of Ireland. Compensation for the surrender of Boroughs. Royal Assent given to the Bill of Union in England. And in Ireland. Close of the last Session of the last Parliament of Ireland.

The great object which the Marquess Cornwallis had been instructed to pursue in his administration of the Government of Ireland was the completion of that incorporated Union of the two Kingdoms, which already had furnished such abundant matter for discussion in the English Parliament. The undertaking was most arduous. On the one side was the strongest conviction of the necessity of this measure; on the other, the most determined and uncompromising resistance to its accomplishment. The sentiments of the English Ministry had been embodied before the termination of the Rebellion in an able and moderate pamphlet, entitled *Arguments for and against an Union between Great Britain and Ireland considered.* Though published anonymously it was well known to proceed from the pen of Mr. Edward Cook, Under Secretary of the Civil department, and was circulated with great industry as a demi-official proclamation of the sentiments of Government. The Press, as was natural to suppose, became the great organ of controversy, and so fertilely did it teem, that even before the close of December 1798, no less than thirty pamphlets had been published in Ireland alone on this question. In Parliament the leading families of the Kingdom were divided against each other, and in some instances against themselves. The Earl of Clare appeared at the head of those who supported the Union, Mr. Foster was violent in opposing it. The displeasure of the Crown at the unqualified tone assumed by some of those who were least friendly to the measure was distinctly marked in the outset by the dismissal of Sir John Parnell, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Fitzgerald, Prime Sergeant, from their respective offices.

The bar furnished numerous opponents. At a public meeting

convened by the principal barristers, after a long and animated discussion, a Resolution was voted declaring the Union dangerous and improper. A post assembly of the Lord Mayor and citizens of Dublin expressed its determination to oppose any attempt that might be made to surrender the free Legislature of Ireland by uniting it with the Legislature of Great Britain; and the merchants and bankers stigmatized the proposition as highly dangerous and impolitic, and stated their abhorrence of those counsels which sought to deprive the people of Ireland of their Constitutional rights and of their Parliament.

The year 1799 opened with no slight ferment of the public mind. Meetings were advertised of counties, baronies, parishes, and every species of incorporation; and for the first time in Irish history Religious differences opposed no barrier to community of opinion on the now paramount subject, and Protestants, Roman Catholics and Dissenters, were found ranged side by side as their judgments determined them on the question of Union. The Fellows and Scholars of Trinity College instructed their representatives to oppose it. The gentry and freeholders of the counties of Dublin, of Westmeath, and of Louth were among the most vehement adversaries. But the Resolutions of the county of Galway exceeded all others in bitterness. They reprobated the attempts of the Unionists as unconstitutional and arbitrary, they denied the power of Parliament to vote away the independence of the realm, they condemned the transfer of the right of legislation to any foreign country without the general consent of the people as equivalent to a dissolution of the existing Government, and they denounced, as enemies to the country, all who consented to such a scheme.

Under this general agitation the Irish Parliament assembled on the 22d of January. The word *Union* was avoided in the Lord Lieutenant's speech, but an equivalent to it was to be found in the anxiety which he expressed "for some permanent adjustment which should extend the advantages enjoyed by the sister Kingdom to every part of the island." That clause of the Address which re-echoed this sentiment was couched as follows: —*"That we thank his Majesty for pointing our attention to this alarming circumstance, and as his Majesty has expressed his anxious hope, that this most serious subject, joined to the sentiment of mutual affection and common interest, may dispose the Parliaments in both Kingdoms to provide the most effectual means of maintaining and improving a connexion essential to their common security, and of consolidating, as far as possible, into one firm and lasting fabric, the strength, the power, and the resources of the British Empire, we shall be ready to give the fullest attention to considerations of such momentous importance."

Upon which it was proposed by Lord Powerscourt to amend the

* 8 Journ. Lords, p. 192.

said Motion, by inserting after the word importance, the following words:—"That it is our most earnest desire to strengthen the connexion between the two countries by every possible means, but the measure of a legislative Union we apprehend is not within the limits of our power, we beg leave also to represent to your Majesty, that although this House were competent to adopt such a measure, we conceive that it would be highly impolitic so to do, as it would tend, in our opinion, more than any other cause, ultimately to a separation of this Kingdom from that of Great Britain."

A Motion was then made for leave to withdraw the amendment. A debate arose thereupon, and the question being put, the House divided, and the Earl of Glandore reported, that the Contents below the bar were 19, and the Non-contents in the House were 46.

A Motion was then made, that after the word "security" in the said paragraph, the following words be expunged, "and of consolidating as far as possible into one firm and lasting fabric, the strength, the power, and the resources of the British Empire," which also passed in the negative. Another motion was then made by the Earl of Bellamont, that after the said word "importance," the following words be inserted, "so far as may be consistent with the permanent enjoyment, exercise, and tutelary vigilance of our resident and independent Parliament, as established, acknowledged, and recognized." This motion was also negatived by a division of 49 against 16. Fourteen of the Lords in the minority protested*.

In the Commons the Address was moved by Lord Tyrone. Sir John Parnell reserved himself for the future discussion of the policy of an Union, since it was not then fairly before the House, nevertheless as it was in some measure introduced by a side wind he took occasion to protest against it *in limine*.

Mr. G. Ponsonby moved as an amendment, that after the passage which declared the willingness of the House to enter on a consideration of what measures might best tend to confirm the common strength of the Empire, should be inserted, "maintaining, however, the undoubted birth-right of the people of Ireland to have a resident and independent Legislature, such as was recognized by the British Legislature in 1782, and was finally settled at the adjustment of all differences between the two countries."

Among the most violent speeches of the evening was that of Mr. Barrington, Judge of the Admiralty. He alluded pointedly to the dismissal of Sir John Parnell and Mr. Fitzgerald, and taxed Government with using corrupt and

* Viz. Leinster, Granard, Belvidere, Arran, Charlemont, Bellamont, Mountcashell, Kilkenny, Belmore, Powerscourt, De Vesci, Wm. Down and Connor, Dunsany, Lismore.

unconstitutional means to bribe individuals of the Irish Parliament. Mr. Barrington was loudly called to order, and it was moved that his words should be taken down; when Mr. Plunket rose, and declaring his intention to use yet stronger language, urged that those words might really be taken down in order that open discussion might arise upon them. The Treasury Bench desisted, and Mr. Barrington proceeded in his invective. Peerages, he said, were bartered for the rights of minors, and every effort had been used to destroy the free agency of Parliament. If the Executive power overstepped its bounds, the people were warranted to do the same, and thus the Constitution would be annihilated. Lord Castlereagh answered at much length: in the course of his speech, which presented no argument which our readers have not seen repeatedly used in the debates of the English Parliament, his Lordship made use of the following expression:— "You talk of national pride and independence, but where is the solidity of this boast? You have not the British Constitution, nor can you have it consistently with your present species of connexion with Great Britain. That Constitution does not recognize two separate and independent legislatures under one Crown. The greater country must lead; the less naturally follow, and must be practically subordinate in imperial concerns: but this necessary and beneficial operation of the general will must be preceded by establishing one common interest."

Mr. Plunket replied with great warmth. He congratulated them on the candid avowal of the noble Lord who just sat down; he had exposed the project in its naked hideousness and deformity; he had told them that the necessity of sacrificing their independence, flowed from the nature of their connexion; it was now avowed that the measure did not flow from any temporary cause; that it was not produced in consequence of any late Rebellion, or accidental disturbance in the country; that its necessity did not arise from the danger of modern political innovations, or from recent attempts of wicked men to separate their country from Great Britain; no, they were now informed by the noble Lord, that the condition of their slavery was engrafted on the principles of their connexion, and that by the decrees of fate Ireland had been doomed a dependant colony from her cradle. After that barefaced avowal, there could be little difference of opinion: he trusted that every honest man, who regarded the freedom of Ireland, or who regarded the connexion with England, would by his vote on that night refute the unfounded and seditious doctrine. He had borne arms to crush the wretches who propagated the false and wicked creed, "that British connexion was hostile to Irish freedom;" and he was now called on to combat it, coming from the lips of the noble Lord at the head of Administration!

The freedom of discussion, which had taken place, had given great offence to gentlemen on the Treasury Bench; they were men of nice and punctilious honour, and

they would not endure that any thing should be said which implied a reflection on their untainted and virgin integrity. They threatened, said Mr. Plunket, to take down the words of an hon. Gentleman who had spoken before him, because they conveyed an insinuation: and he promised them, on that occasion, that if the fancy for taking down words continued, he would indulge them in it to the top of their bent. He was determined to keep his word with them: he would not insinuate, but he would directly assert, that base and wicked as was the object proposed, the means used to effect it had been more flagitious and abominable! Did they choose to take down his words? Did they dare him to the proof? He had been induced to think that they had at the head of the Executive Government in that country, a plain honest soldier, unaccustomed to and disdaining the intrigues of politics, and who, as an additional evidence of the directness and purity of his views, had chosen for his Secretary a simple and modest youth, *(Puer ingenui vultûs, ingenuique pudoris,)* whose inexperience was the voucher of his innocence: yet he was bold to say, that during the Vice-royalty of that unspotted veteran, and during the administration of that unassuming stripling, within the last six weeks, a system of black corruption had been carried on within the walls of the Castle, which would disgrace the annals of the worst period of the history of either country. Did they choose to take down his words? He needed to call no witnesses to their bar to prove them. He saw two right hon. Gentlemen sitting within those walls, who had long and faithfully served the Crown, and who had been dismissed, because they dared to express a sentiment in favour of the freedom of their country. He saw another hon. Gentleman, who had been forced to resign his place as Commissioner of the Revenue, because he refused to co-operate in that dirty job of a dirty Administration: did they dare to deny this? "I say that at this moment the threat of dismissal from office is suspended over the heads of the members who now sit around me, in order to influence their votes on the question of this night, involving every thing that can be sacred or dear to man: do you desire to take down my words? Utter the desire, and I will prove the truth of them at your bar. Sir, I would warn you against the consequences of carrying this measure by such means as this, but that I see the necessary defeat of it in the honest and universal indignation which the adoption of such means excites: I see the protection against the wickedness of the plan, in the imbecility of its execution, and I congratulate my country, that when a design was formed against her liberties, the prosecution of it was entrusted to such hands as it is now placed in." Mr. Plunket then entered into a very wide range of the subject, which he most violently reprobated, bitterly inveighed against the British Minister for having acted insidiously towards his friend and ally in the hour of her calamity and distress. He made this base

attempt at a moment when Ireland was filled with British troops, when loyal men were fatigued and exhausted by their efforts to subdue Rebellion; efforts, in which they had succeeded before those troops arrived, whilst their *Habeas Corpus Act* was suspended, whilst trials by Courts martial were carrying on in many parts of the Kingdom, whilst the people were taught to think that they had no right to meet or to deliberate, and whilst the great body of them were so palsied by their fears, and worn down by their exertions, that even this vital question was scarcely able to rouse them from their lethargy: at a moment, when they were distracted by domestic dissensions: dissensions artfully kept alive as the pretext for their present subjugation, and the instrument of their future thraldom. He thanked Administration for the measure. They were, without intending it, putting an end to their dissensions. Through that black cloud, which they had collected over them, he saw the light breaking in upon their unfortunate country; they had composed dissensions, not by fomenting the embers of a lingering and subdued Rebellion, not by hallooing the Protestant against the Catholic, and the Catholic against the Protestant, not by committing the North against the South, not by inconsistent appeals to local or party prejudices; no, but by the avowal of that atrocious conspiracy against the liberties of Ireland, they had subdued every petty feeling and subordinate distinction. They had united every rank and description of men by the pressure of that grand and momentous subject; and he told them, that they would see every honest and independent man in Ireland rally round her Constitution, and merge every other consideration in his opposition to that ungenerous and odious measure; for his own part, he would resist it to the last gasp of his existence and with the last drop of his blood, and when he felt the hour of his dissolution approaching, he would, like the father of Hannibal, take his children to the altar, and swear them to eternal hostility against the invaders of their country's freedom.

Mr. Ponsonby wound up the longest and most interesting debate which had ever been heard within the walls of the Irish Senate, and of which our limits permit us to offer only a very brief outline. The discussion continued twenty-two hours, and on a division the Minister obtained the unsatisfactory victory of a single voice. The numbers on the amendment were, Ayes 105, Noes 106. During the whole of the debate the avenues of the House were crowded with persons awaiting its result, and its close was celebrated as a triumph by the Anti-Unionists. The populace were loud in their clamours, and some outrages were offered to the Ministerial members on their way home.

The question was re-argued in the House of Commons on the 24th of January, when the Address was reported. On this occasion, Lord Castlereagh gave much offence to the members of the bar by terming the remonstrance which

had been drawn up at their meeting, a *Round Robin*.

Sir L. Parsons moved to expunge a paragraph containing the following words: "The unremitting activity, with which our enemies persevere in their avowed design of endeavouring to effect a separation of this Kingdom from Great Britain, must constantly engage our most earnest attention; and as your Majesty has condescended to express an anxious hope, that this circumstance, joined to their sentiments of mutual affection and common interest, may dispose the Parliament in both Kingdoms to provide the most effectual means of maintaining and improving a connexion essential to their common security, and of consolidating as far as possible, into one firm and lasting fabric, the strength, the power, and the resources of the British Empire, we shall not fail to give the fullest consideration to a communication of such momentous importance." And after another heated and protracted debate the Anti-Unionists prevailed. — 111 voted for the rejection of the paragraph, 106 for the continuance. The public joy on the defeat of the Ministry was unboundedly demonstrated.

The counterpart proceedings of the English Parliament will be found in our last volume. Ministers had calculated upon violent and passionate opposition in Ireland, and although perhaps they scarcely expected to be left in an absolute minority, they were not on that account deterred from prosecuting their favorite views. On the 28th of Jan. Lord Castlereagh gave a sufficient proof of the determination by which they were actuated, by moving for an adjournment to the 7th of February, in order that they might ingraft their future Parliamentary proceedings on those, which were occurring simultaneously in the English Senate. The adjournment was carried and Ministers did not oppose a Call of the House, which was proposed for the 11th February.

County meetings were still assembling. Fermanagh, Limerick, Monaghan, and Clare, were among the first ranks of the Anti-Unionists. The town and county of Galway ranged themselves on the opposite side, and in Cork the numbers were almost equally divided. Great pains were taken to circulate the speech by which Mr. Pitt had introduced the proposition in England on the 23d of January, and the different paragraphs in it were sedulously applied and interpreted by each party, as they seemed most available to its own respective purpose.

One leading argument which had been employed in favour of the proposed Union, was founded on a possibility of the recurrence of difficulties similar to those which had formerly arisen between the Parliaments of the two countries, when the question of a Regency was agitated. To meet this difficulty, the Anti-Unionists introduced a Bill, to provide for the administration of the government of Ireland whensoever, and as often as the government of Great Britain shall be administered by a Regent or Regency. A warm debate occurred on the 11th of

February, when the Bill was committed. Mr. Foster's speech on this occasion demands our notice.

He censured Mr. Pitt's* speech, which he termed a paltry production, a mere tissue of general assertion without proof, high-flowing language without meaning, and assumptions without argument.

The pretences for a Legislative Union were ill supported. The risk of a disagreement on the subject of peace or war, or with regard to foreign treaties, would not justify the adoption of a measure so unconstitutional. The case of Regency afforded the only apparent foundation of alarm; but the Bill now under consideration would remove all apprehensions on that head.

The arguments adduced for an Union of the two Legislatures were, he said, equally applicable to the Union of the two Houses of either Parliament. These might disagree, and ought, by parity of reasoning, to be formed into one assembly. Where would then be our Constitution? It would yield to Monarchical or Republican despotism. The balancing principle composed the chief excellence of our Constitution; and why might not the two Legislatures, guarded by one head, perform National and Imperial functions in a better and more efficacious manner than a combined Parliament?

Mr. Foster then took a very wide and minute review of the trade of Ireland, and declared his opinion, that it would not flourish more after a Union than under a resident Parliament. It was already in a thriving state; it enjoyed all desirable freedom, and required only the care and attention of its natural protectors.

On the subject of Religion he barely remarked, that an Irish Parliament might adjust all points in which the Protestants and Catholics differed, as judiciously and effectually as an Imperial Legislature.

He severely censured that want of political wisdom, which had induced the English Minister to hold out Ireland to the enemy as the most vulnerable part of the Empire, torn by internal factions, barbarous, weak, and contemptible. It was painful even to refer to the phrases, by which he insulted the feelings of every Irishman. They knew them to be unfounded. Had they been true, it was the duty of a discreet Statesman to have concealed with reverence the failings and weakness of so considerable and important a part of the Empire. He tells the enemy the danger and the remedy; the danger immediate—the remedy distant and uncertain. He destroys a Constitution which the Irish hold dear as the sacred Palladium of their liberty, and would persuade the world there would be more zeal

* As various editions of that gentleman's speech had been circulated, he selected that to which government had given its sanction of authority, which had been printed by the King's printer under their direction, of which 10,000 copies had been circulated *gratis* by them at the public expence.

in Ireland, when the Constitution should no longer remain, to animate its spirit and invigorate its exertions.

Another advantage mentioned by the advocates of the measure was still more strange, namely, that it would tranquillize Ireland. If a resident Parliament, and resident gentry, could not soften the manners, and amend the habits, or promote social intercourse, would no Parliament, and fewer resident gentry, do it? What was the great misfortune with respect to the tenantry of that Kingdom? The middle-men, who intervene between the owner and the actual occupier—and these are mostly to be found on the estates of absentees. It had remained for Mr. Pitt to advance a new system—that depriving a country of its native resident landlords, encouraging land-jobbers and land-pirates, and degrading the hospitality of the old mansion-houses to the niggardly penury of agents dwellings, was become the approved modern mode of making happy and contented tenants, of forming good men and good subjects. That the adding to the Bishop's duty of attending to his Diocese the new duty of quitting the Kingdom for eight months in the year, was the best way of making him acquainted with his clergy, and of enforcing attention to to their respective parishioners. That a Parliament, unacquainted with the local circumstances of a Kingdom, ever at too great a distance to receive communication or information for administering in time to the wants or wishes of the people, or to guard against excesses or discontent, was more capable of acting beneficially than one, which, by being on the spot, and acquainted with the habits, prejudices, and dispositions of their fellow-subjects, best knew how to apply relief.

In adverting to the late treason and Rebellion, there they applied to fact. Could any Parliament sitting in Great Britain have developed the secret system of conspiracy, animated the loyal, and supported the executive, with the effect that very Parliament had done? What would the ridiculous exhibition have been at that time, of an united Parliament walking through St. James's Park with their Address! and yet what vigour and energy did the instant procession of near two hundred Members, with the mace, to the Castle, give to the loyal ardour of the country! it animated the loyal spirit which crushed the rebellion before a single soldier could arrive from England, notwithstanding the uncommon exertions made there to expedite their sailing.

The extraordinary, wise and necessary measure of proclaiming martial law, required the concurrence of Parliament to support the executive. The time would have past by, before that concurrence would have been asked for, and received from London; and it would have given a faint support, coming from strangers, compared with the impression of its springing from Irishmen, all liable to every danger and inconvenience from its operation, and yielding themselves and their properties to its control.

After having spoken very warmly to the incompetency of Parliament to surrender its legislative

powers, he closed his speech with the following address to his countrymen:

"Were I to address the Catholics, the Protestants, and all Religions, I would say, your country is in danger; a desperate attempt is on foot to seduce you to surrender the independence of your Parliament. You are all natives of the same island, interested in its trade, its prosperity, its freedom, and in all the blessings of a glorious and happy Constitution; bounden by every tie of duty to yourselves, your country, and your posterity, to preserve it—join all hands and hearts together, bring the vessel into port, forget all family differences, all local or partial jealousies, and save Ireland, save your country. Tell the bold Minister who wants to take away your Constitution, that he shall not have it; that you will not be his dupe; that you love Britain as a brother, but you will be his brother, not his dependent; and that you will not degrade yourselves from an independent Kingdom into an abject Colony.

"To any of you who have doubts on the measure, I would say, these very doubts call on you to vote against it. Do not hazard a change where you have a doubt, a change from which there is no return—accept it, you have it for better for worse, you never can untie the knot—no appeal, no Parliament left to hear, to argue, or to speak for you; and if the step you take should prove wrong, if it should unfortunately end in the nation's calling again for her old Constitution, and the politics of the British Cabinet should be so desperate as not to listen to that call, think of the dreadful consequences, of which you may be the cause, if fatally the shock of arms should follow. Even to you, whose conviction is clear, I would say, if the majority of your countrymen think differently from you, if even a respectable part of them only think so, do not rest so confidently on your own judgments, as to risk a measure which you cannot undo; remember then, if the direful necessity should ever arrive to make it expedient, you may embrace it when you please, but, if once adopted, it is irrecoverable. Were I speaking in another assembly, and if in such assembly any member sat returned for a borough, where the wishes of the electors followed the voice of some one individual, by which he became to have an habitual superiority, and of course a strong interest in its preservation (I do not say such a case exists here, though it might not be unparliamentary to suppose it,) I would tell him, he is a trustee, and, without positive and direct desire, he should not do an act which is to annihilate the interest he is entrusted with. No, no—let all join in cherishing the Parliament—it is a good one, and has done its duty, it has proved itself competent to every purpose of legislation, to procure peace, and to put down Rebellion. Refuse the measure, but refuse it with calmness and dignity. Let not the offer of it lessen your attachment or weaken your affection to Britain; and prove that you are, and wish to be (as the Duke of Portland told you that you were) 'indissolubly connected with Great Britain, one in unity of Constitution and unity of

interest.' But, above all, revere and steadily preserve that Constitution which was confirmed to you under his administration in 1782, and which has given you wealth, trade, prosperity, freedom, and independence."

The Bill was finally discussed and lost on the 18th of April. On a motion of adjournment from the 13th of May till the 1st of June, the interference of Government in furthering the progress of the question, was loudly denounced by many opposition Members. The adjournment itself was contested; but in the end it was carried by a majority of 47 to 33. On the 1st of June the session was closed, and the Union was thus noticed in the concluding paragraphs of the Lord Lieutenant's speech.

"I have his Majesty's particular commands to acquaint you, that a joint address of the two Houses of Parliament of Great Britain has been laid before his Majesty, accompanied by Resolutions proposing and recommending a complete and entire Union between Great Britain and Ireland, to be established by the mutual consent of both Parliaments, founded on equal and liberal principles, on the similarity of laws, constitution and government, and on a sense of mutual interest and affections. His Majesty will receive the greatest satisfaction in witnessing the accomplishment of a system, which by allaying the unhappy distractions too long prevalent in Ireland, and by promoting the security, wealth and commerce of his respective Kingdoms, must afford them at all times, and especially in the present moment, the best means of jointly opposing an effectual resistance to the destructive projects of foreign and domestic enemies; and his Majesty, as the common Father of his people, must look forward with earnest anxiety to the moment when in conformity to the sentiment, wishes and real interest of his subjects in Great Britain and Ireland, they may all be inseparably united in the full enjoyment of the blessings of a free Constitution, in the support of the honour and dignity of his Majesty's Crown, and in the preservation and advancement of the welfare and prosperity of the whole British Empire.

"I feel most sensibly the arduous situation in which I am placed, and the weight of the trust which his Majesty has imposed upon me at this most important crisis; but if I should be so fortunate as to carry this great measure, I shall think the labours and anxieties of a life devoted to the service of my country amply repaid, and shall retire with the conscious satisfaction that I have had some share in averting from his Majesty's dominions those dangers and calamities, which have overspread so large a portion of Europe."

The increased confidence which the English Ministry felt in the speedy completion of their great measure, may readily be deduced from the difference of tone in the two speeches, by which the session was opened and was closed.

From the prorogation of Parliament to the end of the year, both parties were actively employed in advancing their respective causes. The Marquess of Downshire and the Earl of Charle-

mont among others, invited the Irish gentry and yeomanry to public meetings, in which the sense of the whole country might be undisguisedly displayed against the measure in contemplation. It was confidently reported, that a stock purse was established to defray the expences of opposition. The avowed hostility of the Marquess of Downshire was severely visited. He was removed from the Lieutenancy of his County, and from the colonelcy of his regiment, and his name was erased from the list of Privy Counsellors. The Roman Catholics of Dublin, who hitherto had forborn from any expression of opinion, now came forward in their Religious capacity, and under the guidance of Mr. O'Connel; a name which since has been inseparably connected with their assemblies, they passed and circulated some Resolutions not distinguished by their temperance.

Nevertheless, the Lord Lieutenant met Parliament on the 15th of January, 1800, with no slight confidence of increased strength. His summer tour through the Kingdom had convinced him that the measure was by no means generally unpopular; and unwilling to revive the ferment which is always occasioned by Parliamentary discussion, and which he trusted was now calmed during the long silence of the recess, he avoided any reference to the Union in his opening speech, although it was of more than usual length. Even this silence, however, was suspected; and in the debate on the address, Sir L. Parsons complained that the House was deprived of all means of answering the speech at the prorogation by the present studied omission. He then moved an amendment, connecting the desire of a continuance of British connexion, with a wish for the preservation of an independent resident Parliament. The debate was long and animated, and the most remarkable feature in it, was the return of Mr. Grattan to political life. This gentleman had been elected during the recess, on the occurrence of a vacancy in the borough of Wicklow.

Mr. Grattan entered the house between Mr. William B. Ponsonby and Mr. Arthur Moore, whilst Mr. Egan was on his legs referring to the Constitution of 1782. The re-appearance in Parliament of the founder of that Constitution at that moment, electrified the House and galleries. On rising to speak, he referred to the adjustment of 1782. The Minister of Great Britain, he said, had come forward in two celebrated productions; he declared his intolerance of the Parliamentary Constitution of Ireland; that Constitution, which he ordered the several Viceroys to celebrate; in defence of which he recommended the French war; and to which he swore the yeomen; that Constitution he now declared to be a miserable imperfection; concurring with the men, whom he had executed for thinking the Irish Parliament a grievance; differing from them in the remedy only: they proposing to substitute a Republic, and he the yoke of the British Parliament. They had seen him inveigh against their projects; let them hear him in defence of his own. He denied in the face of the two nations a public fact register-

ed and recorded; he disclaimed the final adjustment, as being no more than an incipient train of negociation. That settlement consisted of several parts, every part a record, establishing on the whole two grand positions: first, the admission of Ireland's claim to be legislated by no other Parliament but that of Ireland; secondly, the finality imposed upon the two nations, regarding all Constitutional projects affecting each other. Finality was not only a part of the settlement, but one of its principal objects; finality was the principal object of England, as legislative independency was the object of Ireland.

Having spoken very largely to the two points of Regency and War, on which the Unionists rested their strongest arguments against the Constitution of 1782, he thus continued: "I will put a question to my country. I will suppose her at the bar, and I will then ask, Will you fight for an Union as you would for a Constitution? Will you fight for those Lords and Commons, who in the last century, took away your trade, and in the present your Constitution, as for that King, Lords, and Commons, who restored both? Well, the Minister has destroyed this Constitution. To destroy is easy. The edifices of the mind, like the fabrics of marble, require an age to build, but ask only minutes to precipitate; and, as the fall is of no time, so neither is it the effect of any strength. That Constitution, which with more or less violence has been the inheritance of this country for six hundred years; that *modus tenendi Parliamentum*, which lasted and out-lasted of Plantagenet the wars, of Tudor the violence, and of Stuart the systematic falsehood; even the bond and condition of our connexion, are now the objects of Ministerial attack. The Constitution which he destroys is one of the pillars of the British Empire; dear in its violation, dear in its recovery. Its restoration cost Ireland her noblest efforts; it was the habitation of her loyalty, as well as of her liberty, where she had hung up the sword of the volunteer; her temple of fame, as well as of freedom, where she had seated herself, as she vainly thought, in modest security and in a long repose. I have done with the pile which the Minister batters, I come to the Babel which he builds: and, as he throws down without a principle, so does he construct without a foundation. This fabric he calls an Union; and to this his fabric there are two striking objections. First, it is no Union: it is not an identification of people, for it excludes the Catholics: Secondly, it is a consolidation of the legislatures, that is to say, it merges the Irish Parliament, and incurs every objection to an Union, without obtaining the only object which an Union professes: it is an extinction of the Constitution, and an exclusion of the people.

"What was the language of the Minister's advocates to the Catholic body? 'You were before the Union, as three to one; you will be by the Union as one to four.' Thus he founds their hopes of political power on the extinction of physical consequence, and makes the inanity of their body and the non-entity of their country the pillars of their future ambition."

The Minister, by his first plan, as detailed by his advocates, not only excluded the Catholics from Parliament, but also deprived the Protestants of a due representation in that assembly; he struck off one half of the representatives of counties, and preserved the proportion of boroughs as two to one; thus dismissing for ever the questions of Catholic emancipation and Parliamentary reform; instead of reforming abuses in Church and State, he wished to entail them on posterity; in lieu of Protestant ascendancy and Catholic participation, he proposed to constitute Borough ascendancy in perpetual abuse and dominion; it was his aim to reform the British Parliament by nearly sixty boroughs, and that of Ireland by nearly five hundred and fifty-eight English and Scotch Members, and thus by mutual misrepresentation frame an Imperial House of Commons, who would become the host of Ministers, not the representatives of the People.

Of the predicament in which the new Members would be placed, he said, never was there a situation, in which men would have so much temptation to act ill, and so little to act well. Subject to great expence and consequent distresses, having no support from the voice of an Irish public, no check, they would be in situation a sort of gentlemen of the Empire, that is to say, gentlemen at large, unowned by one country, and unelected by the other, suspended between both, false to both, and belonging to neither. The sagacious British Secretary of state had remarked, how great would be the advantage to the talents of Ireland, to have this opportunity in the British Empire thus opened! that was what they dreaded: that the market of St. Stephen would be opened to the individual, and that the talents of the country, like its property, would be draughted from the kingdom of Ireland to be sold in London. These men, from their situation (man was the child of situation,) though their native honour might struggle, would be adventurers of a most expensive kind, adventurers with pretensions, dressed and sold, as it were, in the shrouds and grave-clothes of the Irish Parliament, and playing for hire their tricks on her tomb, the only repository the Minister would allow to an Irish Constitution; the images of degradation and the representatives of nothing; he then noticed the bribes offered by Mr. Pitt. To the Protestant Church perpetual security was promised; but a measure that would annihilate the Parliament by which that Church was upholden, and disfranchise the people who supported that Establishment, would rather tend, he said, to its disgrace and ruin.

To the Catholic clergy salaries were promised. Those who had been strongly accused of disloyalty were to be rewarded for imputed treasons against the King, if they would commit real treasons against the people. Salaries, he allowed, might reasonably be given to those sectaries for the exercise of Religious duty; but he could not approve the grant of wages for political apostacy. According to this plan, the Catholic Religion would seem to disqualify its followers from receiving the blessings of the Constitution, while

their hostility to that Constitution qualified them to receive a salary for the exercise of their Religion, which would thus be at once punished by civil disability and encouraged by Ecclesiastical provision: as good Catholics they would be disqualified, and, as bad citizens, they would be rewarded.

A commutation of tythes formed another bribe. It had formerly been observed by some of the King's Ministers, in opposition to a proposal of that kind from Mr. Grattan, that it would tend to the overthrow of the Church; but now, he said, the Premier was not unwilling to overturn the Church, if he could at the same time overturn the Constitution.

Bribes were also offered to the mercantile body. Commercial benefits were holden out for political annihilation: and an abundance of capital was promised; but first, a great part of the landed capital of the country would be taken away by the necessary operations of an Union. This rival being removed, commercial capital, it was supposed, would quickly take its place. But these and other promises of the Minister would probably be found visionary. He goes on (said Mr. Grattan) asserting with great ease to himself, and without any obligation to fact, upon the subject. Icarian imagination is the region in which he delights to sport. Where he is to take away your Parliament, where he is to take away your first judicature, where he is to take away your money, where he is to increase your taxes, where he is to get an Irish tribute, there he is a plain direct matter-of-fact man; but where he is to pay you for all this, there he is poetic and prophetic; no longer a third-hand financier, but an inspired accountant. Fancy gives him her wand; Amalthea takes him by the hand; Ceres is in his train. The English capitalist, he thinks, will settle his family in the midst of those Irish Catholics, whom he does not think it safe to admit into Parliament; as subjects, he thinks them dangerous; as a neighbouring multitude, safe. The English manufacturer will make this distinction: he will dread them as individuals, but will confide in them as a body, and will settle his family and his property in the midst of them; he will therefore, the Minister supposes, leave his mines, leave his machinery, leave his comforts, leave his habits, conquer his prejudices, and come over to Ireland to meet his taxes, and miss his Constitution. The manufacturers did not do this when the taxes of Ireland were few, or when there was no military government in Ireland: however, as prejudices against this country increase, he supposes that commercial confidence may increase likewise. There is no contradicting all this, because arguments which reason does not suggest reason cannot remove. Besides, the Minister in all this does not argue, but foretell; now you cannot answer a prophet, you can only disbelieve him. The Premier finds a great absentee draught: he gives you another; and, having secured to you two complaints, he engages to cure both. Among the principal causes of complaint, we may reckon another effect arising from the non-residence of the Irish landlords, whose presence on their own

estates is necessary for the succour, as well as the improvement of their tenantry; that the peasants may not perish for want of medicines, of cordials, or of cure, which they can only find in the administration of the landlord, who civilizes them, and regulates them in the capacity of a magistrate, while he covers them and husbands them in that of a protector; improving not only them but himself by the exercise of his virtues, as well as by the dispensation of his property; drawing together the two orders of society, the rich and the poor, until each may administer to the other, and civilize the one by giving, and the other by receiving: so that aristocracy and democracy may have a head and a body; so that the rich may bring on the poor, and the poor may support the rich; and both contributing to the strength, order, and beauty of the State, may form that pillar of society where all below is strength, and all above is grace. How does the Minister's plan accomplish this? He withdraws the landed gentlemen, and then improves Irish manners by English factors. The Minister proposes to you to give up the ancient inheritance of your country, to proclaim an utter and blank incapacity to make laws for your own people, and to register this proclamation in an Act, which inflicts on this ancient nation an eternal disability; and he accompanies these monstrous proposals by undisguised terror and unqualified bribery; and this he calls no attack on the honour and dignity of the Kingdom. The thing which he proposes to buy is what cannot be sold—Liberty. For it he has nothing to give. Every thing of value which you possess you obtained under a free Constitution: if you resign this, you must not only be slaves but idiots. His propositions are built upon nothing but your dishonour. He tells you (it is his main argument) that you are unfit to exercise a free Constitution; and he affects to prove it by the experiment. Jacobinism grows, he says, out of the very state and condition of Ireland. I have heard of Parliament impeaching Ministers; but here is a Minister impeaching Parliament. He does more; he impeaches the Parliamentary Constitution itself. The abuses in that Constitution he has protected; it is only its existence that he destroys: and on what ground? Your exports since your emancipation, under that Constitution, and in a great measure by it, have been nearly doubled; commercially therefore it has worked well. Your concord with England since the emancipation, as far as it relates to Parliament, on the subject of war, has been not only improved, but has been productive; Imperially, therefore, it has worked well. To what then does the Minister in fact object? that you have supported him, that you have concurred in his system: therefore he proposes to the people to abolish the Parliament, and to continue the Minister. He does more; he proposes to you to substitute the British Parliament in your place, to destroy the body, that restored your liberties, and restore that body, which destroyed them. Against such a proposition, were

I expiring on the floor, I should beg to utter my last breath, and to record my dying testimony.

This speech was replied to at large by Mr. Corry; and the vast access of strength which Ministers had gained, was manifested on the division, when 96 voted for the amendment, and 138 against it.

Alarmed at the defeat, the anti-unionists summoned an aggregate meeting of the freemen and freeholders of the city of Dublin, within an hour after the rising of the House. This body met at 10 o'clock on the 16th of January. The Resolutions passed by it were of the most violent cast:

1. That the Constitution of Ireland, as established at the memorable period of 1782, is the indefeasible and unalienable right of ourselves and our posterity.

2. That we do most solemnly and firmly protest against any Act, which in destroying that Constitution, exceeds the powers with which our representatives in Parliament have been invested; and we do assert, that they have no right to adopt the disgraceful proposal of this our extinction for ever. *Their* powers are limited in time and extent, but the rights of the people are unprescriptible and immortal.

3. That the re-proposal of the measure of a Legislative Union with Great Britain to the same Parliament, which not a year since rejected even its discussion with indignation, is as insulting, as its consequences may be dreadful.

4. That the means resorted to for the purpose of procuring a Parliamentary concurrence in this measure, and a delusive approbation of the people, are base and unconstitutional; and we call on those who support the measure, to recollect, that while they think they can violate the Constitution with impunity, we remember we have taken a solemn oath to maintain it.

5. That we contemplnte with horror, the ungenerous language held to us in the hour of our distress. The manner in which we acquired our glorious Constitution is openly avowed; it remains only for us to say, that a Constitution which we proudly asserted, ought never to be basely surrendered, and we pledge ourselves most solemnly, while we have life, we never will be the willing slaves of dishonourable negociation.

6. That we hail the auspicious moment of internal unanimity, when the cordial concurrence and co-operation of all sects and persuasions, as common brothers in a common cause, shall render any attempt upon our liberties, from whatever quarter it may proceed, disgraceful and ineffectual.

Thanks were then voted to the Members for the city, to Mr. Foster, the Speaker, and a special Address was drawn up and presented to Mr. Grattan.

On the 10th of February the Earl of Clare, Lord Chancellor, presented a Message from the Lord Lieutenant, introductory of Mr. Pitt's Resolutions. His Lordship's speech contained an historical sketch of Ireland, from its first invasion to the late Rebellion. It drew a written answer from Mr. Grattan, who taxed it with gross misrepresentation and falsehood. The Earl of Clare's Motion, he observed most pointedly, is "to make the history of the Irish a calumny against their ancestors,

by which he may disfranchise their posterity." The first Resolution passed by a majority of 49—75 being for, and 26 against it.

On the 15th of February, after various country petitions against the Union had been presented, Lord Castlereagh brought down a similar Message to the House of Commons. It is unnecessary to follow the details of the Noble Secretary's speech, or indeed of any part of the debate. The subject was exhausted, and little novelty could be expected. Ministers divided on this night 158 against 115. The violence of the populace was so great on the announcement, that it became necessary to mount a regular guard of cavalry near the Parliament House during the remainder of the session.

In a debate in the House of Commons on the 19th of February, for the appointment of a Committee, to consider the particular terms of the Union, strong personal invective was used against Mr. Grattan, by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Corry, and retorted with increased acrimony by Mr. Grattan.

The House saw the inevitable consequences. The Speaker (the House was in committee) sent for Mr. Grattan into his chamber, and pressed his interposition for an amicable adjustment, which Mr. Grattan positively refused, saying, he saw, and had been some time aware of a set made at him, to *pistol him off* on that question; therefore it was as well the experiment were tried then as at any other time. Both parties had instantly left the House upon Mr. Grattan's finishing his Philippic. Matters having been speedily adjusted by the seconds, they proceeded in hackney coaches to a field on the Ball's Bridge road, which they reached in the twilight. It was agreed they should level and fire at their own option. The first shot on both sides did no mischief; Mr. Grattan's passed through Mr. Corry's coat. On the second level there was much science and pistol play. Mr. Grattan, whose nerves were unshaken, kept his man accurately covered, and reserved his shot to make it the more secure, which Mr. Corry perceiving, called to his second, and it was settled upon the honour of the parties, that both should fire together. Mr. Corry missed his aim, and Mr. Grattan's ball hit his antagonist on the knuckle of his left hand, which he had extended across his breast to protect his right side, and taking a direction along his wrist, did no other injury. Here the affair was terminated by the seconds.

In all the following stages of the measure Ministers retained their majorities. On the 13th of March, Sir John Parnell moved that the Crown should be addressed to convoke a new Parliament before the adoption of any final measure as to the Union. The proposition was rejected by 150 to 104. On the 21st a Message was sent to the House of Lords, importing that the Commons had agreed to the Articles of the Union; and on the 27th, the peers intimated to the other House, that they had adopted them with some alterations and additions. These amendments were readily approved by the Commons; and Lord Castlereagh immediately proposed an Address to his Ma-

jesty, in which both Houses concurred. In this Address they declared, that they cordially embraced the principle of incorporating Great Britain and Ireland into one Kingdom, by a complete and entire Union of their legislatures; that they considered the Resolutions of the British Parliament as wisely calculated to form the basis of such a settlement; that by those propositions they had been guided in their proceedings; and that the Resolutions now offered were those Articles which, if approved by the Lords and Commons of Great Britain, they were ready to confirm and ratify, in order that the same might be established for ever by the mutual consent of both Parliaments.

The Irish Resolutions and Address finally passed both Houses on the 26th of March, and were presented by the Duke of Portland in the English House of Lords on the 2d of April following.

On the 21st of April, when a Committee was moved in the English House of Commons, to take the King's Message accompanying these Resolutions into consideration, Mr. Jones unavailingly opposed it, and Mr. Pitt rose to open the subject. After the decisive expression of sentiment which the vote of that House had afforded in the last session, he felt it unnecessary to renew any argument on the advantage, expediency and necessity of the measure; and he contented himself by recalling the attention of the Committee to its magnitude, as a great act of national policy. He wished it to be looked at not as regarding partial and local convenience, or partial and local sacrifice, but as affecting the aggregate of the Empire. In this view he thought it the bounden duty of its framers to shew that they were promoting the mutual advantage of both Kingdoms, and making the whole Empire more powerful and secure, by making Ireland more free and more happy—these were his only views in proposing the scheme, and indeed the only views which could render it effectual, by promoting harmony and confidence between the two nations.

Without entering into more observations of a general nature, Mr. Pitt then passed to a review of the Irish Resolutions. The two first relating to the name of the United Kingdoms, and the succession to the Crown, he apprehended, needed no discussion. The fourth commenced the most important details, and embraced legislative regulations—ecclesiastical provisions—commercial intercourse—finance—judicial institutions. For the first, the Parliament of Ireland were of opinion that their representatives in the United House of Commons should be in number 100. Now the specific number itself was of little consequence, so as it was founded on fair proportion, and to determine this was somewhat difficult. If there are enough representatives to make known local wants, to state the interests and convey the sentiments of that part of the Empire which they represent, that degree of security would be produced, which would be wanting in any vain attempt to obtain the degree of theoretical perfection, about which so much had been talked in modern times. But

as some principle must be adopted for our guidance, that which the Parliament of Ireland had chosen appeared to have much propriety, namely, a reference jointly to the supposed population, and the proposed contribution of the two countries. Now the population of Great Britain to that of Ireland is nearly as three to one, the proposed rate of contribution is 7½ for Great Britain and one for Ireland—these combined make something more than five to one in favour of Great Britain, which is nearly the proposed proportion of representatives.

To prevent an undue augmentation of the influence of the Crown, Mr. Pitt then shewed that the present Members for Counties, and the principal commercial cities would remain entire, and that the remaining Members would be selected from the places most considerable in population and wealth. Knowing the fears which were entertained of the introduction of theoretical amendments in the Constitution, and remembering that he himself once entertained a different opinion upon the subject, Mr. Pitt thought it necessary not to shrink from the discussion to which this part of the subject fairly led, but openly to disclose his present most inmost thoughts on Reform in Parliament. As far as the measure now before the House was concerned, he thought it necessary to confine the proposed change to that which required to be changed, leaving every thing else entire. Our alterations must be limited to Ireland, whose situation imperiously required alteration, while England must be left untouched in the enjoyment of that which had uniformly constituted her certain defence and protection. It would indeed have been most unwise to connect the difficult question of Union, in any way with the no less difficult question of Reform, considering how little the friends of Reform have ever agreed on any specific plan, how little the sense of the public has ever been declared in favour of it, and how jarring and contradictory have been the opinions always entertained upon it. If any thing could have thrown a doubt upon the advantage to be obtained by Union, it would have been a necessity of disturbing the representation of England, but fortunately that necessity does not exist. As for the change in his own opinion on that subject, he well knew, said Mr. Pitt, that all opinions must necessarily be subservient to times and circumstances; and he thought that man who boasted of his consistency, merely because he held the same opinions for ten or fifteen years together, when the circumstances under which that opinion originated were wholly changed, was a slave to the most idle vanity. Seeing the little chance of that species of Reform to which alone he had looked, and which is as different from the modern schemes, as the modern schemes are from the Constitution, seeing also the dreadful consequences which had ensued whenever such false Reform had taken place; not confined to the countries from which they arose, but shaking the fabrics of all Governments, while the Constitution of Great Britain alone remained pure and untouched in its vital princi-

ples, he should feel ashamed of himself if any former opinions induced him to think that the form of representation, which in times like the present had been found amply sufficient for protecting the interests and securing the happiness of the people, should be idly and wantonly disturbed from any love of experiment, or predilection for theory.

The undue augmentation of the influence of the Crown, Mr. Pitt observed, was still farther prevented by limiting the number of placemen, who should be representatives, to twenty. In regard to the House of Peers, he thought the number of little moment, and to the 32 proposed for election, he thought 1-5th of the Peers of Great Britain might be fairly added from the local interests occasioned by their possessions in Ireland. The mode of election for life, he considered more congenial to the general spirit and establishment of the Peerage than the septennial election in Scotland. The right reserved by which the non-elected Peers might sit in the House of Commons, he thought advantageous in itself, and analogous to the practice and spirit of the British Constitution, which permitted a person for a long time to be a member of one branch of the legislature, who might have it in view (either from descent or merit) one day to occupy a place in the other. This constituted the leading difference between the Nobility of Great Britain and of other countries. With us the science of legislation was taught like other arts, by experience, and the House of Commons was a school in which the Nobles were educated for their future higher stations. This was one of those circumstances which arose frequently in practice, but the advantages of which did not appear in theory, till chance happened to cast them before us, and made them subjects of discussion. It was one of the shades of the British Constitution, in which its latent beauty consisted.

The power of creating new Peers, under certain restrictions, annexed to the Crown, was required in Ireland, because the titles in that country were under very different circumstances from those of Scotland, and the probability of extinction in a short time was very great unless the Crown was permitted to make up the number.

In regard to ecclesiastical affairs it had been thought proper to leave to the wisdom of Parliament hereafter any measure which it might think fit to take with the Roman Catholics, without seeking at present to make any provision on the subject.

In commercial arrangements the great object had been, without shaking any large capital, diminishing the effect of labour, or violently shocking any received prejudice or popular opinion, to make the spirit of communication between the two Kingdoms as free as possible. To our own views he was rejoiced to add that the Parliament of Ireland had added one of great importance, not only that there shall be no new prohibition, but that the old ones, with a few exceptions, shall be repeated. Mr. Pitt here entered into a few details on this point.

The respective shares of re-

venue to be contributed was a matter rendered somewhat difficult of arrangement, from the different proportions of public debt, and the different stages of civilization, wealth, and commerce in the two countries. To avoid all suspicion that the sister country should be loaded with more than a due share of expence, the proportions of each had been fixed for a limited time, (20 years) at the expiration of which it was presumed that the finances of each might so far approximate as to allow of assimilation and identification. The proportion (about 7½ for England to one for Ireland) is founded on a blended mixture of population and revenue—and the finances of the two countries may be identified much sooner than appears at first, since, although the debt of England largely exceeds that of Ireland, the rapid increase of the sinking fund will discharge one as soon as the other, and a large debt sooner discharged will be equivalent to a smaller debt requiring a longer term of payment.

Mr. Pitt trusted that the remaining provisions relating to agriculture and the participation of our Indian trade could find no objection, and after a brilliant peroration, in which he enumerated the various difficulties with which this measure had struggled, and finally triumphed by the wisdom of Parliament and the good sense of the people of Ireland, he moved the first Resolution. (Vide State Papers, *254.)

Mr. Grey stated that he should confine his opposition chiefly to the principle of the measure, to which he had the strongest and most insuperable objection. He therefore examined Mr. Pitt's assertion as to the change of opinion which had taken place in Ireland. If such was the case, there could no longer be any objection to the measure, but he was prepared to prove, that instead of the free, unbiassed, uncontrolled opinion of the Irish nation being decidedly in favour of Union, on the contrary, they took every opportunity of expressing their abhorrence of it. Mr. Grey then went into some observations on the Lord Lieutenant's speech, and the speech of the Minister, in both of which it was said, that five-sevenths of the country, and all the principal commercial towns, except Dublin, had petitioned for Union. He commented upon the vast power which the Lord Lieutenant possessed, as commander of an army of 17,000 men, and with a permission to subject any one whom he pleases to the arbitrary trial of a Court-martial; and yet whatever facility of procuring signatures he might derive from these undue sources, Mr. Grey maintained that all the petitions were clandestinely maintained, and must be regarded merely as the prayers of individuals, no public meeting having been called by the Sheriffs in any of the Counties from which they purported to come. On the other side, petitions had been obtained from twenty-seven Counties, at meetings publicly convened; that of Down had 17,000 signatures, while the counter-petition had but 415. That of the city of Dublin was under the great seal, and so with the other Corporations.—707,000 individuals had signed petitions against the Union, and only 3,000 for it, of whom many

prayed for nothing more than discussion. Having thus proved the hostility of the people, Mr. Grey passed to the Parliament—out of the 300 Members who constituted the Irish House of Commons, 120 (two-thirds of them county Members,and representatives of almost all the towns which it is proposed shall return to the United Parliament) strenuously opposed it: of the 162 who supported it, 116 were placemen—all persons holding offices, if they hesitated to vote with Government, were stripped of them; and by an abuse of a Bill framed expressly to preserve the purity of Parliament, no less than 63 seats were vacated, by their holders having received nominal offices.

Mr. Grey next adverted to the argument derived from Scotland, which had hitherto been so much pressed by the unionists. The only point of analogy which he could discover in the two transactions, was in the opposition which both countries had raised. Between England and Scotland there was no physical impediment, and one establishment sufficed for both. The same taxes and duties were imposed without difficulty over the whole island. Ireland runs the natural risk of being burdened with our debt, and must have a separate resident Government, an obstacle which in the case of Scotland appeared so insurmountable to Lord Somers, that he said, if it was necessary to preserve a distinct executive at Edinburgh, he would abandon the Union. Mr. Grey argued that where such moral and physical obstacles interfered, it was far better to have the same King and different legislatures. The different causes of the two Unions was no less striking. The distinction between Scotland and England was not between the two People, but the two Parliaments. He here detailed some of the Acts of the Scotish Parliament, by which the succession was threatened, and shewed that there was no alternative between a Union and a war. Between England and Ireland, on the contrary, an affection subsisted, which nothing but the folly of Ministers could derange, or their violence destroy.

From this point he proceeded to consider the dangers with which Ireland was threatened from foreign hostility, and which the Union, it was said, would remedy. He broadly attributed these dangers to the mal-administration of that country, not to any defect in her Constitution; and went through the history of her Governments from 1782 till the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam, from which period he dated the commencement of the system of tyranny, cruelty, and barbarity, which he maintained was still existing. Hence he turned to the Catholic question, any Bill for the settlement of which might as easily be passed in the Parliament of Ireland,as that of the United Kingdoms. It were much however to be wished, that the Catholics should now be distinctly informed of any advantages to which they might look, for there was no wisdom in insinuating vague hopes of future benefits. Reverting to Scotland he observed, that the progress of commerce, manufactures and wealth in that country, was to be attributed to many things besides the Union—

for a period of more than 40 years after the Union, no seeds of increased industry or riches appeared, and the first impulse given to the spirit of improvement was by the abolition of heritable jurisdiction. Mr. Grey next adverted to an assertion made by Mr. Dundas in the course of last session, that the Union was so popular a few years after its conclusion, that in 1715 the Pretender had been obliged to expunge from his proclamation the passage in which he promised that the Union should be rescinded. After much search, Mr. Grey said, he had discovered the single authority on which this assertion rested. It was a note in Somerville's History of Queen Anne, published in 1798, founded upon a MS. of Sir John Clerk, who, though a most respectable authority, is somewhat doubtful in such a point, from his connexion by marriage with the Duke of Queensbury, the prime manager of the affair in Scotland. Mr. Grey then shewed from unquestionable documents, that the Union was unpopular, that on a motion for its dissolution by Lord Finlater in 1713, the votes were 54 on each side, and it was decided against the repeal by a majority of four only among the proxies; and that when the Earl of Mar took the field for the House of Stuart, in 1715, he announced his design of restoring the old Constitution. The Scotish Union was unpopular and unfavourable to the repose of the State; and such will be the fate of the Irish Union, if it be adopted without applying a cure to the internal defects by which that country is distracted.

Mr. Grey then expressed his dissent from the positions laid down by Mr. Pitt about the mode of representation. It was impossible, he said, that the introduction of a hundred new Members into the House of Commons, should not produce a serious innovation, and it would be recollected that no increase of numbers had been proposed either in the plan of Reform submitted to the House by Mr. Pitt, or by Mr. Grey himself—from the example of Scotland he much feared that in a short period the new Members must of necessity become a band of Ministerial adherents. With respect to the Peerage he should have preferred its gradual identification with that of Britain, without reserving any particular representation. On commercial arrangements, he saw nothing to object, but they were points of detail which might better be discussed separately. The great preliminary which he sought to impress upon the House was the necessity of ascertaining the sense of the people of Ireland. If this should be against the Union, as it clearly was shewn to be, and that measure was carried by undue means, it would more than any thing else contribute to the separation of the two countries. He therefore moved, "That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, praying that he will be graciously pleased to direct his Ministers to suspend all proceedings on the Irish union till the sentiments of the people of Ireland respecting that measure can be ascertained."

Mr. G. Johnstone, Sir G. B. Turner, and Gen. Loftus, supported the Union. Dr. Laurence reprobated the effects which it would

produce on the financial system in consequence of one body of men taxing both Kingdoms without acting in concert from any community of interests. This could not but vitiate the frame and character of the British Parliament, whose uniform principle had been to submit to no burdens but such as they imposed on themselves.

Mr. Sheridan observed that as the Minister now rested the prosecution of this measure on the general and independent assent of the Irish people, which clearly was denied, he was therefore bound to abandon it.

Mr. Tierney abstractedly had no objection to Union, unless the sense of Ireland was against it, of which he did not entertain the smallest doubt.

Lord Carysfort remarked that the balance of the property of Ireland was in favour of the measure. The property of the Lords who voted for it, was as ten to one more than those who voted against it. He could not but conclude that the judging part of the people of Ireland wished for the Union.

Mr. Grey immediately challenged the minister to dissolve the Parliament, if the judging part of the people of Ireland wished for the Union.

Mr. Pitt replied, that last year when the Parliament was against the Union, he was called upon to surrender it—to-night, when it was known that Parliament had voted for it, he was desired to appeal to the people. Against any such an appeal he most strenuously protested, for though there might be some occasions, they were most rare, in which an appeal to the People, on important subjects of State policy, could be a just proceeding. The present was not a moment in which this could safely be done in Ireland, indeed the argument which required it was most singular—it assumed that the sense of the People was against the measure, which he wished to carry, and therefore urged him to collect it. Mr. Pitt then argued, that if it were possible to make such an appeal, no pledge could be given that it should be met with order, decency and temperance; and that the consent of Parliament was the only wise and legitimate criterion of the consent of the People.

The House then divided on Mr. Grey's Motion. Ayes, 30. Noes, 263. The three first Resolutions were then agreed to. On the following night, (April 22) after a short opposition from Dr. Laurence, the 7th Resolution was agreed to, the 4th, 5th and 6th being postponed. On the consideration of these subsequently, (April 25) Mr. Grey moved that it be made an instruction to the Committee, to consider of the most effectual means for securing the independence of Parliament. Although such a Motion arose distinctly from that part of the papers on the table, which related to representation, he wished to urge the general arguments in favour of Reform rather than to make any distinct proposition for it. He wished also, for himself personally, to obviate the insinuation, so often thrown out, that the friends of Reform were too much swayed by theories of government, and systems of speculative perfection—for his own part, no man more

cordially subscribed to the maxim, that practical good is infinitely preferable to ideal excellence. Still this maxim might be carried to a mischievous extreme, and a dislike to innovation, might lead us to reject all temperate and proper precaution, in cases where a tendency to evil was clearly evident. It was no uncommon thing for men to stigmatize as innovations, what in fact were only returns to most ancient and approved principles. Now the principle of representation in the British Constitution, supposes to a certain degree, at least, the influence of population on the choice of the representatives; in the lapse of time, abuses of this principle have crept in, and we have some representatives without constituents: to remedy such an imperfection not inherent in the Parliamentary Constitution, but arising out of the change of local circumstances, is not to introduce innovation, but to reverence ancient institutions. The precise extent of our representation, either as to the number of representatives, or the description of the elective body, was not uniformly fixed till the Revolution; but, even before this, the criterion of population was recognized for the most part as the best guide to ascertain what places should send representatives—in particular it is known that James I. in his summons for calling a Parliament, gave instructions not to send writs to decayed boroughs. It is to the Revolution that the advocates of Reform are always directed when they seek to get rid of abuses. That æra is always pleaded as an invincible bar when any improvement is proposed in favour of the people; though it is wholly disregarded whenever it is opposed to the enlargement of power, as the present measure of Union abundantly evinces. A better system of practical liberty never was enjoyed by any people, than was then established for the happiness and glory of the British nation; perhaps indeed, said Mr. Grey, a higher degree of liberty is incompatible with that degree of authority which is necessary for the solidity and protection of society, but the question now was, whether the bulwarks which the Revolution had established still remained unharmed, and whether the Crown had not gained a degree of influence beyond the due portion then assigned to it.

That such had been the case down to 1782 no one would deny, and the recorded opinion of the House sufficiently proved; notwithstanding that opinion, however, no efficient remedy was applied to the evil, and whoever looked at the additions to the amount of public revenue and the increase of our establishment of every kind since that period, would perceive that the comparative state of the influence of the executive, as it now stands, infinitely exceeds that possessed by the Crown at the time in which the Resolution of the House proclaimed its alarming increase. Mr. Grey pursued this argument to much length, and illustrated it by the majorities which Ministers had been able to command, in direct opposition to the wishes of the people, as in their own confession respecting the negociations at Lisle. This instance was a sufficient proof that the authority of the House of Commons as a security for popular freedom was diminished. But, says the

Right Hon. Gentleman, the Constitution has sustained the fiery trial, to which the late confusions of Europe have exposed it. The Crown, it is true, answered Mr. Grey, has sustained this trial without injury, but it is not so clear that the lustre of the Constitution has been equally unimpaired. Austria, Spain, St. Petersburgh and Constantinople, have each in their respective Governments triumphed over the assaults of revolution, and it is little to be deemed the peculiar glory of the British Constitution, that it has risen superior to those dangers which have been equally surmounted by Governments, which it used to be its pride not to resemble at all, either in the principle of its institution or the practice of its authority.

Mr. Grey here lamented the confusion which had been made between the abuses of liberty and liberty itself. By holding up to detestation the disorders of a pretended freedom, he observed that an insidious attempt had been made to diminish the just influence of the genuine sentiment. If the example of France ought to deter us from innovation, the same example ought to encourage us to listen timely to Reform. Concession granted seasonably would have saved her. She resisted, and was swept away.

The discussion of the question of Reform, he said, had not been sought by him; it arose out of the proposed addition of 100 Members to the House, which must be attended with some change in its composition, and he was afraid the weight would be thrown into the increasing scale of the Crown. In a minor point of view, he thought so large an addition might be attended with inconvenience—for the fit criterion for the extent of numbers in a deliberative assembly appeared to be found in the human voice. No more should be admitted than could hear the discussions with facility. And if an entire attendance took place, Mr. Grey much doubted whether the Chair, with all its wisdom, dignity, and firmness, could succeed in preserving order amidst the conflict of parties. He then adduced reasons why the majority of the new Commons must be considered as an accession to the Minister. The right of voting in Ireland was very limited in the most populous towns—31 of which were each to return a member, so that two-thirds of these, from the nature of their election, might be believed to be devoted to the Crown. Among the remaining 69, twenty substantial places were to be distributed, exclusive of reversions and expectancies; add to this the permission granted to Irish Peers to sit in the House of Commons, and the strong influence which the prospect of being raised to the other House, if they voted with Ministers, must exercise, and he felt warranted in asserting that ultimately the new Members must range as certain auxiliaries of Administration.

Mr. Grey, in conclusion, suggested a plan which he described as nearly similar to that which Mr. Pitt himself once had proposed. That 40 of the most decayed boroughs should be struck off, which would make vacancies for eighty Members, then preserving the same ratio which is now

proposed for the representation of Ireland, the proportion to the remaining 478 would give 85 Irish Members. The County elections, left as they are, would give 69 out of these, and the 16 rest might be chosen by the principal towns. Mr. Grey sat down after moving the instruction to the Committee, with which he had prefaced his speech.

Lord Hawkesbury contended that in proceeding to matters of detail, Mr. Grey had fallen into the errors of theory which he disclaimed. In order to bring back the Constitution to what was called its original purity, it would be necessary to fix upon some period, to which we might refer for principle, and Lord Hawkesbury wished to know what that period was. Popular influence so far from decreasing had increased, and the inequality of representation so much complained of, had existed in all periods of our history. The alterations in the value and distribution of property made 40*s.* a year, at the time it conferred a vote, equivalent to 20*l.* now. As to the origin of the House of Commons, many false notions were entertained, for in the outset it had nothing to do with representation. By *Magna Charta*, the Grand Council of the nation consisted solely of tenants *in capite* from the crown, and when the lesser Barons became too numerous to attend conveniently in person, they were allowed to send representatives *out of their own body*. So that property is the principle of our representation. On the increase of commerce, summonses were issued to certain towns and boroughs, but solely at the will of the reigning Monarch. So that in fact our representation was never more popular in principle than at the present moment. The proclamation of James I., which had been alluded to, was plainly unconstitutional, for Lord Coke and all other great authorities held that the Crown might give, but could not revoke the right of representation; for, though originating from the Throne, they were, when once in existence, political rights, held *pro bono publico*, which nothing but an Act of the legislature could annul.

Lord Hawkesbury then replied to Mr. Grey's insinuation, that the principles of liberty had been confounded with their own abuses, by shewing that the principles of the French Revolution were in themselves fundamentally false. The equality which they held out to all men, he observed, was not to be found in Nature, and the inartificial inequality of government must be considered as the best corrective of this natural inequality, an argument which he pursued with much eloquence.

The only real safe ground of Parliamentary Reform, continued the Noble Lord, is a practical grievence, which, if not at present considerable, should be shown to be progressive. In looking at any Government the best evidences of its excellence are the existence of internal tranquillity, civil liberty, the power of defence against a foreign enemy, and increasing wealth and prosperity. Finding all these in our own Government, he found the strongest argument against Parliamentary Reform, for what practical ground, he might ask, could there be for change?

His Lordship then contended that during no period of the century had the Parliament been so completely in unison with the feelings of the country as during the last 18 years. He denied the inference drawn from Mr. Pitt's expressions respecting the nogociations at Listle, and maintained that those negociations were begun as soon as the majority of the country wished. To shew also that the influence of the Crown in Parliament had materially diminished, he read a paper which proved that the number of placemen and contractors holding seats in 1778 was 118, while in 1800 they amounted but to 52, a diminution of more than one half.

Applying these facts and reasonings to the question of Union, he thought it wise to provide, that whatever change was to be worked in the Constitution of Parliament, should be as small as possible. It was a strong presumption in favour of the measure now proposed, that almost all the great authorities who had been hostile to any other Reform of Parliament, had thought it advisable to increase the number of landed representatives or county members. Parliamentary Reform was a wide expression, and most of its zealous friends differ as essentially from each other, as they differ from those who are most hostile to it. Universal suffrage, and the extension of suffrage to all householders, were equally inadmissible, for they made population and not property the basis of representation; now the inequality of representation, which the mixture of borough and County members produced, had been considered highly advantageous by Mr. Burke, as it made the House what it ought to be, a deliberative assembly, not a mere assembly of deputies speaking only the sentiments of their electors. Three-fourths of the Irish representatives would be chosen by large bodies, and therefore subject to the influence of the People, not of the Crown, consequently this measure could not be fairly stigmatized as an undue aggrandizement of the executive. Mr. Grey had referred to the first fifty years of the last century, as the golden age of the Constitution. It was a singular choice, for twenty of them formed a period proverbial for corruption. But it should be remembered, that the influence of the Crown always carried its own antidote with it; and if there were placemen, there were also those who were out of place. Possession and expectation tell for much, but disappointment also tells for not a little. The proposed increase of numbers, appeared the least innovating evil which Reform could produce, even at a time when no necessity of the present nature existed for it: and surely it would be more wise to take the chance of the inconvenience which it might create, rather than to make the complicated alteration which the hon. gent. had suggested.

Professing the highest admiration for the principles of the Revolution, Lord Hawkesbury said, he loved them not less for the firmness and spirit which they displayed in going the length they did go, as for the prudence, wisdom, and caution which they evinced in going no farther. Their object was to reform practical grievances, and not to lay a foundation for

dangerous speculative improvements. Yet it was since the Revolution that the influence of the People had grown up into its present might. It had been powerfully assisted by the Septennial Act, however objectionable that Act might be in principle, and still later by the open doors of the House, and the publication of its debates—this increase he was far from regretting, for he felt that the privileges of the House of Commons were the best securities for the liberties of the People. And under the existence of those privileges in the last eighteen years, we had enjoyed eighteen years of unexampled prosperity and power. Ten years of the happiest tranquillity, eight of the most gigantic exertion. Did not this naturally inspire a repugnance to any change not unavoidable.

His Lordship concluded by expressing his conviction that the Union would extinguish the virulence of faction in Ireland. Faction, he observed, was the evil of a free government, for no good in the world was unmixed. In Ireland, these factions, embittered by Religious fears, jealousies on the subject of property, past recollections, and future apprehensions, were peculiarly dangerous, and he was persuaded their danger could only be averted by the measure now advancing to maturity.

Sir William Young moved the previous question, because he thought a Motion cautioning Parliament in its proceedings against an abuse of its own power, was derogatory to the feelings of the House, and collaterally involved in it the question of Parliamentary Reform.

Mr. Pitt supported the Hon. Baronet's Motion on the same grounds.

Dr. Lawrence professed himself an uniform enemy to Parliamentary Reform. He complimented Mr. Pitt on his manly avowal of change of opinion on that subject, and objected to the proposed introduction of 100 Irish Members; first, because it was similar to a joint plan of Reform; and secondly, because he did not consider it a fair proportion. He therefore voted for the motion of Mr. Grey.

Mr. Wilberforce expressed much tremulous doubt and uncertainty on the subject.

The Motion for the previous question not having been seconded, was dropt.—Mr. Grey's Motion was then negatived, Ayes 34, Noes 176.

The Speaker having left the chair, and the fourth Resolution having been read, Mr. Grey proposed to limit the number of Irish Members allowed to hold places to ten, instead of twenty; the ground upon which he rested this reduction, was, that the placemen in the British House of Commons constituted only one-tenth of the whole.—Mr. Pitt resisted this fanciful equality of proportion. He corrected a mistake made by Mr. Grey in a former debate, that 116 placemen voted for the Union. The number of placemen in the Irish House of Commons was in all but sixty; and two of these voted against it. He then laid it down, as the essence of Parliamentary representation, that all its Members should be equally capable of being nominated to any office by the Crown, which a Mem-

ber is by law permitted to hold. After some conversation, in which Mr. Bankes, Mr. Wyndham, Dr. Lawrence, and Mr. Hobhouse took part, Mr. Grey's amendment was negatived, and the fourth Resolution agreed to.

The Committee, after hearing counsel, and examining witnesses on petitions against the Resolution which went to permit the exportation of British wool, sat again, (May 1) when the prayer of the petitioners was urged at much length by Mr. Wilberforce; Mr. Peel having previously, as far as his own manufactures were concerned, disclaimed any participation in these petitions.—Mr. Pitt examined the question fully in all its bearings; and Mr. Wilberforce's amendment, that each country should retain and work up for itself the wool which it produces, was negatived by a division of 133 to 58.

On the following night (May 2) the Resolutions were reported, and read a first time. Dr. Lawrence and Mr. Bankes spoke against them, but the subject was now too much exhaused to permit any novelty. The second reading was carried by a majority of 228 to 26, and the three first Resolutions were accordingly read and agreed to.

Several amendments to the fourth Resolution were afterwards (May 5) proposed by Mr. Grey, Dr. Lawrence, and Sir William Dolben; they were all, however, negatived. The remaining Resolutions having been read and agreed to, Mr. Pitt moved and carried an Address to the Throne, expressing the readiness of the House, if the Parliament of Ireland approved of the few alterations which the British House had suggested, to confirm and ratify the articles of Union; and congratulating his Majesty upon the near prospect of the accomplishment of so mighty and so beneficial a work.

A Committee was appointed to draw up the Address, which was afterwards reported and agreed to. The Address and Resolutions were communicated to the Lords at a conference on the following day.

Much the same course of opposition, with one necessary exception, was pursued in the House of Lords. When Lord Grenville, after presenting the King's Message (April 21), moved for the Committee, Lord Holland attaked the measure in all its branches. He did not deny the necessity of some remedy for the grievances, but he thought the remedy proposed inadequate. He went over the trodden ground of the Scottish Union, pointing out the difference between the two measures, and then having discussed the principles of the Union, commented on its details, resting his chief objection on the repugnance manifested by the Irish themselves.

Lord Grenville replied to this speech *seriatim*,—after which the House divided on his motion.—Contents, 82—Not Contents, 3; (Earl of Derby, Lord Holland, Lord King) after which the three first Resolutions were agreed to.

The 4th Resolution (April 28) was opposed by Lord Mulgrave, in that part of it which related to the Peers of Ireland who were permitted to sit in the House of Commons being deprived of the privilege of Peerage, and liable to be proceeded against as Common-

ers on any offence with which they were charged. His Lordship considered this clause a degradation of the Aristocracy, and an anomaly in our Constitution likely to produce much confusion. His objections were combated by the Lord Chancellor, and the amendment which he founded upon them negatived by 52 Not Contents to 9 Contents.

But the chief debate, though in itself somewhat languid, which arose out of the progress of the measure, was on Lord Holland's motion upon the disqualification of the Roman Catholics (April 30). His Lordship said that he considered the restoration of the privileges of which they had been so long deprived as a matter of justice to the Roman Catholics of England, and as a matter essential to the tranquillity of Ireland. He contended that their exclusion arose from Political, not from Religious distinction: not because their worship was different, but because they had been a faction hostile to Government in Church and State; and that the cause having ceased, it was but right that the effect should cease also.

Although he held the policy of the Union to be altogether doubtful, and many of its provisions to be alarming innovations, much of his hostility to it would be softened if he saw it accompanied by Roman Catholic emancipation—he therefore moved for an instruction to the Committee to take into consideration the two Acts, 30 Charles II. and 1 William and Mary, which excluded persons professing the Religion of the Church of Rome from sitting in either House of Parliament.

Lord Borringdon recommended their Lordships to observe that wise silence on this delicate question, of which they had received an example from the good sense of the Irish Parliament.

The Marquess of Lansdowne expressed his conviction that the Union was founded in the truest political wisdom, and conducted in a manner at once liberal and fair towards Ireland, as well as judicious and just in respect to ourselves—in answering the objection which had been urged from the number of petitions presented against it, the Noble Lord related a whimsical anecdote illustrative of the little weight which ought to be laid on petitions—in 1767, when he was Secretary of State, coming down to the House rather late one night, he found a petition had been presented signed by a numerous list of subscribers, praying for his impeachment. The very first name which struck him was that of one of his particular friends, Sir William Stephenson, an Alderman of London. The next day the alderman called upon him, when he told him he had not expected to see him again in his house. The Alderman stared and asked the reason—when it was explained, he replied with indifference, "O aye, I did sign a petition on 'Change, they told me it was for the impeachment of a Minister, and I always sign a petition to impeach a Minister; the moment I subscribed it 20 more put their names to it." Such, said his Lordship, was the value of petitions.

Lord Liverpool objected to the collateral introduction of so great a question, which ought to be met

directly by the joint wisdom of the Imperial Parliament. Lord Mulgrave coincided in this opinion. Lord Fitzwilliam deprecated the state of anxiety in which the Roman Catholics were allowed to remain, and far from considering the two Acts which it was now proposed to review as the foundations of our present Establishment, he held that they were never intended to remain in force without regard to the changes in opinion and conduct which time and circumstances might produce.

Lord Moira defended his own consistency in voting by proxy against the Union in the Irish House, and supporting it personally in England. After which the previous question was put and carried.

When the fourth Resolution was moved (May 7) the question of Peerage received fresh opposition from the Earl of Caernarvon;—it occasioned much conversation, but the clause was finally carried by a division of 48 to 12. It was then ordered that the Address delivered by the Commons at the conference on the 6th instant, be taken into consideration on the next day.

Accordingly (May 8) Lord Grenville moved to agree with the Commons in the said Address by filling up the blank with "the Lords spiritual and temporal, and" —Many Peers took this last opportunity of expressing their sentiments on the measure. Lord Bolton, in supporting it, eulogized the Duke of Rutland's administration. Lord Fitzwilliam admitted that a perfect and complete Union was of all things the most desirable, but after examining the details of the present plan, he thought it carried with it the seeds of separation.

Earl Camden spoke in high terms of the Parliament of Ireland, but said he could not shut his eyes to the advantages which must accrue to both countries by the consolidation of their legislatures; particularly from the deliberate judgment which might be expected on the Catholic question. The Marquess Townshend and Earl of Westmoreland both urged the advantages of the measure, and Lord King opposed it. The Earl of Darnley reviewed the whole scheme at length. In the outset he objected strenuously to that part of the 4th Article which enabled the King to retain a limited prerogative of creating Irish Peers. He did not admit the argument in support of it founded on the probability of speedy extinction, for he thought extinction would go a great way to promote identity—unless in this particular, he cordially assented to the measure, and saw little in the objections which had been pressed against it, to many of which the Noble Lord furnished satisfactory replies.

Lord Holland and Lord Hillsborough each said a few words against it, and after a reply from Lord Grenville the Address was carried. Contents 55, Proxies 20, Not Contents 7.

The joint Address of the two Houses was presented to the King on the 12th of May; in his answer, his Majesty expressed the highest satisfaction, and notified his intention of communicating the sentiments of the Address forthwith to the Parliament of Ireland.

A separate Bill was thought necessary for regulating the election

of representatives for Ireland in the Imperial Parliament, and Lord Castlereagh moved for leave to introduce it before the general Bill of Union. In his outlines he assumed the produce of the taxes on hearths and windows, as fair criterions of wealth and population, and framed his representation accordingly. The Motion was carried by a majority of 55, and the Bill itself, though warmly opposed, and made a vehicle for argument against the whole plan of Union, passed the Commons on the 25th of May.

It ordained, that if the King should authorise the present Lords and Commons of Great Britain to form a part of the first Imperial legislature, the sitting Members for Dublin and Cork, and for the thirty-two counties of Ireland, should represent the same cities and shires in that Parliament; that the written names of the Members for the college of the Holy Trinity, for the cities of Waterford and Limerick, and the other towns before-mentioned, should be put into a glass, and successively drawn out by the Clerk of the Crown; and that, of the two representatives of each of those places, the individual whose name should be first drawn, should serve for the same place in the first united legislature; and that, when a new Parliament should be convoked, writs should be sent to the Irish Counties, to the University, and to the cities and boroughs above specified, for the election of Members in the usual mode, according to the number then adjusted. With reference to the Peers, the act provided, that the Primate of all Ireland should sit in the first session of the combined Parliament, the Archbishops of Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam, in the second, third, and fourth; that the Bishops of Meath, Kildare, and Londonderry, should take the first turn: the Prelates of Raphoe, Limerick, and Dromore, should next sit; those of Elphin, Down, and Waterford, should have the next turn; those of Leighlin, Cloyne, and Cork, should follow; then those of Killaloe, Kilmore, and Clogher; and lastly, those of Ossory, Killala, and Clonfert: that the same order should then recommence, and continue for ever; and that, for the election of the twenty-eight temporal Peers, each of the Irish Nobility should prepare a list of twenty-eight of his brethren, and those who should have a majority of votes in such lists, should be Peers of Parliament for life.

The countervailing duties were then adjusted, and the Resolutions were formed into a Bill. A warm debate ensued on its commitment (May 26.)

Mr. Grattan proposed a delay to the 1st of August, that it might be more fully examined, and that more correct documents might be procured, as foundations of the financial and commercial Articles. He again discussed the principle of the measure. It was a breach of a solemn covenant, on whose basis the separate, reciprocal, and conjoint power of the countries relied; an innovation promoted by the influence of martial law; an unauthorized assumption of a competency to destroy the independence of the realm; an unjustifiable attempt to injure the prosperity of the country. The Bill would be, *quoad* the Constitution, equivalent to a murder, and, *quoad*

the Government, to a separation. If it should be carried into effect, he foretold its want of permanence, and intimated his apprehensions, that popular discontent, perhaps dangerous commotions, might result from its enforcement.

Lord Castlereagh defended the Bill, and censured the inflammatory language of Mr. Grattan. He derided the patriotism of those, who took every occasion of ulcerating the public mind, already too much inflamed: he defied, however, their incentives to treason, and had no doubt of the energy of Government in defending the Constitution against every attack.

Sir John Parnell indignantly repelled the imputation of any traitorous spirit in the Anti-unionists, and retorted on those, who wished to subvert the Constitution on pretence of an Union. A very heated debate ensued, in which Mr. O'Donel, Mr. Plunket, and Mr. Burrowes spoke against the Union, and Mr. May defended it. Mr. Grattan replied with asperity to the insinuations of Lord Castlereagh, who rejoined with more moderation than he formerly had done.

Mr. Grattan's Motion was supported by 87, and negatived by 124. After some further debating the countervailing duties were settled as they had been by the British Parliament.

On the 5th of June, the Bill of Union passed through the Committee with few remarks, and with little alteration. At the next meeting, Lord Corry moved a long Address to his Majesty against the completion of the Bill. Mr. Saurin seconded the Motion, and repeated his objections to the Union, which he contended had not been answered or refuted. The Attorney-General replied. Mr. Egan, Mr. J. C. Beresford, and Mr. Goold warmly supported the Address, which was negatived by a majority of 58; there being 77 for, and 135 against it. The Report was ordered to be read. An amendment proposed by Mr. O'Donel excited a flame in the House, and was withdrawn. The same Member, on the 7th of June, moved the third reading of the Bill for the 2d of January, when a warm debate followed.

Many of the Anti-unionists retired from the House, that they might not witness the division, by which the Bill should be carried.

On the 13th of June it was read a third time in the Lords, the numbers being 41 to 14. The Duke of Leinster and other Peers protested.

The compensation for the surrender of boroughs was the only part now remaining to be proposed, 1,260,000*l.* was the sum proposed to be divided among eighty-four boroughs at 15,000*l.* each. The Bill was opposed by Messrs. Saurin, Beresford and Dawson in the Commons, and by the Earl of Farnham in the Lords, but the struggle was at an end, and it passed with little difficulty.

The Union Bill having passed the Parliament of Ireland, met with no delay in that of England. No important debate occurred in its progress through the customary stages in the Commons, and on the 24th of June it was sent up to the Lords. The third reading took place in this House on the 30th of August without a division,

and on the 2d of July it received the Royal assent. In Ireland the Royal assent was given on the 1st of August (the anniversary of the accession of the House of Brunswick), and on the following day terminated the last session of the last Parliament of Ireland.

CHRONICLE.

JANUARY.

1st. A HORRIBLE murder has been committed in Dawson-street, Dublin, upon an old lady of the name of Conolly, who was of singular and solitary habits, being only occasionally attended by a char-woman. Extreme parsimony and avarice were the motives generally assigned for this eccentric conduct, and to this opinion she unfortunately fell a victim. For two or three days previous to the discovery of her shocking fate, it was noticed by the neighbours that no one came out of, or went into her house; which circumstance exciting their curiosity and apprehension, some of them knocked at the door, and having done so repeatedly, without effect, they burst it open, and, after some research, found the unhappy lady dead in the back kitchen, with several marks of savage violence on her body, and her mouth stopped with an handkerchief. The house was plundered of every portable article of any value. Suspicion, it is said, principally attaches to a servant out of place, who had obtained permission from Mrs. Conolly to lie for a few nights in the house. Report says that he was seen coming out of it on Monday last. We trust that the justice of Heaven will overtake, with speedy and signal punishment, the infernal perpetrator of this atrocious crime.

5th. *Aberdeen.*—Major Macpherson, of Lorick, and four other gentlemen, shooting wild-fowl on the Duke of Gordon's grounds, between Strathspey and Badenoch, unfortunately perished in the violent storm of snow which did so much damage by sea and land on Thursday last. They had retired for shelter to an old cottage, sixteen miles from any town, which was blown down upon them by the fury of the wind. The bodies of Major Macpherson and three others were found under the ruins. The fifth gentleman was found on the outside of the cottage.

7th. Mr. Fougan, the land-surveyor at Windsor, has drawn a correct plan of the intended new road, which is to extend from the sixteen mile-stone, on the Bath road, to the Thames, opposite the corner of the park-wall, near Frogmore. It is to be cut through the inclosures and the village of Horton, leaving Colnbrook and Datchett some distance to the right.

To avoid the floods in winter, several small bridges are to be erected over it. The road is to be forty feet wide, and, when completed, will be a saving of above two miles between Windsor and London. The plan was sent on Saturday to Mr. Wyat, land-surveyor, of Salisbury, for his inspection.

Yarmouth.—The loss of one of his Majesty's gun-brigs, of twelve guns, Lieutenant Warren, took place during a fog on Sunday last, on the sand called the Cockle. Every exertion on the part of the fleet to get to her assistance was fruitless, the sea running with a heavy swell quite over her, which obliged them for that day to abandon their attempt of saving the crew. On Monday morning they made another attempt, and succeeded so far as to save all the crew, except the surgeon, pilot, and six men, who fell victims to the watery element.

9th. Yesterday the Lord Mayor was waited on by the stewards and trustees of a benefit society held at the Rose, in Rose-street, Long-acre, who gave his lordship an account, that they had just discovered that four hundred and fifty pounds, belonging to their society, had been sold out of the four per cents. in the Bank of England, by a forged power of attorney, and the forgery was supposed to have been committed by a young man of the name of Abbott (whose father had been clerk to this society); and that he was now a prisoner in the House of Correction, Cold-Bath-fields, having been committed from Bow-street office for stealing from a sale-room, near Covent-garden, in company with one Tanner.—Five of the trustees attended, the other being since dead, and all of them declared their names to be forged to this power of attorney; and said, that Abbott had obtained their signatures to a piece of paper, upon a pretence of the society's business, and from that he had forged them to this power. The Lord Mayor told them to settle any day they pleased for his examination, and he would order him to be brought to the Mansion House, which they did accordingly.

10th. The post horse duty was sold by public auction on Tuesday last, at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, for the three years ensuing, at a sum greater, by 14,000 *l.* per annum, than the amount for the last three years; so great was the eagerness of competition, and so numerous the bidders for the contracts.

Sunday morning, a number of colliers arrived in Leith Roads, having been put past the bar. They all agree in reporting, that they never experienced such dreadful weather, and that several ships, in attempting to take the bar, were cast on shore.

On Saturday evening a boat, with seven persons belonging to his Majesty's ship Hindostan, upset, as she was returning from Portsmouth to Spithead, by which accident the purser, master's mate, and one seaman, were unfortunately drowned. The remaining four were picked up by the timely exertions of the officers and men of his Majesty's sloop Brazen, although that vessel was at a considerable distance when the accident happened.

11th. A privateer, whether from the Isle of France or Batavia is not ascertained, on the 4th of July last, bore down upon a grab in the Bombay service, off the Malabar coast. The grab had been watching his motions the day preceding, and had seen the enemy take possession of several dingles. The grab crowded all sail, and had her ports well down, when the privateer came up with her and fired a shot. Thinking her an easy capture, the crew of the privateer were all on deck, carelessly employed, when the grab was hailed to strike. Her ports were hauled up in an instant, and she gave the privateer two broadsides before the astonished crew had time to defend themselves, which were so well followed up by grape and musquetry, that in about a quarter of an hour the privateer was obliged to strike, and was carried by the grab in triumph up the harbour.

Gunnersbury house and grounds are sold for twelve thousand pounds. The whole is to be pulled down, the timber felled, and the ground cleared for common purposes. The late Princess Amelia gave nine thousand guineas for it, and she and her successors laid out more than twice that sum in improvements. The house was built from a design of Inigo Jones, but not by him, as has been reported.

The French papers give an account of the following circumstance, which took place at Stockholm about the middle of last November. When the news of Massena's victories, and Bonaparte's return to France, was received, several persons gave a dinner at a French eating-house. Delille, a very old man, the only agent of the French Government in Sweden, was invited, and was present at the entertainment. Two large vases were placed on the table; the first was filled with punch made of Champagne, the other with water. The first was drank in honour of the French victories; the second was desired to be emptied by the admirers of Suwarrow, but no one touched it. The bust of Bonaparte was also placed in the room, and a singer, of the name of Dupuy, sung some appropriate verses on the occasion. The Russian ambassador complained. Robinet, the master of the tavern, and Dupuy, were sentenced to perpetual banishment, with orders to leave the kingdom within a week. The latter, however, was pardoned, on account of his talents; but having appeared the next day at the opera, where he was loudly applauded, sentence of banishment was again pronounced: he accordingly left the kingdom. As he had no fortune, a subscription was set on foot, which produced 30,000 livres, which were sent after him. All the other persons, present at the dinner, were summoned before the police, and severely reprimanded.

The astronomer, Lalande, has published the following note respecting the discovery of a new comet:—On the 5th of Nivose, (Dec. 26th,), Citizen Mechain, to whom we are indebted for the discovery of several comets, discovered another, at four in the morning, near the star Sigma: it may be distinguished by the naked eye. Its tail is about a degree, and it advances towards the south. This

is the ninety-first, according to my astronomical catalogue.

12th. *Norwich.*—Lord Andover, last Wednesday, on returning from shooting, handed his servant his fowling-piece, which, from some unfortunate cause, went off the same instant, when the shot penetrated his right side and lungs. His lordship is still alive, but with very slight chance of recovery.

The accounts, in all directions, from the coast, continue to be most melancholy; and we fear that we are not yet acquainted with the whole extent of the calamities which have occurred. The Martha and the Neptune, with seven other vessels, have been lost off the port of Aberdeen, and every soul on board perished. Eleven ships have been also wrecked near the same place, but, happily, the crews and passengers were saved by the exertions of the people about Colliston, Bervie, Montrose, &c.; besides thirteen vessels between the two latter places, and four in the bay of Lunar, respecting whose crews no intelligence has yet been received. Six only of the fleet, of seventy-one sail, from Sunderland and Shields to Aberdeen, have arrived, and the greatest apprehensions are entertained for the safety of the rest.

We lament to announce the death of Lord Andover, in consequence of the accident above mentioned. He died on Saturday night last, at the seat of his father-in-law, Mr. Coke, of Holkham, in Norfolk. His lordship was an amiable and very accomplished young nobleman.

A very unfortunate accident happened a few days since to Mr. Edward Howard, brother to Mr. H. Howard, M.P., and nephew to the Duke of Norfolk. He was trying an experiment with gunpowder, in a chemical apparatus, which, by having acquired too great a portion of heat, exploded, and for some time deprived Mr. Howard of sight. We are happy to learn that he has recovered the sight of one eye, but it is much feared that the other will not be restored. His face is greatly disfigured, all his hair burnt off, and his right hand has suffered materially.

15th. On Monday morning Sir Robert Barclay, Bart. arrived in town from Paris, where he has been kept a prisoner above a twelvemonth. He was taken in a vessel under Prussian colours, in his way to Embden, and under the pretext of having credentials from the British Ministry, was subjected to the most rigorous confinement, first in a dungeon in Brussels, and afterwards in the Temple at Paris.

As Mr. Bagot, cousin of Lord Bagot, and the Rev. Mr. Beresford, of Packington Hall, who were on a visit at Warwick Castle, were on Friday last sailing on the Avon, near the castle, the boat was suddenly overturned by the rapidity of the steam. Mr. Beresford's life was saved by great exertions, but Mr. Bagot was unfortunately drowned.

17th. At ten at night the whole nave of Chelmsford Church fell in with a great crash; fortunately no person was passing by at the time. An inscription in white stone, Gothic letters, nine inches long, inlaid in flints and hard

mortar, in relievo, on the outside of the wall of the south aisle, just under the battlements, given in Morant II. p. 7. and in Camden's Britannia, II. pl. 1. sets forth, that this building was erected, by the contributions of the townsmen, as the former 1424, as the latter 1480. It was a stately building, with north and south aisles to the nave and chancel, and a lofty west tower, with a large lantern and shaft, leaded, and a ring of bells. In a north chapel of the nave was a parochial library, and on the north side of the chancel the burying-place of the Mildmay family. The roof of the nave was ornamented with the arms of the several benefactors.

18th. This being the day appointed for the celebration of her Majesty's birth-day, was observed as a high festival at Court, where a numerous and brilliant circle attended, consisting of all the members of the royal family, all the ministers, and every one of the nobility in or near London, who were not prevented by indisposition. His Grace the Duke of Portland gave a most sumptuous dinner to above thirty noblemen and gentlemen. The foreign ministers dined with Lord Grenville; and the Archbishop of York, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, also gave grand entertainments in honour of the day.

20th. The Prince of Wales, for the purpose of economical arrangement, and with a view to a further reduction of the expences of his household, has abolished, pending the period that is necessary for the settlement of his royal highness's affairs, the offices of chamberlain, and master of the horse, in his establishment. At the same time the Prince was pleased to express, in the most gracious manner, his royal highness's fullest approbation of the conduct and attention of the Earls of Cholmondeley and Jersey, while they filled those important stations.

Some days ago a riot took place at Norwich, in which Mr. J. Harper, of that city, was wounded. Colonel Montgomery, of the 8th regiment of foot, accused of assaulting him, was committed to gaol. An attempt was made by four hundred of the soldiers of that regiment to rescue their colonel, but he very properly represented to them the impropriety of their proceeding, declaring himself determined to abide by the decision of the law. Mr. Harper being pronounced out of danger, Colonel Montgomery was liberated on bail, to take his trial for the assault.

A beautiful figure of a bird of paradise, delicately formed, was brought from Seringapatam, by the honourable Mr. Wellesley, lately arrived by the ship Cornwallis, and is now deposited at the East India House. It formed part of the superb throne belonging to the Sultan of Mysore, and is valued at 160,000*l.* sterling. The jewels about the figure are of the first water. Its tail exhibits a profusion of rubies and emeralds, placed so as to represent real life. The neck is thickly studded with brilliants, and the whole *tout ensemble* a perfect master-piece. The tuft on the head is composed of remarkably fine emeralds, the eyes are brilliants, and the beak a large topaz,

to which is suspended an immense onyx, with drops of pearls hanging to the breast. The legs are gold, ornamented with precious stones: the representation of natural plumage is so happily executed as to surpass all description. We understand that this superb figure is to be presented to the King.

Exeter.—Between the evening of Saturday last and the Monday morning following, a most daring robbery was committed on the city bank, situated in the Churchyard of this city, and conducted under the firm of Milford, Clarke, and Co. The bank was shut at the usual hour on Saturday evening, and the cash, bank notes, drafts, &c. were deposited in an iron chest in an inner room of the bank, after which the five keys were carried to the house of Samuel Milford, Esq. one of the proprietors. On the Monday morning following, the clerks having opened the bank as usual, found every door, &c. locked, as it had been left, but to their astonishment perceived that all the property placed in the iron chest had been stolen. An alarm was immediately given, and several persons were examined, but nothing has yet transpired that may tend to discover the perpetrators of this robbery, which is, we understand, to a very large amount.

A letter from Brighton, dated January the 26th, brings the melancholy intelligence of the loss of his Majesty's sloop of war, the Brazen. She struck about three o'clock that morning on a reef of rocks at Westmiss Rope, nearly two miles from Newhaven. Notwithstanding every exertion, only one man was saved out of 154 who were on board.

Died, at Gompa, in Hungary, a shepherd, in the 126th year of his age. His manner of living was extremely simple. He never ate any meat, but subsisted on milk, butter, and cheese, and had never been ill in his life.

On the 14th of December last, at his seat at Mount Vernon, in America, in his 68th year, after an illness of about four and twenty hours, the illustrious General George Washington. His disorder was an inflammatory sore throat, which proceeded from a cold, of which he made but little complaint, on the 13th. The next morning, about 3 o'clock, he became ill. Dr. Craick attended him in the morning, and Dr. Dick, of Alexandria, and Dr. Browne, of Port Tobacco, were soon after called in. Every medical assistance was offered, but without producing any effect. His last scene corresponded with the whole tenor of his life. Not a groan nor a complaint escaped him, though his sufferings were extreme. With perfect resignation and full possession of his reason, he closed his well spent life. His funeral was honoured with every mark of regret and respect, so justly due to his many virtues. The corpse was interred in the family vault, in an elevated lawn, on the banks of the Potowmak. The general assembly of Maryland requested that a day of mourning, humiliation, and prayer, might be appointed; and that scarfs and hat-bands are to be worn by the governors, the

senate, and all the officers of state and government, during the whole of the present session.

19th. At his apartments, in Hyde-park, in his 105th year, Mr. William Browning, many years porter to the late Marquess of Hertford, and household trumpeter to his present Majesty.

22nd. At his house, at Hampstead, G. Stevens, Esq. F.R.S. and A.S.S. the celebrated commentator on Shakspeare. Mr. Stevens has bequeathed his invaluable Shakspeare to Earl Spencer, and his set of Hogarth, which is acknowledged to be the most perfect ever collected, to Mr. Windham.

Marmontel and Daubenton died recently, within a few days of each other. Marmontel died the last day of December, of an apoplexy, at Abloville, in the department of the Lower Seine. He had for several years lived in great retirement at the village of Abloville, and in a state bordering upon want. When three years ago he was nominated to the legislature, he went to the electoral assembly, and thanking his fellow citizens for this mark of respect, said to them, "You behold, my friends, a body enfeebled by age, but the heart of an honest man never grows old." He was ill only a few hours before he died. He has left a wife and two children in very indifferent circumstances.

Daubenton, upwards of 80 years of age, had been elected a member of the conservative senate. Pleased with this appointment, he resolved to go and take his seat on the first day of the meeting of the senate. His wife urged him not to go on account of his ill health; he persisted, however, in his determination, and ordered his dinner earlier than usual. He then went to the senate.

From the cold of the street he went into a room filled with persons, and extremely warm; the congratulation and marks of respect he received from every one, affected him, and he was taken suddenly ill. He was immediately carried home, and in a short time died.

FEBRUARY.

3rd. A letter from Calcutta states, that on the arrival of a detachment of our troops at the camp of Mooree Jahara, a tigress of uncommon size scoured the front of our position, and carried off a grass-cutter belonging to the first regiment of cavalry. The man's shrieks were for some time heard, but the attack and flight of the animal were so instantaneous that it was impossible to save him. On the following morning, the commanding officer, attended by the camels of the detachment, and a strong corps of cavalry, proceeded to her den, which was not more than three hundred yards from our lines; and in endeavouring to drive her out, two male tigers darted forth successively, and were both killed, before the female made her appearance. Nothing intimidated by the numbers of her assailants, she sprang amongst them with the most savage ferocity, and it was not until after three desperate charges, in which she severely wounded many of our people, that she fell. The male tigers

each measured about eight feet in length; the female was considerably larger. Five days after a second tigress was observed in the neighbourhood, and another man was carried away in a like manner; when Major Wharton, with a party armed only with pistols, and the camel riders with swords, pursued the animal to a small thick jungle, about five miles from the camp. The tigress, having for some minutes concealed and refreshed herself in the high grass, at length commenced the attack, but was wounded, and compelled to retreat. Her size and ferocity were such, that Major Wharton sent to the camp for a reinforcement of carbineers, and purposed to have her hunted out on their arrival; but the tigress suddenly renewed the attack, and springing into the midst of his party, wounded two men very severely, and occasioned considerable confusion, until after a contest of nearly thirty minutes, a trooper lodged a bullet in her head, just as she was in the act of darting upon him. She measured nine feet four inches.

6th. A most horrid act of suicide has been committed at the Bull Inn, Preston, by an officer in the recruiting service, by placing the handle of his sword against the wall, and running his body upon it, so that the point of the blade came through his back; after which he had the strength and resolution to draw it out, and thrust it into his gullet. He lived one hour, during which he asked the surgeon, who was called in, whether the wound in his throat was mortal? Being answered in the negative, he expressed great regret; but upon being told that the first wound through his body was mortal, he smiled, and appeared pleased. The coroner's jury brought in their verdict—Lunacy. Report says, that having been cut off by his father with a shilling, so preyed upon his mind, as to occasion this dreadful act.

Bath. — On Tuesday night, Mr. King, master of the lower rooms, Wood-street, on getting into bed, threw back the curtains, which were of calico, and touching the candle, were instantly in a blaze. Mr. King endeavoured to pull them down, but without effect; his shirt caught fire, and he was enveloped in flames, when Mrs. King threw herself upon him, in the hope of extinguishing them. The room was now in a blaze, and having succeeded in putting out the fire on Mr. King, they recollected the perilous situation of two female servants who slept in the room above, they rushed out, and gave the alarm. On reaching the street door, the key was not to be found. The flames now began to spread with rapidity, and their situation was extremely perilous —at length, however, Mr. King forced the lock, and reached the court—but here another obstacle impeded their escape: the gate was locked, and the key kept by a man in an adjoining house. The shrieks of the women attracted the attention of a chairman, to whom Mr. King lifted them over the gate, and afterwards climbed over it himself. The house, and every article in it, was consumed, but fortunately it did not spread farther. 10th.

A young man of the name of John Reader, died yesterday at the Westminster Infirmary, from the consequences of a most remarkable accident. In walking hastily, the pocket of his coat swung between his legs, and a knife, which he had incautiously put into it half shut, was forced a considerable depth into the inside of his thigh. Upon surgical examination it was found that a branch of the femoral artery had been divided, and notwithstanding every effort of medical skill, the wound festered, and a fever ensued, which terminated his life on the twelfth day after the accident.

The proprietors of an enclosure, near Montpellier, in France, in digging up a plantation, have discovered a tomb, in which was enclosed an alabaster urn, hermetically sealed, and containing ashes; and also an alabaster incense pot, the handle of which represents the head of a raven, a sepulchral lamp, and several coins of the reign of Domitian. Another discovery, for the amusement of antiquaries, has also been made in France. A temple has been found on the road to Paris, from Chartres, which according to history, was dedicated to Ceres.

11th. A fire broke out between six and seven o'clock this evening, at Lingham's brandy and sugar warehouses, in Lower Thames-street. The flames extended with great fury to the surrounding houses, particularly the Custom-house, which seemed to be in great danger. It is computed to have destroyed property of above 300,000*l.* in value. Of this, a large proportion consisted in prize goods, deposited in the warehouse by Government. The flames communicated to some small houses in Gloucester-court, behind the warehouse, and destroyed four or five of them. The wind blew fresh from the eastward, and the fire raged tremendously for some time. The weather-cock at the top of the Custom-house, which is on the other side of the street, was twice on fire, as well as the frames of the windows; and two ships in the river, that lay off Bear wharf, were damaged materially by the flames communicating to their rigging. Happily, however, about twelve at the night, the whole was got under, and no lives lost.

A bill, just passed into a law, for regulating the sale of bread, enacts, "That it shall not be lawful for any baker or other person or persons, residing within the cities of London and Westminster, and the bills of mortality, and within ten miles of the Royal Exchange, after the 26th day of February, 1800, or residing in any part of Great Britain, after the 4th day of March, 1800, to sell, or offer to expose to sale, any bread, until the same shall have been baked twenty-four hours at the least; and every baker, or other person or persons, who shall act contrary hereto, or offend herein, shall, for every offence, forfeit and pay the sum of 5*l.* for every loaf of bread so sold, offered, or exposed to sale."

8th. On Saturday, the Duke de Monspensier and the Count de Beaujelais, the younger brothers of the Duke of Orleans, arrived at their residence in Sackville-street, from Clifton, where

one of them had been confined several days by illness. The Duke of Orleans had arrived in town three days before; and his first visit was made to Monsieur, of whom he had requested an audience. On Thursday, the duke waited on his royal highness, and being introduced into his closet, he addressed him by saying, "that he had come to ask forgiveness for all his faults, which he hoped would be forgotten. They were the effect of error, and were chiefly to be attributed to the evil councils of an intriguing woman, (Madame de Genlis) who had been intrusted with the care of his education." He added, "that he was ready to shed the last drop of his blood in the reparation of his errors, and in defence of the rights of his lawful sovereign. My brothers (continued he) whom I have left indisposed at Clifton, participate in my sentiments, and will hasten to offer to your royal highness the same protestations of repentance." Monsieur then embraced the duke and replied, "that he had no doubt of the sincerity of the professions he had just heard. He received them with pleasure; but he recommended to the duke to repeat them to the king himself, and he should have great satisfaction in forwarding his letters to Mittau." As soon as this conversation had ended, Monsieur and the duke went into the drawing-room, where were assembled several emigrants of the first distinction, before whom the Duke of Orleans begged leave also to make a recantation of his errors. He then expressed his wish to see his uncle, the Duke de Bourbon; the intended visit was soon after made, and a reconciliation took place in the same manner as with Monsieur. On Friday, the Duke of Orleans again waited on Monsieur with the letter to Louis XVIII., at Mittau, which was forwarded on the same evening. Monsieur recommended that another should be written, signed by each of the three brothers, and in still stronger terms, which the duke promised to see executed immediately on their coming to town.

The throne of Tippoo, worth 60,000 pagodas, has been broken up. The sultan's private stud consisted of 3120 horses, 99 elephants, and 175 camels. There were 650 women, including his wives, &c. in the palace, which is said to have been miserably furnished. Several tigers, which had been kept in a yard, were ordered to be shot, to prevent accidents. The English, who had been in captivity by Tippoo, were, two days previous to the assault, brought out, and ordered to work the guns against the besiegers, which refusing to do, their heads were struck off.

At a meeting of the mayor, aldermen, and liverymen of the city of London, in common-hall assembled, consisting of upwards of two thousand persons, it was resolved, by a vast majority, "That a petition be presented to the honourable the House of Commons, upon the present situation of public affairs, praying them to take such measures as they may think proper towards promoting an immediate negociation with the Government of France, for the purpose of restoring to his Majesty's subjects the blessings of peace." And a 19th.

petition being prepared, agreeably to the said resolution, was read and agreed to; and the representatives of the city were instructed to support the same in the House of Commons; which one of them (the lord mayor) promised that he would do. The other three declared, that it being contrary to their own decided opinion, they could not comply with the request.

A counter-petition was afterwards drawn up, and signed by a very considerable number of liverymen.

20th. Four convicts, Abbot, for forgery on the bank; Chapman, Jones, and Hall, for a burglary, in the Minories, were executed before the debtors' door, at Newgate, pursuant to their sentences. Abbot, who appeared about nineteen years of age, behaved with becoming propriety. Jones and Hall appeared penitent, and resigned to their fate; but Chapman displayed instances of the most abandoned depravity. On his being brought out to mount the scaffold, he leaped up the steps that led to it, and then, instead of attending to the clergyman, nodded to the females that appeared in the windows opposite; laughed at them sometimes immoderately; kicked off his shoes, one to the right, and the other to the left, amongst the crowd that came to witness his disgraceful end; and, in short, did every thing that he thought could prove his contempt of death.

21st. Saturday night Mrs. Barker, sister to Lady Lucas, met with a dreadful accident at her house in Chesterfield-street, May-fair. Falling asleep, her clothes caught fire and notwithstanding every assistance, she was burnt in so shocking a manner, that her life is despaired of.

A melancholy duel took place recently in Dublin, between two gentlemen of the bar. Mr. Ayre Burton Powel and Mr. George Powel, both relations of the Earl of Aldborough. The dispute arose from some altercation in the Court of Exchequer, on the trial of an action for the recovery of a bill of exchange drawn by Mr. A. B. Powel on his lordship, and which the drawer, after acceptance, endorsed. His lordship, in defence, alleged, that the bill was accepted by him without having received consideration. The parties met the following morning, (the 20th instant,) when Mr. A. B. Powel, whom the other had challenged, received a wound in his side, which is considered mortal. The ball has been extracted, but there are not the slightest hopes of his recovery.

Died at Woolwich, Kent, aged 74, Mr. Bartlett, a superannuated carpenter of the navy, a very singular character; who, though in perfect health, confined himself to his room for twenty-three years prior to his decease, and wore nothing during this period but a morning-gown. He did not make use of either fire or candle, never read or amused himself in any manner, and would suffer no person to see him, except his relations, where he lived. Neither his hair nor nails were cut, nor his beard shaved during the above period. Before he died, his hair reached the floor, and was so matted together, from not being combed, that it was as hard and as firm as a board. His nails were above an

inch longer than his fingers, and curved like the talons of an eagle.

23rd. Died at Wickham, Hants, of which he was rector, and prebendary of Winchester, aged 78, the Rev. Joseph Warton, D.D. F.R.S., elder brother of Thomas Warton, who died May 21, 1890. Joseph was born about 1722; admitted of Oriel college; proceeded M.A. by diploma, 1759; B. and D.D. 1768; elected head-master of Winchester-college, where he had received his education, and which he resigned 1793; and rector of Upham, Hants, 1792, in the gift of the Bishop of Winchester. His earliest publication was "An Ode on reading West's Pindar, 1749," followed by other short poems. In 1756, without his name, the "Essay on the Writings and Genius of Pope, vol i.;" and, in 1782, the second volume, of which the first two hundred pages were printed twenty years before publication, in 1753. "The Works of Virgil, in English verse; the Æneid, translated by the Rev. Mr. Christopher Pitt; the Eclogues and Georgics, by Mr. Joseph Warton; with several new Observations, by Mr. Holdsworth, Mr. Spence, and others," &c. &c. in 4 vols. 8vo.; dedicated to Sir George (afterwards Lord) Lyttleton. In 1797, he committed to the public the labour, as it is said, of sixteen years, his edition of the works of Pope, in 9 vols. 8vo. The commentary consists of a selection of the best of Warburton's notes, combined with the corresponding parts of the Essay on the Writings and Genius of Pope. The doctor was twice married; and by his first wife had one son, who was found dead in his father's library, at Winchester school; and several daughters. Harriet, the youngest, was married, at Wickham, to Robert Newton Lee, Esq. of Bath, 1793. The doctor's vivacity of character, penetrating judgment, informing conversation, and fund of anecdote, will transmit him to posterity, with the regret of all his contemporaries.

MARCH.

Rome.—We learn that 1st. the beautiful church of the Vatican, which has been robbed of its treasures by the French, is at present receiving presents from different quarters, consisting of golden chalices, pictures, &c. The nobility, clergy, and merchants, are raising a loan of 150,000 dollars, for purchasing corn in Naples. On the 27th ult. a person of the name of Genoves, who had robbed several churches, was hanged here, his head and hands afterwards fixed on poles, the body burnt, and the ashes committed to the air.

The stone arch, which formed the floor of the White Tower, over the east gate, at Lynn, suddenly fell, while the rope-makers, who dress hemp under it, were gone to dinner: to prevent further danger, it is thought adviseable to take down this ornament of the town.

A society, under the title 11th. of "The Royal Institution of Great Britain," and under the patronage of his Majesty, commenced its sittings, for the first time, this day. Its professed object is to direct the public attention to the arts, by an establishment for diffusing the knowledge

and facilitating the general introduction of useful mechanical inventions and improvements.

In France, as in England, there have been disputes about the commencement of the eighteenth century. The astronomer Lalande thus determines the question; which, he says, was equally agitated at the end of the last century; he having, in his library, a pamphlet published on the subject. "Many persons," says he, "imagine that, because, after having counted 17, they commence 18, that the century must be changed, but this is a mistake; for, when 100 years are to be counted, we must pass from 99, and we arrive at 100; we have changed the 10 before we have finished the 100. Whatever calculation is to be made, we commence by 1, and finish by 100; nobody has ever thought of commencing at 0, and finishing by 99." Thus he concludes that the present year, 1800, incontestibly belongs to the eighteenth century.

17th. Lieutenant Rothersy, of his Majesty's ship Repulse, of 64 guns, Captain Alms, arrived at the Admiralty, with the unpleasant intelligence of the loss of that ship, a few days since, on the French coast. She struck on a rock near Ushant, in a violent gale of wind, and, notwithstanding the utmost exertions were used by the captain and officers to save the men, ten brave sailors unfortunately perished. Captain Alms, and the remainder of the crew, were made prisoners by the people on shore, from whom, we understand, they received all possible assistance in the hour of distress. Lieutenant Rothersy came home in the long-boat, in which he happily effected his escape from the wreck.

With great concern we have to notice a mutiny on board his Majesty's ship Danaë, which has been carried into Brest by the villains who obtained possession of her. The purser of the ship arrived at the Admiralty this day with the tidings.

18th. Lord Camelford invited Mr. Peter Abbott to dine with him on Friday last, in Baker-street. The conversation, after dinner, happened to turn on subjects of gallantry, in the course of which something dropped from Mr. Abbott, which appears to have given great offence to the noble lord. Nothing, however, passed at the time which could raise any suspicion that he had been offended. He offered to take Mr. Abbott home in his carriage, which was accepted. When they had got some distance, Mr. Abbott began to be surprised at finding they had left the stones, and that no lamps were to be seen; and upon his making some inquiries of his lordship, no direct answer was given; but at length Lord Camelford informed Mr. Abbott that they had arrived on Acton Green, and that some expressions which he had used after dinner could not be passed over unnoticed; that he had accordingly provided himself with swords and pistols, and he insisted on his giving him satisfaction. There was some struggle between them, but Mr. Abbott, having freed himself and jumped out of the carriage, ran to a farm-house at some distance from the road, where he perceived a light. Lord Camelford followed

him to the house, and a scene of some violence ensued. Mr. Abbott, however, got back to town safe; and having consulted with his friends on the steps necessary to be taken, Townsend, the Bow-street officer, was sent with a warrant to apprehend Lord Camelford, at his house in Baker-street; and having done so, his lordship was carried to Bow-street, and underwent a private examination before Mr. Ford. Some difficulties occurred in respect to the necessary bail to allow of Lord Camelford's discharge; when Lord Valentia, and a post captain of the navy, appeared as bail for him, and were bound over each in two thousand pounds, and to answer for his appearance to take trial for the assault, and Lord Camelford himself in four thousand pounds.

Miss Stordy, a young lady of great beauty and accomplishments, while dancing a few evenings since at the upper assembly rooms, Bath, in the highest health and spirits, was seized suddenly with illness, carried home, and, notwithstanding every medical assistance, died the next morning.

A curious phenomenon has occurred in Polish Prussia. Near the village of Labotin, in the district of Pizedesé, is a lake about a league long, and nearly the same width; a forest of oak is on one side, and the villages of Labotin and Zackrezowo on the other. This lake became all at once covered with red spots, which the superstitious inhabitants said were blood rained from Heaven. The peasants from all parts ran to look at the miracle, and soon saw pieces of red matter float on the water, from one to five inches thick. The lake was frozen, and the red spots remained upon the ice. Three members of the administration proceeded to take cognizance of the phenomenon, and perceived that the surface of the lake was in reality covered with spots of a bloody red, in some places, with red and green spots, and with purple and violet spots in others. They caused the ice to be broken; and having penetrated to eleven inches depth, they found a red and green glutinous substance. Two of the administrators tasted it, and found it extremely acid, and that it produced an immediate and intense pain in the temples and stomach. The melted ice produced a greyish water, which smelled of sulphur. Experiments are now making at Berlin, to ascertain the component parts of this substance, and the cause of the sulphuric smell in the water.

The following are the particulars of the unfortunate loss of his Majesty's ship Repulse of 64 guns, Captain Alms, one of the ships belonging to the Channel fleet, but had been detached by Sir Alan Gardener to cruize off the Penmarks, for the purpose of intercepting provision vessels going to Brest. On Sunday, the 9th March there came on a sudden and violent gale of wind, and the rolling of the ship occasioned an accident to Captain Alms, who, while standing near the companion-ladder, was thrown down by it, by which one of his ribs was broken, and he was disabled from doing any further duty on the ship's deck. For two or three days the weather had been so thick, that it was not possible to make any observation, and the

current had driven the ship so far out of her reckoning, that, about twelve o'clock on the night of the 10th, the Repulse struck on a sunken rock supposed to be the Mare, 25 leagues south-east of Ushant. She was then going about six knots an hour. The ship continued striking on the rock near three quarters of an hour before she could be brought to wear; and the water rushed in so fast, that the lower deck tier was soon flooded. By great exertions, the ship was kept afloat long enough to be enabled to approach the coast near Quimber; and, at half past ten o'clock, Capt. Alms, and the ship's company, quitted her, and made good a landing on one of the Glenans islands, about two miles from the continent. The peasantry on the island gave every assistance: and the ship's company were sent prisoners to Quimper. In the confusion of getting ashore, one of the ship's boats upset, with five seamen, who were drowned. Two others were drowned owing to drunkenness; and four more were so drunk, they could not be got out of the ship. The first and fourth lieutenants, two midshipmen, and eight seamen, preferring the risk of getting safe to England to the horrors of a French prison, betook themselves to the large cutter, and, having got a small supply of provisions and bread, steered for Guernsey. They had got within eight leagues of the land on the first day, when a gale of wind came on, which drove them towards the French coast; and it was not until the fourth day that they reached Guernsey, after having undergone the most severe hardships during three days and nights; the waves breaking over the boat so incessantly, that four of the seamen were constantly employed in baling her. The first lieutenant was landed at Weymouth on Sunday. The Repulse had, the 16th, on the day preceding the accident, re-captured the Princess Royal packet, from the Leeward Islands, on board of which the third lieutenant and ten seamen had been sent. The French prize-master was carrying her into Nantes. The mail had been taken out by the privateer which captured her.

Chelmsford. — A remarkable occurrence happened towards the close of these assizes; John Taylor had been arraigned and tried on the charge of uttering a forged note, in the name of Bartholomew Browne, for 820*l.* 10*s.* with an intent to defraud the bank of Cricket and Co. of Colchester, of which the jury found him guilty; but just as Baron Hotham was about to put on his black cap, and to pass sentence of death on the prisoner, one of the barristers, not retained on the trial, happening to turn over the forged note, saw it signed Bartw. Browne; and throwing his eyes immediately on the indictment, perceived it written therein Bartholomew Browne. He immediately pointed out the circumstance to Mr. Garrow, councellor for the prisoner, who rose up and stated the variance as fatal to the indictment; in which the judge concurred, and discharged the prisoner; but, as he was still liable to a new indictment, and immediately arrested for debt, his friends paid the latter to save him from the former.

Venice.—The new Pope has taken the name of Pius VII. to honour the memory of his immortal predecessor. The order of Benedictines to which the world is so much indebted for the progress of the science and of divinity, has the honour of having given to the Catholic church its new head. Pope Pius VII. made his religious vows in the convent of St. Maria del Monte, at Cesena. Since that period, he has dedicated the whole of his time to the science. In the convent of St. Paul, without the walls of Rome, he studied divinity and the canonical law with so much success, that, in a public disputation in the church of Kalisto, at Rome he astonished the whole audience. He was afterwards appointed lecturer of philosophy in the convent of St. John the Evangelist at Parma, but was again called to Rome by the abbot of St. Paul to instruct his novices in philosophy. Having completed this task, he was appointed lecturer of divinity in the convent of St. Anselm at Rome. This place he filled nine years, when he was elected prior of that convent. Pope Pius afterwards appointed him abbot, then bishop of Tivoli, and, in two years after, he was raised to the dignity of cardinal. This afternoon the cardinals had the honour of kissing his holiness's hand and foot, and of being admitted to the double embrace.

26th. Last night the coroner's inquest was taken on a view of the body of Louis Bartolomici, one of the dancers at the Opera-house, who died on Sunday morning last, in consequence of wounds received in a struggle with a sheriff's officer, in executing a writ against him for a debt of ten pounds. The poor man languished in excruciating pain until yesterday morning in St. Bartholomew's hospital. It appears that the Italian was in bed with his wife when the officers burst into the room, and he leaped out of bed and attacked them with a sword. They warned him in vain of the inutility and illegality of his resistance; but, on his persisting in it, one of the officers seized a poker which in the struggle was forced down the throat of the poor man. The officers swore that they were compelled to use force by the furious and obstinate resistance of the deceased, and that the manner in which he met his death was perfectly accidental. The jury after a long investigation brought in a verdict of "Justifiable homicide by the officer in the discharge of his duty."

Plymouth, March 26.—Early this morning a brig cartel belonging to Biddeford appeared off the Sound, and put into a Cawsand pilot-boat eight English gentlemen, whom she had brought from Brest, and who all landed here about seven o'clock, A. M.—Among them was the purser, surgeon, and captain's clerk, of his Majesty's ship Danaë, of 24 guns, Captain Lord Proby, who, being termed Civilians, were permitted to return to this country. From the reports of those gentlemen, the following information has been obtained respecting the Danaë;—it appears that on the 17th inst. she was cruising off the coast of France, to intercept the enemy's cruisers and coasting convoys, and that on the evening of that

day, when most of the officers were below, that part of the crew who were then upon deck began to mutiny, and among the most active were observed 11 Frenchmen, who had been captured on board the Bordelais French privateer, but afterwards entered into the English service. These being headed by an Englishman of the name of Jackson, said to belong to Liverpool, by a private signal brought a great part of the ship's company to their assistance, by which it evidently appears that the intention was premeditated by them. The master, who had the watch on deck, was knocked down, and made prisoner, and steps were immediately taken to secure all the officers who were below. On resistance being offered by them, the mutinous crew brought guns to bear on the cabin, and many shots were fired through the cabin before they accomplished their diabolical purpose. Captain Lord Proby and the master are said to be much wounded by means of sabres, but it is hoped not dangerously. As soon as the mutineers had gained complete possession of the ship, they set all the sail they could crowd, and ran her into Brest harbour, where she was boarded by officers and men from the French ships of war lying there at anchor. When the circumstances of the case were known, orders were issued for landing the whole of the officers and crew; and it is reported (we trust it may be confirmed) that the whole of the mutinous crew are confined close prisoners at Brest; where it is generally conjectured, and even reported with confidence, that it is in contemplation to send the whole of them to England as prisoners. The officers are to be marched to Valenciennes, and were expected to set off in a few days.

Died, at Perth, Elspeth Watson, at the great age of 115. She was born in 1685, in the reign of James the second, and is probably the last Scottish subject born in the reign of that monarch. She was undoubtedly one of the smallest and shortest women in the three kingdoms. When in the prime of life, her height was barely two feet nine inches. She spent her time in begging, which she continued until a few days of her death, although thirty pounds sterling was found concealed about her person, after her decease.

At Eaton, near Leominster, aged 109, Margaret Mapp. She retained her faculties to the last, and having a very retentive memory, could repeat with wonderful precision many circumstances which happened in the reign of Queen Anne.

At Hatcliffe, near Hesket, New Market, aged four years and five months, Thomas, the son of Thomas and Rebecca Alcorn; he measured in length four feet nine inches, and weighed rather more than nine stone.

APRIL.

1st. Some days ago a fire broke out near the foot of Brown's Close, Luckenbooths, Edinburgh. From the difficulty of access to the place, the engines could not act with effect, so the tenement was soon reduced to a

shell. The adjacent property, however, was saved from injury. The following singular escape took place on this occasion. When the fire was at its height, a most distressing scene was discovered. Two women on a floor four stories high were perceived at the back windows screaming for help. Their retreat by the staircase was entirely cut off by the fire, which gained upon them rapidly. No help could be afforded, and the most dreadful anxiety filled the breast of every spectator. From one window, they were forced to fly to another as the flames advanced, and at last they were obliged to get on the outside of a window, to which they clung for some time, in the agonies of despair. Their situation now was distressing beyond description. A few minutes only had elapsed when the flames burst through the window and obliged them to quit their hold. The people below were fortunately enabled to save them from the full force of the fall; one of them had only an arm broken, and the other did not receive any material injury.

"*Isle of Wight, April 3.*

"A dreadful circumstance happened, on Monday last, at an alehouse on the quay, Newport, where a party of the Dutch soldiers were drinking in one box, and a party of the North Hants militia in the next; and, merely from one of the latter putting up his arm to lean on the edge of the box, and inadvertantly striking one of the Dutchmen, a scuffle ensued, which proved fatal to two grenadiers in the above regiment, John Light and George Sainsbury, two remarkably fine men: they died on Wednesday morning, from the stabs they received from the Dutchmen. The verdict of the jury being wilful murder, three of them are committed. The two unfortunate men were interred yesterday in Newport church-yard. The commanding and other officers of the corps, wishing to testify their regret for the deceased, as well as their approbation and respect for their good conduct and characters while living, attended, and marched in the procession of their funeral, with the whole of the regiment off duty. The corps of officers belonging to the Dutch brigade here, under General Bentinck, (who very much to their honour, exerted themselves in a most exemplary manner to bring to condign punishment the perpetrators of this foul and unprovoked assassination), requested as a proof of their regret on the occasion, and of their abhorrence and detestation of so base and barbarous a deed, to be permitted to march in the procession, which was accordingly done; and it moved forward to the church with due and affecting solemnity, in the following order, attended by crowds of the town and country people, with numbers of the Dutch soldiery, &c. here, all of whom seemed to sympathise. Firing party of grenadiers; band of the North Hants, with muffled drums, covered with black, playing a dead march; the two coffins; the pall supported by grenadiers; the remainder of the grenadiers, as mourners; the battalion companies of the regiment; the officers of the regiment, and

those of the Dutch brigade, in files; the field-officers of the 60th regiment, and several officers of the staff, &c. in the island, all with crapes on the left arm.—We are happy to state, that since the commission of this fatal deed, from the strong, energetic, and satisfactory orders issued to the soldiers of the North Hants, by the commanding officer, Major Frith, and from the zeal, anxiety, and vigilance, exhibited by General Bentinck, and the other officers of the Dutch brigade, no symptoms of revengeful inclination, or riot, have appeared on the part of the British troops; and those of the Dutch have shown every mark of subordination and peaceable demeanour also. The deceased Sainsbury has left a widow pregnant, and one child, for whose support the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates of the North Hants, have subscribed one day's pay each. General Bentinck, in a letter to Major Frith, says, that the privates of the Dutch brigade, understanding that their officers were entering into a subscription for the same purpose, requested permission to add theirs also, as a mark of their keen regret on the melancholy occurrence, and their abhorrence of the crime; and inclosed 300*l.* as the amount of the whole, to be disposed of for the benefit of the widow and children, as shall be deemed most proper by the commanding officer. This very liberal donation is an honourable testimony how deeply and how laudably the whole corps have been affected by the vile conduct of the very few among them."

On Friday last, at noon, the north-west corner of the venerable tower of Writtle Church, in Essex, which had for some time past shewn evident marks of decay, came down with a most tremendous crush. The remainder of the tower having lost the support of this corner and its buttresses, opened to the eye of the astonished beholder a scene rarely to be parelleled. The bells were seen hanging in the steeple, suspended in the shattered remnants of the ancient pile. The clock revolved in an unusual manner, and in this state the ruins remained until the hour of midnight, about which time the north part of the east, and the whole of the west side, fell in, hurling in its course the clock and bells, and in one instant converted that venerable structure into a confused mass of ruins. The sound of the bells in falling announced this total destruction to the inhabitants of the place. The body of the church had previously to that moment received no injury; but a part of the east side falling upon the roof, forced its way through to the singing gallery, carrying down large sheets of lead, the weight whereof and the immense force of the stones from the tower, which was 80 feet in height, dealt destruction in their course, crushing to atoms the gallery and the seats beneath. An aged pair resident in a cottage close under the tower were very reluctantly induced to quit their dwelling, which was levelled to the ground within ten minutes afterwards.

7th. The Lords of the Admiralty have given 150

guineas, as a reward to the humane and intrepid exertions of some fishermen, at Winterton, in Norfolk, who, at the risk of their lives, saved upwards of thirty of the crew of the Mastiff gun-vessel, wrecked near the Cockle-Sands last January. Abel King and William Pile have received 25 guineas each for their first volunteering in this service of danger and humanity.

8th. A very serious accident befel the Duke of York, whilst riding for an airing along the King's Road, towards Fulham. At Parson's Green, a dog belonging to a drover, crossed, barking in front of his horse, a spirited animal, which rearing up on his hind legs, fell backwards with the Duke under him. His Royal Highness's foot was unfortunately entangled in the stirrup, and the horse rising, dragged him along, doing him still more injury. Two of the Duke's ribs are broken; he has received a contusion on the back of his head, his face is bruised, and one of his legs and arms are also bruised.

9th. A very handsome pump has been erected in the front of the Royal Exchange, over the well lately discovered in Cornhill. The case is of iron, and forms a lofty and very handsome obelisk. It is elegantly painted, and decorated with emblematic figures, among which is the plan of a house of correction, which was built on the ground adjoining the pump in 1282, by Henry Wallis, esq. then Lord Mayor of London. One side of the pump bears this inscription: — "This well was discovered, much enlarged, and this pump erected in the year 1799, by the contributions of the Bank of England, the East India Company, the neighbouring Fire-offices, together with the Bankers and Traders of the Ward of Cornhill." On the reverse, those words appear: "On this spot a well was first made, and a house of correction built, by Henry Wallis, Mayor of London, in 1282."

11th. This afternoon, as the Chatham and Rochester coach came out of the gateway of the inn-yard of the Golden-Cross, Charing-Cross, a young woman, sitting on the top, threw her head back, to prevent her from striking against the beam: but, there being so much luggage on the roof of the coach as to hinder her laying herself sufficiently back, it caught her face, and tore the flesh up her forehead in a dreadful manner. She was conveyed to an hospital, where she died on the 19th. A coroner's inquest was, on the 22d, held at the Westminster Infirmary on the body of the above young woman, who, it appears, was only 19 years of age; and brought in their verdict, "accidental death;" but, on account of apparent negligence in the coachman, they fined him five pounds. It appeared, that the deceased had come to town to visit a lying-in sister, and was on her return to Chatham, when the accident happened.

12th. This morning, about two o'clock, as the watchman was going his rounds in Great Queen-street, Lincoln's-inn Fields, he was alarmed by a strong smell of burning oil and pitch; following

the scent, he came to the oil and colour shop belonging to Mr. Baynham, the corner of Drury-lane and Great Queen-street. The fire had not extended beyond the shop; but soon after he had sprung his rattle, and knocked at the private door, the whole of the lower premises were in flames. It was not till after repeated knocking, that he alarmed a gentleman lodging in the first floor, who had no other alternative to preserve his life than jumping out of the window in his shirt; in this he succeeded, without any other accident than a slight bruise. The rattles of the watchmen, and the knocking at the door, produced no effect on the sleepers; the dread and horror, which, in consequence, pervaded the assembled multitude, can more easily be felt than described; for, by this time, the fire had extended from the shop to the second floor, and the flames were bursting through the windows: for the effect, produced from the oil, pitch and other combustibles, so much exceeded the conflagration of a common fire, as to render all attempt to save any one article useless. Lives only were objects worthy of consideration, and all hopes of saving them were at one time given up. Sheets of burning oil were thrown up to a vast height, and, in falling, set fire to every thing inflammable on which they fell. The adjacent chimneys were all on fire, but, through the timely assistance of buckets of water, no further damage was sustained. The engines before this time had arrived, but still a proper supply of water could not be procured. Mr. Baynham appearing, now relieved the minds of the spectators from all further apprehension relative to the safety of himself and family, they having had just time to escape over the tops of the houses unhurt. The conflagration became so great as to excite an universal alarm throughout the neighbourhood: most of the houses being old, were as inflammable as touchwood, and the inhabitants knew not whether to bring out their goods into the street, at the risk of being plundered, or let them remain. In the intermediate time water was obtained, and applied with success; but the premises in which the fire began, could not be saved, nor could others be preserved from damage. The loss to Mr. Baynham, however, is small, having been insured. The principal sufferers were two French gentlemen, who lodged in the first floor; they had lately arrived from Hamburgh, and had only been in the house a fortnight. At the time of this unfortunate affair, one was in the country; the other, as already mentioned, jumped out of the window to preserve his life. They had deposited all their papers and effects in their apartments, no part of which were either saved or insured. The above gentleman, in his moment of distraction, declared, that his loss alone, amounted to 600*l.* being the only remains of a large fortune.

18th. An extraordinary large ash-tree, just cut down at Broughtonhall, near Skipton, in Craven, Yorkshire, contained above 500 feet of wood, perfectly sound.

24th. Sarah Lloyd, convicted at the last Bury assizes of robbing her mistress, Mrs. Syer, of Hadleigh, (the respite of fourteen days, granted by the sheriff, to give time to transmit a petition to the king, having expired) was executed. At the place of execution, Capel Lofft, esq. ascended the cart, and spoke to the multitude for about fifteen minutes, in a very impressive strain; in which he justified the sheriff for granting the suspension; commending the petitioners for interceding in her behalf; and considered the unfortunate culprit as only the instrument made use of by a designing villain to perpetrate the crime for which she suffered. He said, he rejoiced in the belief, that she had that time for repentance given her which was a happy prelude to future bliss; after which he recommended her as an example to all around him. He received great attention during his address, at the conclusion of which the unfortunate young woman was launched into eternity.

24th. On Sunday last, as Mr. Davis, master of St. Luke's workhouse, was serving dinner, one of the papuers, being dissatisfied with his portion, immediately seized a large knife, and stabbed him under the left breast: he languished about three quarters of an hour, and then expired. He was a most excellent man, of great humanity, respected by all who knew him. The governors of the poor have unanimously voted the funeral to be a public one, at their charge; and it will be attended by above seventy tradesmen and gentlemen of the neighbourhood. The murderer is decidedly insane, and had been discharged from St. Luke's as incurable.

29th. Cannons, near Edgeware, was this day put up to auction, at Garraway's coffee-house, by Mr. Phipps, and bought in by its present owner, Colonel O'Kelly, at 36,700*l.* It was erected on the site of the centre of the celebrated mansion of the Duke of Chandos, by the late Mr. Hallet; and, on his decease, sold by his grandson to the uncle of the present possessor; who, not finding tenants to take it, determined on this unsuccessful mode of disposing of it.

Last week Richard Dart, a grocer, of St. James's-street, Portsea, was found one morning murdered behind his counter. On examining him, two wounds were discovered on the back part of his head, and the skull was very much fractured. From the form of the wounds, it is supposed that he was murdered by his own sugar-hatchet, which is missing. As he had no inmates in his house, and no intercourse with any person, except an uncle, who alone had access to his house, this relative was taken into custody, and, on being examined by the coroner's inquest, such circumstances appeared, as have caused him to be committed to Winchester gaol for trial. The unfortunate deceased was a singular character, of a close, penurious disposition, and of habits of great parsimony, and personal dirt and filthiness. He was called the *wooden* grocer, from his having, apparently, a large stock of sugar-loaves, which

were, in fact, only wood, properly shaped, covered with blue paper, and tied round with pack-thread.

Died, at Rattery, Devon, aged 105, a man named Cocker. Till within two days of his death, he retained the use of his limbs and faculties. He was carried to the grave by six of his great grandsons, and followed by 139 of his children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren, and great-great-grandchildren.

Died, at East Dereham, Norfolk, William Cowper, Esq. of the Inner Temple, author of a poem entitled "The Task," and many other beautiful productions. He was born at Great Berkhampstead, Herts, Nov. 15, 1731. His father, the rector of that parish, was John Cowper, D.D., nephew to the lord high chancellor Cowper; and his mother was Anne, daughter of Roger Donne, Gent., late of Ludham-hall, Norfolk. The first volume of his poems was published in 1782; the second, in 1785. In 1791, he undertook the arduous task of translating the Iliad and Odyssey into blank verse.—Mr. Cowper was educated at Westminster school, and as the place of the clerk of the House of Lords was reserved for him, he was sent to the Temple, instead of the University, but never applied himself either to law or public business. He spent much of his time in retirement, at the house of his relation, Earl Cowper, at Cole-green, Herts; or at Huntingdon, with the Rev. Mr. Unwin. After the death of that gentleman, he retired with his widow to Olney, in Buckinghamshire. Mr. Cowper's merit, as a poet, was exceeded only by his benevolent and truly Christian spirit. His religion inspired him with sentiments of universal philanthropy, to which his conduct was strictly conformable; and his genius produced works which will continue to be admired as long as the language in which they are written exists. His manners were gentle, unassuming, and unaffected; and the whole tenor of his life was not merely blameless, but exemplary.

MAY.

1st. A cause was tried at the late Kingston assizes, which afforded much mirth to the court. It was brought by a Mr. Shaw, against the widow Baker. This is the same lady against whom a verdict was obtained of four thousand pounds, for breach of a marriage contract, about three years since, by Mr. Atcheson. The present action was of a similar nature, and arose from the fickleness of Mrs. Baker, who acknowledges that she is fifty years of age; but it was clearly proved, on the trial, that she is above seventy. She resided at Battersea, where she happened to meet the plaintiff; and in consequence of a sudden partiality towards him conceived by her, the engagement which then subsisted, between her and Mr. Atcheson, was broken off. The enamoured old lady prevailed on the plaintiff to leave a situation which had supported him respectably for seventeen years, and, of her own accord, she made a settlement on him, by

which she engaged to pay him five thousand pounds on their wedding-day, and to leave him a like sum at her decease. Soon after she invited him to her house, to live there till they should be married. During this visit, her affection seemed to abate, and he left her house; after which the engagement and courtship continued, until the plaintiff was determined to get a definitive answer from his changeable old charmer. For this purpose he sent a friend to her house, with a proposal to her of an appointed day for the marriage; the messenger was not admitted to her presence, but, upon sending in his name and business, heard her tell the servant that she would not see him, and that his message required no answer. To the great disappointment of every one present, the plaintiff was non-suited, owing to some irregularity in the summons sent to the defendant.

4th. The thermometer, placed in the sun, rose this day to 104, being four degrees above blood-heat, and 38 above summer heat; in the evening it fell to 66, being ten degrees above temperate.

6th. Two boxes, containing a valuable collection of coins and medals, have been stolen and carried off from a room adjoining to the library in King's college, Cambridge, between the 5th of April last and this day. The college has offered a reward of 500*l.* on the conviction of the offenders.

This day, in a committee of privileges, in the House of Peers, the hearing of evidence was concluded respecting the claim to the Scotch peerage of Fairfax. The only point which appeared to remain undecided, when the committee last sat, was, whether the claimant was the eldest son of the late William Fairfax. A brother of the claimant's, who was killed in the service at Quebec, was stated as an old man, and having left issue; this produced a degree of doubt in the committee; and further evidence was resorted to, which this day was delivered by Mrs. Athawes, who stated, to her certain knowledge, that the Mr. Fairfax, killed at Quebec, was a younger brother of the claimant; and, as we could collect, left no issue. This point being ascertained, the committee had no hesitation in forming their opinion; and the attorney-general, and the lord advocate of Scotland, who appeared on the part of the crown, making no objection, a resolution passed the committee, stating, in effect, that the claimant had made good his title to the peerage in question; and, the House resuming, the usual steps were ordered to be taken in consequence.

7th. The Duke of Bedford having disposed of the materials of Bedford-house for five or six thousand pounds, a sale of the furniture, pictures, &c., by Mr. Christie, commenced this day, when the most crowded assemblage were gratified with a last view of this design of Inigo Jones, for the Earl of Southampton, father of the amiable relict of William Lord Russell; from whence she dates many of her letters, published by Mr. Selwood; and resided in it till her death, 1723. The late duke fitted up the gal-

lery (which was the only room of consequence in the house), and placed in it Sir James Thornhill's copies of the Cartoons, which that artist was three years about; which he bought at the sale of that eminent artist's collection, for 200*l.* St. John preaching in the Wilderness, by Raphael, fetched 95 guineas. A beautiful painting, by Gainsborough, of an Italian villa, 90 guineas. The Archduke Leopold's gallery, by Teniers, 210 guineas. Four paintings of a battle, by Cassanovi, which cost his grace 1000*l.*, were sold for 60 guineas. A most beautiful landscape, by Cuype, for 200 guineas. Two beautiful bronze figures, Venus de Medicis and Antinous, 20 guineas; and Venus couchant, from the antique, 20 guineas. Another of the pictures was the duel between Lord Mahon and the Duke of Hamilton. The week after were sold the double rows of lime-trees in the garden, valued, one at 90*l.*, the other at 80*l.*; which are now all taken down, and the site of a new square, of nearly the dimensions of Lincoln's-inn-fields, and to be called Russell-square, has been laid out. The famous statue of Apollo, which was in the hall at Bedford-house, has been removed to Woburn-abbey, and is to be placed on an eminence in the square between the abbey and the tennis-court and riding-house. It originally cost a thousand guineas.

An accident of a remarkable nature lately happened in the environs of Beziers, in Languedoc. A labouring man coming home found a kite perched on the cradle of his child, and devouring it so greedily, that the father took the bird without any difficulty; but the child was so much injured as to be past recovery.

This night, about nine o'clock, —— Meadows, Esq., of Kippis-hall, near Pontefract, suddenly called Mrs. Meadows's maid into the drawing-room, and threatened to stab her with his sword. By the earnest entreaty of his lady, however, he was diverted from the purpose, and the servant was permitted to leave the room. But she had scarcely withdrawn, when he attacked Mrs. Meadows with the most savage ferocity, gave her three stabs in the body, and cut her throat in so dreadful a manner as nearly to sever her head from her body. The servants were first alarmed by one of their children, who ran down stairs exclaiming that her papa had killed her mamma. As the murderer was armed with two or three brace of pistols, besides his sword, they were obliged to send for a party of the Pontefract volunteers, who immediately secured him, and carried him off to York-castle. His lady was a dutiful wife and tender mother; and the conduct of Mr. Meadows can be attributed only to insanity. 11th.

A circumstance occurred this morning in Hyde-park which caused a considerable sensation through the town, in the course of the forenoon. His Majesty was attending the field exercises of the grenadier battalion of the guards, when, during one of the vollies, a ball-cartridge was fired from the musquet of one of the soldiers, which struck Mr. 15th.

Ongley, a clerk in the allotment department of the navy-office, who was standing only twenty-three feet distance from the King. The ball entered the fleshy part of the thigh in front, and passed straight through. Mr. Ongley was dressed on the ground: had the wound been an inch higher, it must have proved fatal. An examination took place of the cartouch boxes of the soldiers, but no individual could be fixed upon as the perpetrator of this act. The following bulletin on this subject was issued from the Horse-Guards, in the course of the afternoon:

"*Horse-Guards, May* 15.

"This morning, during the field-day of the grenadier battalion of the foot guards, in Hyde-park, a shot was accidentally discharged from the ranks, which unfortunately wounded a gentleman of the name of Ongley, who was amongst the spectators. The shot perforated Mr. Ongley's thigh, but did not injure the bone or arteries. His Majesty directed the military surgeon present to examine and dress Mr. Ongley's wounds, and was much gratified by the favourable report made by Mr. Nixon, the surgeon of the grenadiers. His Majesty, on coming from the field, sent his command to Mr. Keate, the surgeon-general, and Mr. Rush, the inspector of hospitals, to wait on Mr. Ongley, and to offer their assistance during the progress of his cure."

In the evening, a most alarming and extraordinary circumstance occurred at the theatre royal, Drury-lane. At the moment when his Majesty entered the box, a man in the pit, near the orchestra, on the right hand side, suddenly stood up and discharged a pistol at the royal person. His Majesty had advanced about four steps from the door. On the report of a pistol his Majesty stopped, and stood firmly. The house was immediately in an uproar, and the cry of "seize him" burst from every part of the theatre. The King, apparently not the least disconcerted, came nearly to the front of the box. The man who committed the crime was seized and conveyed from the pit. The audience vehemently called out "show him!" In consequence of which loyal clamour, Kelly, who, with a multitude of persons belonging to the theatre, had rushed upon the stage, came forward, and assured them that the culprit was in safe custody. The indignation of the audience was soothed by this intelligence, and "God save the King" was universally demanded. It was sung by all the vocal performers, and encored. The curtain drew up for the commencement of the play; but Bannister, junior, was not suffered to proceed till something more could be learned respecting the wretch who had made this diabolical attempt. Bannister and Mrs. Jordan both again assured the audience that the culprit was perfectly secured, and the play was then suffered to go on without further interruption.

Mr. Sheridan, assisted by Mr. Wigstead, the magistrate, proceeded immediately to examine the man in the room into which he

had been conducted, and where he had been searched, to see if he had any other fire-arms, or papers. He had none. Mr. Tamplin, a trumpeter in the band, who assisted in taking him over the orchestra, recognized the man to be a soldier, and pulling open his coat, found that he had on a military waistcoat, with the button of the 15th light dragooons. It was an officer's old waistcoat. On being questioned by Mr. Sheridan, he said, "he had no objection to tell who he was. It was not over yet—there was a great deal more and worse to be done; his name was James Hadfield; he had served his time to a working silversmith, but had enlisted into the 15th light dragoons, and fought for his King and country."—At this time the Prince of Wales and Duke of York entered the room, to be present at the examination. He immediately turned to the duke, and said, "I know your royal highness—God bless you. You are a good fellow. I have served with your highness, and (pointing to a deep cut over his eye, and another long scar on his cheek,) I got these, and more than these, in fighting by your side. At Lincelles, I was left three hours among the dead, in a ditch, and was taken prisoner by the French. I had my arm broken by a shot, and eight sabre wounds in my head; but I recovered, and here I am." He then gave the following account of himself, and of his conduct:

He said, that having been discharged from the army, on account of his wounds, he had returned to London, and now lived by working at his own trade. He made a good deal of money; he worked for Mr. Solomon Hougham. Being weary of life, he last week bought a pair of pistols from William Wakelin, a hair-dresser and broker, in St. John-street. (Persons were immediately sent to bring Wakelin and his master to the theatre.) He told him they were for his young master, who would give him a blunderbuss in exchange. That he had borrowed a crown of his master that morning, with which he had bought some powder, and had gone to the house of Mrs. Mason, in Red-Lion-street, to have some beer; that he went backwards to the yard, and there he tried his pistols. He found one of them good for nothing, and left it behind him. In his own trade he used lead, and he cast himself two slugs, with which he loaded his pistol, and came to the theatre.

At this part of his narrative Sir William Addington, the magistrate, arrived, and took the chair: he went over the examination of the persons who had secured him, and who had seen the pistol levelled at his Majesty. He asked Hadfield what had induced him to attempt the life of the best of sovereigns? He answered, that he "had not attempted to kill the King. He had fired his pistol over the royal box. He was as good a shot as any in England; but he was himself weary of life—he wished for death, but not to die by his own hands. He was desirous to raise an alarm; and wished that the spectators might fall upon him—he hoped that his life was for-

feited." He was asked if he belonged to the corresponding society. He said, "no; he belonged to no political society; he belonged to a club of odd fellows, and he was a member of a benefit society." And being asked if he had any accomplices, he solemnly declared that he had none, and with great energy took God to witness, and laid his hand on his heart.

From this time he appeared to exhibit symptoms of derangement. When asked who his father was? He said he had been postillion to some duke; but he could not say what duke. He talked in a mysterious way of dreams, and of a great commission he had received in his sleep; that he knew he was to be a martyr, and was to be persecuted like his great master. He had been persecuted in France; but he had not yet been sufficiently tried. He knew what he was to endure. He uttered many other incoherent things in the same style.

William Wakelin, the person from whom he had bought the pistols, being brought to the house, was examined. He said, it was true that he had bought a pair of pistols of him, and that he had said that they were for his young master, who would give him a blunderbuss for them; but he had not yet got the blunderbuss. He knew very little of Hadfield, but knew where he worked, and had heard a good character of him; but that the least drink affected his head.

Several persons from the house of Mrs. Mason, his acquaintance, confirmed this fact; and they said they ascribed this to the very severe wounds he had received in the head. The least drink quite deranged him.

Upon this evidence, he was committed to Cold-bath-fields for re-examination; and their royal highnesses the Duke of Clarence, Duke of Cumberland, and Mr. Sheridan, conducted him thither. His Majesty's privy council, however, desiring to examine him forthwith, to discover if he had any accomplices, he was taken to the Duke of Portland's office, where he underwent another examination. The persons who were instrumental in securing him, and whose evidence is the most material, as to directing the pistol towards his Majesty's box, if not towards his person, also attended.

On Friday the privy-council sat on the further examination of this man's conduct. Several of the prisoner's shopmates were examined, the tendency of whose evidence showed that he was insane. He told his wife, and others, that, on Tuesday last, he met a man, who assured him that he had had Jesus Christ in keeping five years in Mount Sion, and that he was soon to visit this world. This man was one Truelock, a cobler, at Islington. He was taken before the privy-council that day, and is much possessed with an opinion of the speedy return of our Saviour. With this idea he had possessed the prisoner also. Both seem to be religiously mad.

At the privy-council also appeared, and were examined, the adjutant, and one of the captains of the 15th light dragoons, who

said the prisoner had been considered as insane, otherwise he was a brave good man, and much beloved by the regiment. About three months ago, he came down to Croydon to see the regiment, and, while there, was taken so ill, that it was necessary to put him in a strait waistcoat. They wondered he had not since been taken care of as a madman.

The second slug which was fired, was found on Friday morning, by the Duke of Clarence, in Lady Milner's box. It appears that Hadfield did not fire very wide of his Majesty; only about a yard too far to the left. The King stood erect after he fired. The Queen came in, and the King waved his hand for her to keep back. Her Majesty asked, What's the matter? The King said, "Only a squib, a squib; they are firing squibs." After the assassin had been taken away, the Queen came forward, and, in great agitation, curtsied. She looked at the King, and asked if they should stay? The King answered, "We will not stir, but stay the entertainment out."

At the end of the farce "God save the King" was again demanded, and the following *impromptu* stanza was sung as the concluding verse. It is needless to observe, that it was received with enthusiastic applause, and encored.

"From every latent foe,
From the assassin's blow,
God shield the King!
O'er him thine arm extend,
For Britain's sake defend
Our Father, Prince and Friend;
God save the King!"

The royal party then left the theatre amidst the prayers and plaudits of the crowded audience. When they reached the Queen's house, supper was immediately brought up, but none of the Royal Family sat down. Her Majesty drank a glass of wine and water, at the earnest request of the King, and then retired. The Princess Amelia, who is in a very delicate state of health, fainted on entering her chamber, and the fit continued very long. His Majesty, who had been perfectly cool and collected during the whole evening, was much agitated when acquainted with this circumstance; he hastened to the Princess's chamber, supported her in his arms until she revived, and would not leave her, till in return for his tender reasonings and entreaties, she promised him that she "would be comforted, and endeavour to support herself." His Majesty on leaving her, went to the Princesses Elizabeth, Mary, and Augusta, who had been relieved by a violent flow of tears. The Princess Sophia, who has been indisposed for some time, repeatedly called to her attendants during this scene of confusion, to know what had occurred. She was informed that the Princess Amelia had been taken ill in the theatre. His Majesty looked in upon her as he passed her door, saying, "God bless you, good night Sophia, Amelia is quite well again." He then retired to rest. The Palace was thronged with inquirers the whole of the following day.

On Monday last a fatal duel took place on Drumcondra-roads, near Dublin, be- 20th.

tween James Corry, esq. of Lurgan-street, and William Newburgh, esq. in consequence of a dispute, and as it is alleged, a blow given by the latter to the former. Mr. Newburgh was accompanied to the ground by Capt. Waring, of the 24th dragoons. Mr. Weir, a lawyer, was the second of his antagonist. Having taken their ground, the signal was given to fire. Mr. Corry's pistol went off without effect. Mr. Newburgh's missed fire; he was preparing to fire again, when his second called to him, telling him that the snap in duelling was considered as a fire. The gentlemen then were provided with other pistols, and on their both firing at the signal, Mr. Newburgh was shot through the heart, and instantly expired. The deceased was of an ancient family, and heir to a very large hereditary estate. He was thirty years of age, and has left a young widow, the daughter of Mr. Camac, an East India gentleman.

29th. As Mr. Munday, of Bishopstrow, near Warminster, was walking near the river, not far from his own house, he discovered a bonnet floating on the surface of the water, and suspecting some person to be drowned, he caused the hatches to be raised, when the body of Miss Charlotte Slade (daughter of the late James Slade, esq. of Warminster) was found. Her death was certainly accidental: two persons in different situations heard her cries, but not knowing whence they came, or more probably from very culpable negligence, did not attempt to offer any assistance. She was a very lovely and estimable young woman, only sixteen years of age.

Died. 7th. At Pancras workhouse, Manchester, aged 104, Mary Bird, who retained all her faculties to the moment of her death, and ate a hearty dinner the same day she died.

10th. At the Count de Lally's, at Richmond, Surrey, of a decline, the celebrated Monsieur Mallet du Pau. He has left a widow and five children, to whom government have promised their especial support and protection.

18th. At Petersburgh, the celebrated Field-marshal Suvaroff. At this time last year, his name resounded from every mouth, and his triumphs frequently graced our Register. His blood was inflamed by the painful labours of his glorious campaign; his soul, oppressed with the contradictions which prevented him from crowning it by the total expulsion of the French from Italy; and his heart afflicted with the grief of finding his important services repaid by unaccountable caprice and ingratitude. He is said to have been in disgrace with his sovereign; and such is the character of Russian manners, that the displeasure of the prince includes banishment from all society. The man, so lately the theme of royal panegyric, was absolutely abandoned in the struggles of sickness and death; and the last moments of Suvaroff were deprived of the offices of friendship, and the consolation of public sympathy. Suvaroff, it cannot be denied, served his country with persever-

ing success, and implicit fidelity; and has contributed to consolidate the power, and to extend the fame of the Russian empire. Posterity will render him that justice, which his contemporaries refused him; and we are not afraid to express its language before-hand, by paying this homage to the great talents and virtues of a hero, whose actions will maintain a distinguished rank in the history of the eighteenth century.

JUNE.

3rd. This morning Sir Godfrey Webster, Bart. of Battle Abbey, Sussex, put a period to his existence by shooting himself through the head, at his town residence, Tenterden-street, Hanover-square. For five or six weeks past he has betrayed very evident symptoms of a troubled mind, in consequence of great and repeated losses at play. Whereupon the Coroner's inquest brought in a verdict of *lunacy*. He has left two sons and a daughter by his lady, from whom he was divorced, and who afterwards married Lord Holland.

With most sincere regret we record the melancholy fate of the Queen Charlotte, of 100 guns, Lord Keith's flag-ship, in the Mediterranean. His Lordship, we understand, had thought it expedient to attack the island Cabrera, of which the French are still possessed, about 20 or 30 miles from Leghorn. The attack was to have been made by the British navy, assisted by the Austrian troops; and while his Lordship was making the necessary arrangements with the Austrian commander on shore at Leghorn, he sent, on the night of the 16th, the Queen Charlotte, having 837 persons on board, to reconnoitre the island. On the morning of March 17, he had the mortification of discovering the Queen Charlotte on fire, four or five leagues at sea. This sight rendered Lord Keith almost frantic; he immediately gave orders for all the vessels and boats to put off, and every assistance to be given; and in this service he was zealously seconded by the Austrian general, and all ranks in Leghorn. An American vessel, several tartans, and some ships of the line, immediately bent their sails. The fire, however, notwithstanding all the efforts of the crew, continued to increase. Between eight and nine o'clock, the mast and rigging caught fire, and made a most awful blaze; the crew, however, cut the masts by the board; and they going over the ship, no longer threatened mischief: but the fire had taken strong hold of the body of the vessel, and continued to rage. The guns now began to go off, and the people in the boats, and other vessels who had gone from Leghorn, were so much alarmed for fear of the shot, that they would not approach the ship. Here we must mention, that a part of the Queen Charlotte's own crew behaved with the most generous bravery. Despising all danger, they approached the ship, and saved many of their gallant countrymen. The ship at 11 o'clock, blew up with a tremendous ex-

plosion, sunk, and, in a moment, left not a wreck behind. The reports are various respecting the origin of the fire; but the most credible account is, that it was occasioned by some hay which had been put on board, and lodged on the booms. It was necessary to remove this hay, to make room for the launch; and some of it falling upon the match-tub, caught fire, and blazed up with astonishing rapidity. It suddenly caught the sails and rigging, and spread the flames so quickly, on all sides, that they could not be overcome by any exertions. Immediately after the accident, the wind freshened, and prevented the other ships from returning into port. At length, about eleven at night of the same day, a tartan came in with 30 English seamen, together with the admiral's lieutenant, Mr. Stuart. Shortly five other tartans came in, among which was an Austrian one, the General Ott. She had saved 85 sailors, two soldiers, two quarter-masters, and two mates; they were quartered at Della Scalla Sancta. Yesterday, the xebec the Prince de Conti came to an anchor; she had on board 23 English, of whom three were dead. The Triton also came in, in her company, with 26 English seamen, and one officer. On the 28th, at noon, a large sloop, which belonged to the burned vessel, arrived with 24 seamen, and three officers. The number of the crew saved amounts to 158. The captain remained to the last moment upon the quarter-deck, giving directions for saving the crew, without regarding his own safety in the least. The Queen Charlotte was Lord Howe's ship in the memorable first of June; and it was on board of her that the royal family went, when the king reviewed the fleet at Spithead after that glorious victory. We regret her loss; but we most deeply lament the fate of her gallant crew, which consisted of some of the most choice and brave men in our navy. The Queen Charlotte was launched in 1790, in immediate succession off the slip of the Royal George, and was allowed, both as a prime sailer, and for her other superior qualities, to be the finest ship of war that ever displayed English colours: though rated 110 guns, she carried 120. —The following account is dated off Leghorn, on the 17th of March.

"Mr. John Braid, carpenter of the Queen Charlotte, reports, that, about twenty minutes after six o'clock yesterday morning, as he was dressing himself, he heard throughout the ship a general cry of 'Fire.' On which he immediately ran up the fore-ladder, to get upon deck, and found the whole half-deck, the front bulkhead of the admiral's cabin, the main-mast's coat, and boat's covering on the booms, all in flames; which, from every report and probability, he apprehends was occasioned by some hay, which was lying under the half-deck, having been set on fire by a match in a tub, which was usually kept there for signal guns. The main-sail at this time was set, and almost entirely caught fire; the people not being able to come to the clue-garnets, on account of the flames. He immediately went to the forecastle, and found Lieutenant Dun-

das and the boatswain encouraging the people to get water to extinguish the fire. He applied to Mr. Dundas, seeing no other officer on the fore-part of the ship (and being unable to see any on the quarter-deck, from the flames and smoke between them), to give him assistance to drown the lower decks, and secure the hatches, to prevent the fire falling down. Lieutenant Dundas accordingly went down himself, with as many people as he could prevail upon to follow him; and the lower deck-ports were opened, the scuppers plugged, the main and fore-hatches secured, the cocks turned, and water drawn in at the ports, and the pumps kept going by the people who came down, as long as they could stand at them. He thinks that by these exertions the lower deck was kept free from fire, and the magazines preserved, for a long time, from danger; nor did Lieutenant Dundas or he quit this station, but remained there with all the people who could be prevailed upon to stay, till several of the middle deck guns came through that deck. About nine o'clock, Lieutenant Dundas and he, finding it impossible to remain any longer below, went out at the foremost lower-deck port, and got upon the fore-castle; on which he thinks there were then about 150 of the people drawing water, and throwing it as far up as possible upon the fire. He continued about an hour on the forecastle; and finding all efforts to extinguish the flames unavailing, he jumped from the jib-boom, and swam to an American boat approaching the ship, by which he was picked up, and put into a tartan, then in the charge of Lieutenant Stewart, who had come off to the assistance of the ship.

The celebration of this day, on which his Majesty entered into his sixty-third year, commenced with the grandest sight ever exhibited in Hyde-park. At six o'clock, all the volunteer corps in London and its immediate vicinity, to the number of 12,000, were under arms, and assembled in the field before eight. Notwithstanding the immense crowd of spectators, and their impatient curiosity, the ground was most excellently kept by the city light horse, the London, Westminster, and Surry cavalry. His Majesty arrived at nine, attended by the Prince of Wales, the Dukes of York, Cumberland, and Gloucester; Prince William of Gloucester; Earls Harrington and Chatham; Lord Cathcart, and all the general officers, &c.; and then the review commenced. Although it poured a torrent of rain the whole time, the King continued, without even a great coat, equally exposed as his subjects. The only observable difference, from his usual conduct on similar occasions, was, that as he passed the line, he did not keep his hat off quite so long as in fine weather. The formation of the line, and the various orders of the day, were executed with precision; and the firing, under every disadvantage, was excellent. The evolutions ended about two. His Majesty and the Princes returned to Buckingham-house; then all the corps filed off, after having endured a most soaking rain for upwards of eight hours. 4th.

12th. A chasm, of extraordinary length, was made by the great rains of last winter, in the side of Bredonhill, Worcestershire, on the side next Great Comberton. Mr. Parsons, proprietor of the soil, proposed to fill it up, by a sloping in the earth, from the edges; but the continued rains of this spring have increased it.

The life-boats, established at Shields, have, within twenty-seven months, preserved the lives of the crews of eleven ships, that have been stranded or foundered at the mouth of the Tyne; all of whom must otherwise have perished.

13th. The yeomanry, and volunteer corps of Hertfordshire, were reviewed by his Majesty, at Hatfield, the seat of the Marquess of Salisbury. His Majesty was attended by his whole family, ministers, &c., and most sumptuously entertained by the marquess. The volunteers consisted of upwards of 1500, all of whom the marquess hospitably dined. The following is the return of the provisions provided: 80 hams, and as many rounds of beef; 100 joints of veal; 100 legs of lamb; 100 tongues; 100 meat pies; 25 edge-bones of beef; 25 rumps of beef, roasted; 100 joints of mutton; 25 briskets; 71 dishes of other roast beef; 100 gooseberry pies; besides very sumptuous covers at the tables of the King, the cabinet ministers, &c. For the country people, there were killed, at the Salisbury Arms, three bullocks, sixteen sheep, and twenty-five lambs. The expense is estimated at 3000*l*.

15th. This day arrived at Blackwall Mr. Gower's newly constructed vessel, the Transit. She sailed from the Motherbank, on Thursday evening, at six o'clock, with the wind at west, and arrived in the Downs, at noon, on Friday. At one, on the same day, she sailed for the river, turning up within Margate sands, through the Narrows and over the Flats, with a double reef top-sail, breeze at west, and arrived at Gravesend, at midnight, on Saturday. On Sunday morning, at eight o'clock, she again got under weigh, and turned up to Blackwall the same tide, to the admiration of the beholders, who were astonished at the simplicity of her manœuvres. It appears, by the testimony of the Downs pilot, Mr. William Norris, that she would have reached Gravesend, on the second tide, from the Downs, but for the darkness of the night.

From the Philadelphia Gazettes of April last, it appears that Mr. Cooper, formerly of Manchester, has been arraigned and tried for sedition. The indictment consisted of the following passages, published in hand-bills, signed by Mr. Cooper: 1st, That the President did not possess sufficient capacity to fulfil the duties of his office; 2nd, That he had created a permanent navy; 3rd, That a standing army had been created under his immediate auspices; and, 4th, That he had interfered in the judiciary of the United States, and caused Jonathan Robbins to be delivered over for execution to an unrelenting military tribunal. Mr. Cooper read numerous passages in his defence, and continued reading until exhausted and unable to proceed.

The jury, in a few minutes, returned their verdict, *Guilty*. The court then allowed Mr. Cooper three days to prepare any thing he could offer in extenuation. On the appointed day, he was sentenced to pay a fine of 400 dollars, to suffer six months imprisonment, and to enter into bonds for his good behaviour for one year; himself in the sum of 1000 dollars, and two sureties in 500 dollars each.

The following minute particulars, respecting the capture of the William Tell French man of war, are given in a letter, dated Syracuse, Foudroyant, April 2, 1800.

"March 30, 1800, Sir Edward Berry, commanding his Majesty's ship Foudroyant, of 80 guns, after having landed Lord Nelson ill in Sicily, came up with the Guillaume Tell, French ship of 84 guns; and laying the Foudroyant alongside, so close that her spare anchor was but just clear of the Guillaume Tell's mizen chains, hailed her commander, Admiral Dacres, and ordered him to strike; the French admiral answered by brandishing a sword over his head, and then discharged a musket at Sir Edward Berry; this was followed by a broadside, which nearly unrigged the Foudroyant, whose guns, however, being prepared with three round shots in each, she poured a most tremendous and effectual discharge, crashing through and through the enemy; she then fired another fresh broadside, when down came the Guillaume Tell's main and mizen masts, at the same time, the Foudroyant's foretop-mast, gib-boom, sprit-sail, maintop-sail-yard, stay-sails, fore-sail, and main-sail, all in tatters. It was difficult, in this situation, to get the ship to fall off, so as to maintain her position, the combatants therefore separated for a few minutes, when Sir Edward Berry called his men from the main deck, and cutting away part of the wreck, got the ship once more under command, that is, obedient to her helm, and manageable, and again close alongside her determined opponent, who nailed his colours to the stump of the mast, and displayed his flag on a pole over them. Sir Edward then commenced again a most heavy and well-directed fire, his men having now got into a system of firing every gun two or three times in a minute, regularly going through the exercise; musketry was occasionally used when the ship was very near on board the Guillaume Tell; but latterly, the mizen-mast being being almost in two, Sir Edward called the marines from the poop and put them to the great guns, by which many lives were certainly saved. At a few minutes past eight, the Guillaume Tell's fore-mast was shot away, and, becoming a mere log, she struck her colours.

"The Foudroyant, in this engagement, expended 162 barrels of powder, 1200 thirty-two pound shot, 1240 twenty pound ditto, 100 eighteen pound ditto, and 200 twelve pound ditto. Although much damaged, she was, within a very short period, in readiness for sea."

An epidemic disease lately prevailed at Bussorah and Korim, in consequence of the overflow of the Euphrates; and which, within the period of two months, proved fatal to upwards of 12,000 persons.

16th. On this day the anniversary of the Duke of Bedford's sheep-shearing and show of cattle commenced, and attracted several hundreds of agriculturists and breeders from all parts of the country; among whom was a baron from Germany, who is at the head of an agricultural establishment in that country, and four gentlemen from Ireland. The call for post-horses, and other conveyances, on the London road, during Sunday and Monday morning, was so great, that many could not get there till the business had commenced; and others were actually obliged to go by indirect roads, and then could not get conveyances across the country, and were obliged to walk a number of miles. His grace gave a public breakfast at the abbey, at nine o'clock.

18th. A child of Mrs. Dandy, of Rotherhithe-wall, near Dockhead, being about to be put to bed, and crying vehemently, the servant, Anne Vines, to quell its obstinacy, threatened to put it into the copper, unless it consented to go quietly to bed. Persuasion and remonstrance being in vain, the servant suspended the infant (not three years of age) over the place of terror, when it slipped from her arms, and sunk at once to the bottom of the boiling copper. It died immediately, in a most shocking state, the very skin coming off with the clothes, when taken out. The jury sat the next day, and, after a minute investigation, returned the following verdict: "Feloniously killing and slaying, by putting the child in the copper, but not with an intent to kill."—Anne Vines has since been tried at the Surry assizes, and found guilty of manslaughter.

21st. *Liverpool.* — Mr. Peter Wainwright, a respectable merchant of this town, had long been in the habits of friendship with a Mr. Theophilus Smith, earthenware manufacturer, of Tunstall, near Burslem, Staffordshire, whose affairs had lately become somewhat deranged. Early this morning, Mr. Wainwright received an anonymous note, desiring his attendance upon a gentleman at a public-house near the Circus, in this town, as soon as possible. Mr. Wainwright suspected the note to be Mr. Smith's hand-writing, although an attempt had been made to disguise it. Mr. Wainwright obeyed the summons, and found Mr. Smith there, who showed him a printed statement of his affairs, and urged him to accompany him to the place of his residence, to be present at a meeting of creditors, which was to take place on the following day. Mr. Wainwright, though inconvenient to himself, agreed to accompany him: they accordingly set out together in a post-chaise, on the afternoon of that day. During their journey, all was friendly, as usual; and at their arrival at a place called Golden-hill, being about a mile from Mr. Smith's house, he begged to dismiss the chaise, and they would walk across the fields, as the carriage, driving to his house, might betray his presence to the country, which he would wish to avoid, there being several writs out against him. It rained slightly, and Mr. Smith pressed Mr. Wainwright to make use of his great-coat, which Mr. Wainwright refused. Mr. Smith led Mr. Wainwright out of the road, through a piece of mowing grass, in which Mr. Smith's house

stands; when Mr. Wainwright observed Mr. Smith draw a pistol from his pocket, with which suspecting he intended to destroy himself, he exclaimed, "In the name of God, Mr. Smith, what are you about?" wrested the pistol from him, and threw it away. They now proceeded a little further; when Mr. Smith drew a second pistol, presented it at Mr. Wainwright, and fired at him without effect. Mr. Wainwright then closed with him, and threw him down. Mr. Smith then called for mercy, saying, he would forgive him if he would not hurt him. Mr. Wainwright answered "he wanted no forgiveness, having done him no injury." Two pistols being now disposed of, and having searched his pockets for more without finding any, Mr. Wainwright considering himself safe, released Mr. Smith. They were about to proceed towards the house, when Mr. Wainwright reminded Mr. Smith of having left his great coat and a bundle on the ground; on which Mr. Smith took them up. When they had arrived within a short distance of the house, Mr. Smith drew a third pistol from the bundle, and shot Mr. Wainwright through the body. A scuffle now ensued, during which Mr. Smith drew a knife (which, it appears, he had purchased in Liverpool,) and endeavoured to cut Mr. Wainwright's throat, which, being guarded by his cravat and a silk handkerchief, he failed of effecting, and gave him several severe wounds on the left jaw: they continued struggling till they reached the house, when Mr. Wainwright, by a sudden effort, got from Mr. Smith, knocked at the door, and called out "Murder!" demanding admittance; but Mr. Smith ordered the people in the house not to admit Mr. Wainwright, who then proceeded to a cottage about five or six hundred yards off, whence he soon after was removed to the house of Mr. William Adams, in Tunstall; and, we have since learnt, is almost recovered.

Mr. Smith, for whose apprehension a reward of fifty pounds was offered, was taken at a house in Market-lane, Pall-mall, London, by Dixon and Carpmeal, two of the Bow-street officers. Although armed with loaded pistols when the officers came to his house, he made not the least resistance, but conducted himself in the most gentlemanlike manner in every respect. When brought before the magistrates, Mr. Smith admitted he was the person described in the advertisement. He has since been removed, by order of Mr. Bond, from Tothill-fields Bridewell, under the care of Carpmeal and Dixon, to the county gaol of Stafford. His trial is put off, on account of the absence of a material witness of Mr. Smith's.

26th. This day came on the trial of Hadfield, for shooting at his Majesty, which will be given at length in the Appendix to the Chronicle.

30th. This morning, at half-past five, a fire was discovered to have burst out in the room called the Prince's Gallery, or long room, in Vauxhall Garden, which was originally built for a masquerade room, but which for some years has been used for scene-painting, and as a lumber-room. Every assistance was im-

mediately procured, and a part of this building was immediately pulled down, to prevent the rapidity of the flames from destroying the whole of the extensive premises of Vauxhall. A great part of this gallery, which was entirely composed of wood, lath, and canvass, is destroyed. A valuable quantity of scenery is also destroyed. Near thirty of the trees caught fire, and the foliage burnt, together with the portico at the entrance, and the outside railing; but the material buildings of the house and garden are saved.

Chatham.—This forenoon, between eleven and twelve, a fire broke out at a wharf a little way above the Sun tavern, which raged with dreadful violence upwards of two hours; both sides of the main street are in one heap of ruins, from within three or four doors of the Sun tavern to the Union flag, and very few of the houses opposite that space, towards the new road, have escaped. Unfortunately, when the fire broke out, it was low water in the river, which prevented a supply for a considerable time. A thatched farm-house and barn, about a quarter of a mile distant, were set fire to by the sparks which the wind carried to it, and were totally destroyed, with a great quantity of hay. One or two lives are lost, and a few unfortunate accidents happened.

Tippoo's palace, at Seringapatam, is described as one of the most magnificent buildings in India. The durbar is open in front, like a viranda, about forty feet in breadth, and seventy in length, supported by a great number of pillars. The inside of every apartment is painted and gilt; some green and gold, some red and gold, and others white and gold, in the manner of the Boglipore furniture: the rooms furnished with silk carpets, paintings, and glass of all sorts, exhibiting all together the appearance of an opera scene. The paintings and mouldings are taken the greatest care of, the walls being all hung with cloth, to preserve them from the weather; and the pillars, which are very superb, are enclosed in quilted cases, for the same purpose. The gardens of the palace are in the highest order, and laid out with great taste.

Died at Dorking, Surry, at a very advanced age, Major Peter Labiliere. 4th. On the 11th, he was interred (in conformity with his own particular directions) on Boxhill, near Dorking. The place appointed to receive his remains was about twelve feet deep, and more in the form of a well than that of a grave. The coffin was let down and placed on its head, with the feet upright in that situation. The chalk (of which the hill is composed) was then put in, and made very firm round the coffin up to the feet, and it was then filled up to the surface. A small tower is to be erected on the spot.

Died, at two o'clock, at his house in Upper Harley-street, in consequence of a dreadful accident he met with on the preceding Wednesday night, about eleven o'clock, William Bosanquet, Esq. He was making some alterations in his house, and, amongst others, had removed the balcony from his back drawing-room window: unfortunately forgetting this circumstance, he walked out, and 21st.

immediately fell into the area, and, in his fall broke the vertebræ of his back, and was otherwise most severely bruised and injured. He was sensible of his inevitable dissolution, and bore his sufferings with a fortitude of mind almost unparalleled, dictating, in the extremity of torture, some additions to his will. He has left a most amiable lady and ten children to lament his loss. Mr. Bosanquet was a son of the Bank director, and himself a partner in the banking-house of Foster and Lubbock.

23rd. Died at Truro, in Cornwall, at the age of 102, Mary Gardiner, at the house of her master, Francis Spenlove, Esq. in whose family she had lived 66 years.

JULY.

1st. General Kleber, commander-in-chief of the French armies in Egypt, since the departure of Bonaparte, has been assassinated while walking on the terrace of his garden, near the head-quarters at Cairo. He is succeeded by General Menou. The murder, it seems, was committed by Souleyman, a native of Aleppo. The assassin, who confessed the fact, was sentenced to have his right hand burned off, to be impaled alive in the presence of the army, and there to remain till devoured by birds of prey. Three sheiks, who were acquainted with his intentions, and did not impart them, were also sentenced to suffer death by decapitation. General Kleber was interred on the 27th in the entrenched camp, called after the name of Ibrahim Bey, with the greatest military honours, and a funeral oration was delivered by citizen Fourier, the French commissary to the Divan. It is a remarkable coincidence, that Kleber's death, and that of Dessaix at the battle of Marengo, took place, in Egypt and Italy, on the same day, and at the same hour. Kleber commanded in Lower, and Dessaix in Upper Egypt, while Bonaparte was there; and the French Government have ordered a monument to be erected to their joint memories in the Place de Victoire at Paris.

An extraordinary phenomenon was seen at Copenhagen, the 27th ultimo. Between one and half-past two P.M. a white ring, about a degree and a half thick, and eighty degrees in diameter, crossed the sun. Another ring, of the colours of the rainbow, formed a frame round the sun. About five degrees above that circle appeared two other suns, separated by circles of indistinct colours. The celebrated astronomer, Bugge, has published some observations on this singular appearance, to satisfy the Danes that it can have no influence on the state of the atmosphere or the seasons.

2nd. This afternoon his Majesty went in state to the House of Peers, and gave the royal assent to the Union Bill.

4th. This day, one Mr. Rusby was tried, in the court of King's Bench, on an indictment against him, as an eminent corn-factor, for having purchased, by sample, on the 8th of November last, in the corn-market, Mark-lane, 90 quarters of oats, at 41*s.* per quarter, and sold 30 of them again in the same market, on the

same day, at 44*s*. The most material testimony, on the part of the Crown, was given by Thomas Smith, a partner of the defendant's. After the evidence had been gone through, Lord Kenyon made an address to the jury, who almost instantly found the defendant guilty. Lord Kenyon: "You have conferred, by your verdict, almost the greatest benefit on your country that ever was conferred by any jury." Another indictment against the defendant, for engrossing, stands over.

Several other indictments, for the same alleged crimes, were tried during this year, which, we fear, tended to aggravate the evils of the scarcity they were meant to obviate, and, no doubt, contributed to excite popular tumults, by rendering a very useful body of men odious in the eyes of the mob.

9th. *Rome*.—The Pope arrived yesterday in this city, and was received with incredible acclamations. He immediately repaired to St. Peter's, where a solemn *Te Deum* was performed, at which an immense concourse of people attended. Such a jubilee has not been held at Rome for several centuries. The great families of Colonna and Doria Pamfili sent two sumptuous carriages, drawn by six beautiful horses, to meet his holiness, as a present to him, in token of their devotion to his interest. These gifts were the more agreeable, as both the papal palaces at Rome, stalls, stables, and all, had been completely ransacked and emptied. A part of the quirinal had been fitted up, and furnished in haste for the reception of his holiness. At night the whole city was illuminated.

12th. This day was laid the first stone of the intended new wet dock, near the Isle of Dogs. A grand aquatic procession took place, and a number of persons of considerable distinction were present.

The privy council have decided, that it should be recommended to his Majesty to grant a charter for the incorporation of Downing-college, in every respect conformable to the scheme approved by the trustess and the court of Chancery.

Mrs. Elizabeth Shaw, who died lately at Pontefract, in Yorkshire, bequeathed the principal part of her property, amounting to 15,000*l*. to her house-maid, named Mary Watson. The heir-at-law disputed the validity of the will, at the last assizes, and endeavoured to prove, that the deceased was in a complete state of intoxication when she executed the deed. This allegation, however, was not substantiated; and the fortunate housemaid will, of course, receive the full amount of the above legacy.

The Duke of Northumberland, in a letter to a gentleman in Dublin, states the expense of the lifeboat, presented to the town of North Shields, at 160*l*.; and that it has already saved nearly 1000 seamen and passengers, besides several ships and their cargoes.

The Grand Junction Canal has lately been opened from the Thames, at Brentford, to Fenny Stratford, in Buckinghamshire, from which place onward, through Bedfordshire, to Tring, in Hertfordshire, it was before navigable. Mr. Dodd, the engineer, has begun to stake out the line of the

Thames and Medway canal, which promises to be of great local and public utility, and, though but eight miles and a half in length, will supersede the necessity of going forty-seven miles about by sea, between London and Rochester.

Mr. Yates, the master and proprietor of a canal-barge, at Colebrook-dale, lately went all the way, which is upwards of 400 miles, by water, from that navigation, to Hambro' Wharf, near London-bridge, in fourteen days. He touched at Worcester, Gloucester, and other towns, with part of his cargo. This is the first barge that ever made the entire passage.

17th. This day an inquest was taken before Mr. White, one of the coroners for Lincolnshire, at the Bull, Witham-common, on the bodies of Thomas Gilling and John Barnes, who were overturned from the Newcastle coach the preceding day, between Stamford and Grantham, and crushed to death by the coach falling upon them. It appearing, from the examination of the witnesses, that the coach was overloaded with the knowledge of one of the proprietors, the jury declared it to be forfeited as a deodand.

Three girls were killed last week, and a fourth severely wounded, by the falling of an old house at Cosgrove, in Northamptonshire.

21st. This night, about eleven, a fire broke out on the premises of Mr. Edward May, at Hopgate, Minehead, which raged with uncommon fury for several hours, when nearly the whole of the dwelling-house, offices, extensive barns, stables, linneys, &c. were consumed, together with a quantity of wheat in the barns, farming utensils, a mare and colt, some sheep, &c. Most of the household furniture was saved, though much injured. Not long since, a vessel was scuttled and sunk in Minehead quay, laden with corn, for Wales, part of which belonged to Mr. May, who is a considerable dealer in corn; at the same time incendiary hand-bills were stuck up, threatening to burn the houses of all who should continue to ship wheat and flour at that place, and Mr. May was particularised.

22nd. This morning the following melancholy circumstance happened in the parish of Siston, Gloucestershire: Samuel Fussell, of the Crown Inn, Warmly, collector of the taxes for the said parish, attended by the constable and other persons, went to take a distress of some hay, at the house of Edward Wilmot, of Siston-hill (an old man of very considerable property), for some arrears of taxes due from him. Wilmot had before prepared a gun loaded with a ball, which he discharged at Fussell, as he was passing near his house. The ball entered at the eye, and went through the back part of the head, and he instantly expired. Wilmot was observed to recharge the gun, so that it was some time before any person ventured to go near him. When he was apprehended, a loaded pistol was found in his pocket.

At the assizes for Gloucestershire, Wilmot was tried and convicted of the murder, and hanged at Gloucester. He was about sixty-four years of age, and for

several years in his youth worked in the coal-mines at Bitton; in this employ he saved some money, and purchased land at Siston, in the same parish, where, by his parsimonious conduct, he amassed considerable property. In person he was of low stature, and of a very mean contemptible appearance; his dress, in general, very shabby. Avarice had engrossed his very soul, and deadened every sensation of humanity; indeed, he appeared quite insensible of emotion to the pathetic address of the judge, who very humanely directed, that his property should be divided among his numerous poor relations; as he had most obstinately refused to dispose of any part of it, before his trial, and afterwards appeared equally inattentive to the welfare of those who were to survive him; in short, a more ignorant, stupid, sordid wretch, perhaps never existed. He had lived to an old age, wholly unbeloved or esteemed; and justly fell a victim to the offended laws of God and man, unpitied and unlamented.

29th. This day his Majesty went in state to the House of Peers, where he closed the session of Parliament, by a speech from the throne.

Came on, at Worcester assizes, the triel of Samuel F. Waddington, on an information for forestalling hops. The information contained a great many counts; and, after a long trial, which lasted till the evening, the jury found Mr. Waddington guilty on all the counts in the information.

A strange and melancholy circumstance happened last week at Northampton. A farmer, from the neighbourhood of Rumford, in Essex, who had come to Collingtree, on a visit to Mr. Britain, a farmer there, was suddenly taken ill, for which he was bled in the arm; but not being able to stop the bleeding, he went to Northampton with Mr. Britain, and sent for Mr. Clarke, surgeon, to his assistance. After Mr. Clarke had bound up his arm, the unfortunate man, who had retired to a corner of the room, in order to wash himself, and put on a clean shirt, pulled out a pen-knife, which he plunged into his own throat, and immediately afterwards stabbed Mr. Clarke in the side, but the knife fortunately striking against one of his ribs, the wound is not considered dangerous. He then rushed out of the room without his shirt, striking at every one he passed, and ran with great speed down Bridge-street, stabbing himself in various parts of the body, all the way he went. He was closely pursued, but ere he could be taken, he fell down covered with wounds, and expired almost instantaneously.

31st. A most afflicting occurrence took place in the river, near the Booths, Pitchcroft, Worcester. Mr. Kent, a stonemason of that city, bathing with several others, perceived a young man who had got beyond his depth, and was in imminent danger, calling for assistance. Mr. Kent instantly swam to his relief, and caught hold of him; but, in the violent exertion of getting him to shore, he became himself exhausted, and sunk to the bottom. Immediate assistance was given, and the body taken out in the space of ten minutes, and con-

veyed to the infirmary, where every means were taken to restore life, but without success; and the body being opened, it appeared that an internal injury had been sustained, from the effort which the humane and unfortunate man had made to save his companion, as a large quantity of congealed blood was found in the lungs.

Died, at Auteuil, the celebrated wife of the still more celebrated Helvetius. Having spent her life among those friends of her husband, who call themselves philosophers, she chose that her death should be in conformity to their principles. She quitted this world, therefore, in a state of apparently perfect indifference as to the existence of another, and directed her body to be buried in her garden.

Died, in Clarges-street, Piccadilly, John Skrimshire Boothby Clopton, Esq. About nine o'clock in the morning he rang the bell; on the entrance of the servant he was walking up and down the room, apparently in a disordered state of mind. Suddenly turning round, he said, "Why do you look at me so earnestly? What do you do here?" The man said, he attended his commands. He always drank cold tea for breakfast, which the servant neglected to make over night, and apologized. He said, "It is of no consequence; I shall drink no more this year." About two, he ordered his horse to be got ready to ride in the Park; his valet put on one of his boots; he did not like them, and said, "You may have those boots, I shall not wear them any more." When in the Park, he was observed to gallop furiously, which he was never accustomed to do, but, on the contrary, always rode a canter; and in returning home kept up the same pace over the stones. At the corner of Clarges-street, in Curzon-street, he got off, delivered the horse to the groom, and walked home; it was then half past five. Entering the parlour, he desired his valet to attend to the serving up of dinner at six: a few minutes after, he went into a back room, placed his right foot on the bed, and a horse-pistol in his mouth; the explosion blew off the upper jaw and the back part of the head: the ball went through the chimney-glass, and lodged in the wainscot. Instantaneous death ensued, and he fell with one foot on the bed, the other under it. The servants in the kitchen heard a noise, which they conceived to be their master uncorking a bottle of spruce-beer; and, had it not been for the breaking of the glass, they would not have attended immediately to the alarm. It was proved before the coroner's jury, that he had been for some months in a state of melancholy derangement; they therefore returned a verdict of lunacy.

At his house, in Norfolk-street, Strand, Samuel Ireland, Esq. author of some elegant and esteemed works, and particularly known to the world as the inventor and promulgator of that disgraceful forgery, entitled, "Miscellaneous Papers and Legal Instruments, under the hand and seal of William Shakspeare; including the tragedy of King Lear, and a small fragment of Hamlet, from the original MSS. in the posses-

sion of Samuel Ireland, Esq." His last publication is entitled, "Picturesque Views, with an Historical Account of the Inns of Court of London and Westminster;" and Mr. Ireland died upon the day in which he sent the last sheet of this work to the press.

AUGUST.

1st. A clerk, in London, whose wife, about three weeks ago, in consequence of ill usage swore the peace against him, and had left him to reside with her mother, went to her on Friday afternoon, and solicited her to return to him, which she refused. Having used every entreaty without success, he begged she would only shake hands with him, which being also refused, he seized the poker and drove it into her head, and afterwards beat her violently with it. He then ran away to a short distance from the house, and stabbed himself in several places. They have both been conveyed to St. George's Hospital. Hopes are entertained of the wife's recovery, but many weeks must elapse before she can be pronounced out of danger. The situation of the husband appears much more dangerous, and it is the general opinion of the faculty that he will not recover. The parties have been married only eleven months, during which time they have been twice separated.

That safe, and comparatively mild affection, the Cow-Pox, which Dr. Jenner had the happiness to introduce among his countrymen, continues to gain credit in different parts of the continent. His friend, Dr. Marshall, (accompanied by Dr. John Walker, who has been practising the Vaccine Innoculation in Gloucestershire) is gone to Naples to bear it thither. They received their orders from Government, and are gone on board the Endymion frigate. His royal highness the Duke of York has given them introductory letters to the Governor of Gibraltar, with strong recommendations to have it introduced into the garrison.

7th. The following singular occurrence was lately communicated by the Prefect of the deparment of the Var, (county of Nice) to the French minister of the interior:—

"The mountain of Fondudes forms part of the chain of the Lower Alps, which runs along the right bank of the Var. It is above 300 metres above the level of the Mediterranean; its southern base is washed by the Var. In the course of last June, it was observed, that on the southern declivity of this mountain, some parts had sunk. The ground opened in clefts, and sensibly fell in. The upper part soon felt the effect of this, and by the parallel sinking of the ground, the mountain appeared like an amphitheatre. At last, when the weather was calm, and the sky serene, the summit of the mountain suddenly gave way with a noise like thunder. The earth, shaken to pieces by the shock, rolled down the declivity like a torrent of lava, and was stopped only by a hillock at the foot of the mountain.

"The quantity of ground displaced is estimated at 20 millions of cubical metres. It filled up a whole valley, buried several country houses, and covered the tops of the highest trees over the surface of a quarter of a square league."

14th. Sir Hyde Parker, who is coming home from the West Indies, has gained the largest fortune of any individual during the war. His share of prize-money has netted, for the last two years, 10,000*l.* currency per month.

On Saturday morning, a duel took place between Major Armstrong, late of the 11th regiment of foot, and Captain Wilson, of the Royal Artillery, in consequence of a challenge sent by the latter. They met in the woods of Llandaff-castle, near Cowbridge, in South Wales. They took their ground at nine paces distance from each other, and exchanged a case of pistols without effect. The business was then amicably terminated.

Maidstone.—A few days since the following extraordinary circumstance occurred in this town. A bargeman opening the sluices of the lock for the purpose of letting a vessel pass, observed the body of a child, forced through the opening, and to all appearance dead. The body was conveyed to the house of Mr. Charles Coleman, surgeon, who, persevering in the means prescribed by the Humane Society, happily succeeded in renewing the functions of life. How long the child remained under water cannot be ascertained, as it had not been missed when thus providentially discovered.

15th. The manor house of Wedworthy, in Devon, together with a house belonging to Sir William De la Pole, has been totally consumed by fire, through some accident not yet ascertained. It is much to be lamented, as Wedworthy was an antique and curious structure, in the form of a quadrangle; in former times the residence of an ancient family of that name, which ended in an heir female, in the reign of Edward the First. It now belonged to the Marwood's, of Hornshays, Colyton.

17th. A dreadful fire broke out, this day at Balassa, in Hungary, which burnt with such violence, that in less than two hours 568 houses, the Lutheran church, and the post-house, were consumed; not more than 50 houses were left standing; two women, two children, and a Jew, lost their lives; and the whole damage is estimated at 900,000 florins.

This evening, about eight o'clock, two apprentices in Fleet-street, about sixteen years of age, went into the river to bathe from the steps of Blackfriars-bridge, on the city side. The tide running very strong, they were carried away. One of them, on rising, caught hold of a chain for securing barges, but the other was sucked under, and all attempts to save him were of no effect.

At nine o'clock, a gun was fired on board the Braakel, captain George Clarke, in Portsmouth harbour, and the yellow flag hoisted, as a signal for executing James Allen, who had been

condemned by a court martial with John Watson, as being concerned in the mutiny on board the Hermione. The latter had been executed early the same morning, on board the Puissant sheer-hulk, at Spithead. Armed boats from all the ships in harbour attended the dreadful scene. James Allen came in an armed boat on board the Braakel, attended by Mr. Howell, chaplain of the Royal William, about half-past eight. The principal witness against Allen was Parrot, late butcher on board the Hermione, who deposed—That on the night the mutiny took place, he was seated on a chest in the gun-room. He then observed a band of murderers dragging the second lieutenant across the deck, who repeatedly stretched out his hand, crying, "Mercy! Mercy!" He was drawn up the ladder by the hair of his head, after receiving many wounds. Parrot declared, that at this moment he saw the second lieutenant's servant, James Allen, with a tomahawk or hatchet in his hand, and that he exclaimed, "Let me have a cut at him:" on saying which, he dreadfully wounded his own master. On receiving this deposition from Parrot, a general groan of horror was heard in court. Every thing, however, that naval justice could devise, was exercised on behalf of the prisoner; but the very witnesses called by him ultimately proved of disadvantage to him! Both Allen and Watson came home to England in the Prince of Wales, but were not recognized till their arrival. Allen, to the last, denied having struck his master. As to the particulars of the murder of Captain Pigot, of the Hermione, it appeared, that hearing a noise upon deck, he immediately ran out of his cabin, when, being badly and repeatedly wounded, he was obliged to return. He had reached his cabin, and was sitting on a couch, faint with the loss of blood, when four men entered with bayonets fixed. Crawley headed them. Captain Pigot, weak as he was, held out his dirk, and kept them off. They seemed for a moment appalled at the sight of their commander, when Crawley exclaimed, "What, four against one, and yet afraid? Here goes then," and buried his bayonet in the body of Captain Pigot. He was followed by the others, who, with their bayonets, thrust him through the port, and he was heard to speak as he went astern.

18th. About a fortnight ago, a refractory spirit discovered itself among the felons confined in the prison in Cold-Bath-fields. On Wednesday night last it assumed a more serious aspect; for, on locking up the prisoners, many of them were heard to murmur very loudly, and even to threaten the keepers. The next day, as usual, about sixty of them were liberated from their cells, and suffered to take the air in the most open places in the prison, but not without a strict eye being kept on their conduct; and they were observed to whisper frequently among themselves, which gave the governor some concern lest they should attempt any thing serious. When the bell rung as the signal for locking up, they

mustered together instead of separating, and appeared to have some plan to execute, but were afraid to begin their operations. However, after a trifling resistance, and a great deal of grumbling, they all suffered themselves to be locked up in their different cells. It was then that they began to call, and encourage each other to cry out, "Murder!"—"Starving," &c. They also abused the magistrates in the grossest terms. Their noise was so loud, as to collect round the prison a large mob, who answered them in loud shouts. When they heard the shouting, they again called out to them to force the gates, and pull down the walls. This kind of conduct alarmed the governor; and he immediately sent for the high-constable, who readily attended with a number of assistant constables; at the same time, the Clerkenwell Association came to the prison, but it was nearly 12 o'clock before they succeeded in dispersing the populace, which consisted of five or six thousand people. One man only was apprehended for riotous conduct on the outside, and taken into the prison. After the felons had become more silent, some of them were heard to call to each other, that it would be best to remain quiet for that night, lest they should not be let out the next day, which was the chapel morning, and that would be a good opportunity to knock down the keepers, and force the gates. This circumstance being communicated to Mr. Baker and other magistrates, who had attended to give their advice, it was thought prudent not to let the prisoners out of their cells the next day, as usual, a few excepted, who were not refractory. Mr. Baker, and three other magistrates, attended the prison a great part of yesterday, and inspected almost every cell, for the purpose of ascertaining the cause of their complaint; but they either could or would not give any explanation, except one person, who said that he was starved; but, on examining a basket, in which he kept his bread, there was found a pound and a half, which he had saved from his daily allowance, and what his friends had been permitted to send him, besides about two pounds of pudding. The Bloomsbury, St. Sepulchre's, St. Clement's, and Clerkenwell Associations, all attended by turns to watch the prison; and the Clerkenwell cavalry were parading round the outer gates last night, to keep the mob off, who had again collected in great numbers, but the prisoners seemed to be quiet.

A shocking murder was committed this night at Nottingham. Three peace-officers attempted to apprehend a hair-dresser, who stood charged with a robbery to a considerable amount. As soon as the hair-dresser perceived who they were, he fired a horse-pistol at the officer nearest him, and killed him on the spot. The other officers were so intimidated that he effected his escape. He was, however, taken the next day near Overtons, but not till he had bit off the top of a phial of arsenic, intending to poison himself; a small quantity of which he swallowed. The deceased has left a wife and five small children. We have since learned, that the hair-

dresser put an end to his life, by poison, on the 20th instant; and that, in consequence of the coroner's verdict, he was buried the same night in the sand-hills, on the road leading to Derby.

Water has been so scarce at Edinburgh, from the failure of the springs, that the magistrates have found it necessary to put some restrictions on the public wells, which are to be shut for several hours every day. Private families are to be served with water only twice a week through the usual pipes; and they are properly ordered to keep their cisterns in a good state, that no waste of water may take place while this scarcity shall continue.

19th. This day, when about two miles out of Colchester, one of the carriages, conveying the attendants of the Turkish ambassador, on his way to Yarmouth, broke down; which circumstance being immediately communicated to the ambassador, he ordered the whole of them to stop, and, with his retinue, retired into an adjoining wood for nearly two hours, till the carriage was repaired. A carpet being spread, the postillions were ordered to prepare fuel for a fire; which done, coffee was got ready, and served to the ambassador, who was seated in the Turkish style, under a canopy, affixed to some trees; and afterwards, his attendants partook of the same. The ambassador was not in the least discomposed at the accident, but seemed happy in the opportunity, thus afforded him, of smoking his favourite pipe, with his attendants, in this rural retreat.

Ludlow.—A person who owns a part of Radnor forest, that is, a sheep-walk, wanting to dig out some pitmar, that is, coal, set fire to the heath and moss to clear the top; but the fire burnt so rapid, as to be out of his power to stop its fury; and it burnt for 30 miles in circumference, to the destruction of thousands of sheep, and the distress of many poor cottagers, whose huts became a prey to the flames. There being no water, and the fire having burnt as low in the ground as 18 feet, no trench could be cut to stop it. The people were fearful it would reach to the wood; if so, the whole country would have been ruined. After the fire had been burning for more than eight days, the flames had spread themselves, in different directions, to an alarming extent. On that side the vale adjoining Sir W. W. Wynne's estate at Wynstay, it was supposed to extend from eight to ten miles, and on the opposite side about four. After having raged upwards of five weeks, it was at length extinguished by the late providential falls of rain, after having burned about four miles in extent over several hundred acres of land. The fire had raged with great violence, during the above period, and the flames were seen, at night, from the hills in the neighbourhood of Ludlow, distant about 17 miles, rising in columns to an immense height. The fire was principally confined to the hills the property of the Earl of Oxford, Mr. Lewis, and Mr. Lewin.

Between five and six *p. m.* there fell, at Upper Heyford, in Oxfordshire, a most violent storm of hail, accompanied with thunder

and lightning, and succeeded by a tremendous gust of wind: a storm so dreadful in its effects, and so alarming to the beholder, was seldom or never experienced in that country. The hail, or more properly speaking, large irregular pieces of ice, of the size in general of a hen's egg, broke the windows of many houses that were in the direction of the storm; and the whole of Heyford affords a spectacle truly shocking. The corn, the greater part of which was barley, and very little of it cut, appeared entirely threshed out by the violence of the hail; scarcely an ear remained whole on the straw, and the ground was totally covered by the shattered corn. The violence of the storm lasted about a quarter of an hour, during which time, the poultry suffered much; and the smaller birds of every description were found dead in great numbers on the ground.

16th. An experiment was lately tried at Rouen, upon a newly invented diving-machine, called bateau poisson, or fish boat. This boat sunk of itself seven or eight times, and then rose of itself. The descent into the inside of this machine, is by an opening made in the form of a tunnel, which is about a demi-metre above the surface of the water. When those who conducted the experiment wished to descend altogether into the river and disappear, they let down this opening, sunk entirely under the water, and lost all communication with the external air. The longest time which it remained under the water, was eight minutes. The inventors of this ingenious machine are Americans, the principal of whom is a man of the name of Fulton. Three of them continued in the boat during the experiments. The Prefect, and a vast concourse of spectators, were present.

18th. A *rencontre* took place yesterday in the shop of Mr. Wright, the bookseller, between the celebrated Peter Pindar and Mr. Gifford, author of the Baviad. We need not inform our literary readers, that in reply to the many sarcasms thrown out by Peter Pindar against the author of the Baviad and other poems, Mr. Gifford lately published a keen and severe satire against Peter. This literary combat yesterday produced blows. Dr. Wolcot went into the shop of Mr. Wright where Mr. Gifford was seated reading a newspaper; he asked if his name was not Gifford. A reply was made in the affirmative. Upon which, the Dr. aimed a blow at his brother poet with a cane, which Mr. G. dexterously warded off, wrested the cane from Peter, and in an instant broke the head of his assailant with his own stick. Mr. Peltier and another gentleman who were present interfered, and the Dr. with a bloody sconce was thrust into the street, where a mob collected, to whom he made his appeal. His hat was thrown out to him, but the poet of the Baviad kept the cane as a trophy of his triumph. Peter having failed in this attempt, is having recourse to a weapon, with the use of which he is better acquainted: he has announced what he calls, "*A Cut at the Cobler.*"

21st. The alterations in the House of Commons, preparatory to the meeting of Parliament, are already begun. The oaken wainscoting has been removed, and given again to view the venerable walls of what was once St. Stephen's chapel. The Gothic pillars, the finished scroll work, and the laboured carvings are, generally speaking, in good preservation; but what is more observable is, that the paintings which fill the interstices, having been protected from the action of the air for so many centuries, are in many parts as fresh and as vivid as if they were only a twelvemonth old. In the right hand corner, behind the speaker's chair, and about five feet from the ground, there are a virgin and a child, with a Joseph bending over them, well preserved, and tolerably executed in *fresco*. Adjoining these, and on the same level, are two singular figures of a man and a woman reclining on the shoulder, and supporting a piece of tapestry. That held by the woman is ornamented with peacocks feathers, and very highly finished, the green and gold being nearly as bright as if recently laid on. The gilding of the cornices is in the same preservation.

On the opposite side of the chapel are several figures of men in complete armour, with inscriptions on them, which are nearly illegible. Under two of them, however, the name of "*Eustace;*" and what is more singular, in a Catholic chapel, that of "*Mercure,*" in black letter characters, may be seen distinctly visible.

The whole of the chapel seems to have been finished in the same style with that of Henry VII. The interior roof, which has never been covered, speaks sufficiently as to the style of the architecture, and the laboured *minutiæ* of the ornaments; but not having been guarded from the air like the lower parts, it gives but a very faint idea of the superb finishing and expensive decorations originally bestowed upon this building.

22nd. *Woburn.*—On Tuesday afternoon the weather was uncommonly hot; clouds came on from the north-west, and distant thunder was heard, which continued incessantly till near seven o'clock, when the most tremendous storm of hail, ever known in the memory of the oldest man living, in this county, came on. Its ravages seem to have begun at Broughton; then, passing over by Cranfield, Lidlington, Crawley, Ridgmont, Ampthill, and Clophill. Great numbers of the hail stones measured 9, 10, and even 11 inches in circumference.

Edinburgh.—Miss Ayres, only daughter of Mr. Ayres, and Miss Anderson, a young lady residing at Yarrow, were last week on a visit to the family of Mr. Scott, of Singlee, near Selkirk. On Saturday afternoon, Mr. and Mrs. Scott being from home, these ladies, accompanied by two Miss Scotts, went into the garden to walk, having previously inquired at what hour dinner would be ready. The river Ettrick runs past the bottom of the garden. Having been absent considerably beyond the usual hour of dinner, one of the maid-servants went out to inform them that dinner was on the table. On entering the

garden, she was struck by the sight of their clothes lying on the bank of the river; and, on rushing forward, she discovered the hapless victims four lifeless corpses at the bottom. She flew back to the house, and immediately returned with assistance. The bodies were taken out of the river, but every effort to restore animation was ineffectual. This catastrophe is as singular as it is afflicting. The young ladies had gone in to bathe; the Ettrick, where it passes the garden of Singlee, is, in general, remarkably shallow; but there is one small part of it which is very deep. Into this fatal spot, it is supposed, one of the young ladies, (perhaps one of the strangers) had, by some unhappy means, been conveyed; and the others, witnessing her ineffectual struggles, had either lost their lives in attempting to rescue their companion, or, deprived of all consciousness, by the dreadful scene, had rushed desperately forward to share her fate. These hapless females had scarcely risen into the bloom of womanhood, and one of them was on the eve of her nuptials.

30th. The Board of Agriculture has transmitted circular letters to the high sheriffs of the respective counties of the kingdom, inclosing certain resolutions entered into at the last spring assizes, by the grand jury of the county of York, requesting that they may be laid before the magistrates at the ensuing sessions, and likewise before the grand jury at their respective assizes. These resolutions strongly recommend the immediate bringing into cultivation all such parts of waste lands as may be capable thereof, it appearing that there remains in England the immense quantity of 7,800,000 acres of uncultivated land; in attention to which, the grand jury of the county of York are of opinion, lie the most effectual means of redressing our present, and securing against future wants.

In the returns made to the board of agriculture, are some very important facts. Of the county of Kent, the square acres are estimated at 850,000; the population is about 200,000; the average rent of land 15*s.* per acre, producing a rental of 672,000*l.* and the whole extent of commons about 200,000 acres. Norfolk is stated to contain 1,094,400 acres; the population is estimated at 220,000; the average rent per acre, the same as Kent, and the whole rental 770,400*l.*; the unimproved commons are said to be 80,000 acres. Staffordshire contains 780,800 acres, and the whole annual rent about 600,000*l.*; the waste land 150,000 acres. Middlesex contains 175,200 acres; waste land 16,650 acres.

Two new spacious squares are now forming on the Duke of Bedford's Bloomsbury estate, one of which is to be called Russell-square, and the other Tavistock-square. These are to be connected by three spacious streets, running north and south, and opening into Bloomsbury-square and Russell-street. At the north end of these improvements, and adjoining to the New road, a very handsome dressed nursery-ground and plantations, are already inclosed and laid out; and northward of these, a road of 160 feet wide, in a di-

rect line, is to be formed through the joint estates of the Duke of Bedford and Lord Southampton, from these buildings to the junction of the two London roads to Hampstead, saving the circuitous and unpleasant routes, either of Tottenham-court-road, or Gray's-inn-lane.

The cartoons, which were in Bedford-house, were bought in for his grace, who very liberally made them a present to the Royal Academy, for the use of the students.

On the 28th instant, about midnight, the house of Mr. Erskine, of Marr, at Alloa, North Britain, was discovered to be on fire; and notwithstanding the utmost exertions, it was entirely burnt to the ground, except that part of the building known by the name of the tower, to which the fire was with difficulty prevented from spreading. About forty persons were in the house, part of whom were in bed when the fire broke out, but they all providentially escaped. We understand that all the books, and paper, and some of the furniture were saved, and most of the celebrated and valuable portraits. Antiquarians, however, will bitterly regret the loss of an original portrait on copper, of Mary Queen of Scots; and a silver basin and ewer, the present of Queen Elizabeth to the Earl of Marr, treasurer of Scotland. This was the castle of the Marrs, modernized and occupied by Mr. Erskine, the representative of that ancient and noble family. The gardens, laid out entirely in the old style, are very extensive.

Died, at Kilwinning, aged 102, and in full possession of all her senses, Janet Dunlop. She had been confined to her bed for five and twenty years, and during the whole of that time prayers were by her request regularly offered up for her in the parish church.

On the Common of Dalkey, near Dublin, aged 103, Bridget Hudson, a poor woman, well known for her activity and industry. She walked to Cabinterly chapel every Sunday, and retained her faculties to the last moments of her life.

At her house, in Portman-square, in an advanced age, Mrs. Montague, relict of the late Edward Montague, Esq. of Denton castle, Northumberland, grandson to the first Earl of Sandwich, daughter of Matthew Robinson, Esq. late of West Layton, York, and of Horton, in Kent, sister to the present Lord Rokeby, and distinguished for her benevolence, to the poor chimney-sweepers, whom she annually entertained with roast-beef and plum-pudding, every May-day, on the lawn before her house, and who will have great reason to lament her death. Mrs. Montague was an excellent scholar, and possessed a sound judgment, and an exquisite taste. Her "Essay on the Writings and Genius of Shakspeare," in answer to the frivolous objections of Voltaire, must always rank with the best illustrations of the transcendent powers of our great English poet. It is not an elaborate exposition of obscure passages, but a comprehensive survey of the sublimity of his genius, of his profound knowledge of human nature, and of the wonderful resources of his imagination. This essay is, we believe, the only work of which Mrs. Montague

publicly avowed herself to be the author; but it is well known that she assisted the first Lord Lyttleton in the composition of his "Dialogues of the Dead;" and some of the best of those dialogues, by his lordship's own acknowledgment, were the efforts of her pen. Lord Lyttleton was very much attached to her; and, if he had been free from matrimonial connections, she might have commanded his title and fortune. Mrs. Montague, however, it was imagined, was attached to Pulteney, the famous Earl of Bath. She accompanied this nobleman and his lady on a tour through Germany. Mrs. Montague peculiarly excelled in epistolatory composition; and her letters, in point of learning, judgment, and elegance, far exceed those attributed to her namesake, Lady Mary Wortley Montague. Mrs. Montague was a near relation of the celebrated Dr. Conyers Middleton, to whose care she devolved in early life, and who superintended her education with parental fondness. It is said, that she made so early a display of her tendency to literature, that she had transcribed the whole of the Spectators, before she was eight years of age. Incredible as this story seems to be, it has been attested by the best authority, and was always solemnly affirmed by the late Dr. Monsey, physician of Chelsea-college, a particular friend of Dr. Middleton, and of Mrs. Montague. The epistolatory correspondence that took place between Dr. Monsey and Mrs. Montague, during her tour in Germany, and, indeed, through the whole of their intercourse for upwards of thirty years, affords proofs of uncommon talents, original humour, and acute observation, on both sides. We sincerely hope that these letters, at least those of Mrs. Montague, will be submitted to the world, as they contain nothing but what would tend to impress mankind with high reverence for her capacity, her attainments, and her virtues. In private life, Mrs. Montague was an example of liberal discretion and rational benevolence. Her estates, about 10,000*l.* per annum, devolve to her nephew, Mr. Montague.

At Tetbury, aged 106 years and 10 months, Ambrose Bennett, who had been a common soldier between sixty and seventy years, and had fought in many battles in the reigns of Queen Anne, George I. II. and III.

On board the Queen Indiaman, when she was burnt at St. Salvadore, Edward Mayne, jun. of Powis Logie, in Scotland, writer in the service of the East India Company. When just about to step into the boat which was to carry him from the scene of destruction, he recollected that there was an unfortunate passenger confined by illness to his cabin. He flew to his rescue, and in a short time appeared with him on his shoulders; but it was too late, the boat had put off, and the ship blew up in a few minutes.

SEPTEMBER.

1st. A most tremendous storm has occurred in Rutland and Lincolnshire. From

eleven till half past two, (without the intermission of a single second during the whole time) rain fell in torrents at Burley, near Oakham, attended by thunder, lightning and hail. The court yard of the Earl of Winchelsea's seat resembled a haven; the stables, where a flood was never known to reach before, were ancle deep in water; the offices, gardens, and lofty places around, were all flooded; the water rose considerably above the walls of the fish pond, carrying away the balustrade of the bridge, over which a boat floated and lodged in a bush. Many parts of the vale of Catmose resembled the rivet Thames. Cattle, sheep innumerable, and every thing moveable, were swept away by the deluge, which in the town of Oakham was above three feet deep. At Empingham the water rose above the windows of two cottages near the bridge. At Great Grimsby and its neighbourhood the storm was tremendous. At Laceby a man named Swabey was struck dead by lightning, which was attracted, it is supposed, by his steel watch-chain, as a deep incision was discovered in the upper part of his right thigh: his whole body was torn, blackened and disfigured, so as to render it impossible to be recognized. At the time of the accident he was flooring a barn in company with two other persons, one of whom was deprived for some hours of his senses; the third escaped unhurt. At Market Raisin, the roads were so flooded as to be impassable by horses. At Market Deeping, a ball of fire fell on the house of Mr. Johnson, knocked down a chimney, and entered by a window, which it destroyed, into a room where several persons were sitting, each of whom were affected as if they had received a violent blow, and experienced for some time a numbness in different parts of the body. The ball of fire in its course broke an eight day clock and a smoke jack to pieces, and in making its exit from the house took out another window frame. Five oxen were struck dead at the same time, and various injuries sustained in the parish. Three bullocks at Greatford, the property of Mr. William Bond, were also struck dead by the lightning.

On Saturday, a wonderfully fine barrow was opened in a field belonging to J. P. Paul, Esq. of High-grove house, near Tatbury, in the centre of which was discovered a curious collection of human ashes, with pieces of bone, and fragments of burnt oak interspersed among them. As burning the dead has not been practised in this country since its conquest by the Romans; this barrow may, perhaps, boast an antiquity of nearly two thousand years.

A hair-dresser, at Brussels, having lately quarrelled with a woman to whom he was attached, shot her through the head with a pistol, and, finding that she still gave some signs of life, he killed her with the butt-end of a musket. When the guards entered the place, he threw himself on the dead body, and before he could be seized he blew out his brains with the musket. An inn-keeper, returning from taking a walk with his wife, was so affected at the spectacle as to drop down to all

appearance dead; the medical persons who were called in declared him to be lifeless. The next day he was enclosed in an oak coffin, and deposited in a chapel till the funeral was to take place. Some of the neighbours hearing a noise in the chapel, ran to the place, and found the poor man bathed in his blood, and really dead, having, as it appeared, made most violent but ineffectual efforts to break his coffin.

4th. Last week, the whole of the property of Bognor, in Sussex, was put up to sale at that place. It was divided into lots. Sir Richard Hotham's residence, called Chapel-house, with upwards of thirty-nine acres attached to it, was purchased by Colonel Scott, at 3650*l.* Bognor-lodge, with upwards of thirty-five acres attached to it, was purchased by Mr. Cook, at 3500*l.* Northampton-place, consisting of seven houses, was bought by Mr. Hurst, at 4400*l.* East-row, containing six handsome houses, was bought by Mr. Metcalf, the East-India director, at 3100*l.* The Lawn-cottage was purchased by Mr. Middleton, at 560*l.* Colonel Scott is the chief purchaser. Besides Sir Richard's fine residence, he has purchased various lots of ground, to the amount of upwards of 120 acres, some of which sold very high. The colonel gave likewise 300 guineas for the manorial rights of Southwick. Mr. Metcalf has likewise made several purchases of land; so have Sir Lionel Darell, alderman Newnham, &c. The whole has yielded but about 64,000*l.* for what cost more than 160,000*l.*

A letter from Xeres, in the neighbourhood of Cadiz, states, that 1857 persons had died in Cadiz in seventeen days; that 30,000 had deserted that city, and that 3000 were sick. The population is about 80,000. Five days generally terminates the disease; two days of which the patient is seized with a delirium and black vomit, and, if a copious perspiration does not succeed, death is the consequence: sometimes they recover, but a relapse is fatal. There had been no rain for seventy days, which occasioned a great foulness in their shores and streets. Some persons are of opinion that the disease has been imported from Tangiers; others, from America.

Pius VII. has begun the reformation of the ecclesiastical state in his own household, by reducing the expenses of it to 86,000 dollars, which formerly amounted to 150,000.—The papal chamber has a debt of fifty millions, the payment of which requires the strictest economy.

This evening notice was 14th. given to the magistrates, that two bills of a most inflammatory kind had been posted on the monument. They were in writing, and both apparently in the same hand; and their contents as follow:

"*Bread will be sixpence the Quartern,*

If the people will assemble at the Corn-market on Monday.

Fellow countrymen!

How long will ye quietly and cowardly suffer yourselves to be thus imposed upon and half starved by a set of mercenary slaves and Government hirelings? Can you still suffer them to proceed in their extensive monopolies, while your families are crying for bread? No!

let them exist not a day longer; we are the sovereignty; rise then from your lethargy. Be at the Corn-market on Monday."

These infamous provocations to popular outrage induced the lord mayor to take the necessary measures of precaution to secure the public peace. He collected all his civil officers, and received an assurance from the volunteer corps, that they would await his orders. It was not difficult to collect a mob, under a promise of so great a reduction in the price of bread. At ten o'clock the rioters began hissing the mealmen and corn-factors going into the market. Some they hustled, others they pelted with mud. The Quakers were the peculiar objects of their wrath. This body of tradesmen, who employ their skill and capital only in those manufactures and commodities which are unconnected with war, deserve, more than any other, the blessings of the poor, from the simplicity of their lives, and the example which they give of moderation in all their dealings. Vulgar prejudice, however, marked them out as the authors of the scarcity, by withholding from the market stores which they had accumulated. The riot increasing, the lord mayor went to Mark-lane about ten, and addressed the populace, recommending them to go peaceably to their homes. The mob heard him with complacency, and began to disperse. There were only a few stragglers; and thus, in the first instance, the market was protected. The lord mayor, however, had scarcely reached Guildhall, when a message was brought him from the marshal and constables he had left on duty, that the mob had reassembled. The lord mayor on his arrival again addressed them in terms most conciliatory and temperate, but in the most decided manner. He was joined by Sir William Leighton, and Sir John Eamer, and supported by his constables. He descended into the streets among them; and finding at length that all intreaties were ineffectual to make them disperse, and that several of his peace officers were wounded with brick-bats and stones, he read the riot act. The mob then dispersed, and before five o'clock there were only a few idle spectators.—Towards evening the populace, however, again assembled in very large bodies in Mark-lane, and broke the windows of several inhabitants, particularly those of Mr. Bolland. But being dispersed by a few of the volunteers and constables, they proceeded to Whitechapel and Shoreditch, and broke the windows of some bakers shops; and, about twelve at night, they went to the house of Mr. Rusby, in the Blackfriars-road (who was some time since convicted of regrating,) which they completely gutted: an act of the most disgraceful injustice, since Rusby is now awaiting the sentence of the law for his offence. In consequence of the above riots, the lord mayor ordered the following hand-bill to be posted on the walls of the metropolis:

Combe, Mayor.

Mansion House, Sept. 17, 1800.

Whereas the peace of this city has been, within these few days, very much disturbed by numerous and tumultuous assemblies of riotous and disorderly people, the

magistrates, determined to preserve the king's peace, and the persons and property of their fellow-citizens, by every means which the law has intrusted to their hands, particularly request the peaceable and well-disposed inhabitants of this city, upon the appearance of the military, to keep themselves away from the windows; to keep all the individuals of their families and servants within doors; and, where such opportunities can be taken, to remain in the back rooms of their houses. By order of his Lordship,

W. J. Newman, Clerk.

16th. An especial court of aldermen was held; who, in the most temperate yet manly terms, determined to protect the peace of the metropolis; and gave it as their decided opinion, "that, from the best information they were able to procure, had not the access to the Corn-market been yesterday impeded, and the transactions therein interrupted, a fall in the price of wheat and flour, much more considerable than that which actually took place, would have ensued; and the court were farther of opinion, that no means can so effectually lead to reduce the present excessive prices of the principal articles of food, as the holding out full security and indemnification to such lawful dealers as shall bring their corn or other commodities to market."

20th. George Thomas, an eminent attorney, possessed of a good fortune, at Brackley, in Northamptonshire, was indicted, at the Old Bailey, for an attempt to defraud the Navy Board. He had been applied to by the executors of a Mr. Coldridge, who had been employed by the commissioners of the navy, in carrying timber from the forest towns, to make out an account; he did so to the amount of 1200*l.* and delivered it, accompanied by vouchers, purporting to be the receipts of the workmen. On examining these, many were discovered to have been forged, and others made out in fictitious names. The prisoner addressed the court, but in too low a voice to be distinctly heard; he rested his defence on the respectability of his character, to which many creditable witnesses bore testimony. After a trial of nine hours, the jury found a verdict—guilty; but recommended him to mercy.

The following melancholy account of the loss of the Queen Indiaman, is extracted from a letter from an officer on board the Kent Indiaman, dated from St. Salvadore, on the coast of Brazil, July 17, 1800.—"We should have left this place ere now, but for a melancholy accident which has befallen the Queen Indiaman, which had put in here with us a few days since for want of water. On the ninth, between two and three o'clock, A. M. our officer who had the watch on deck discovered a smoke issuing from the gun-room ports of the Queen, which was moored a little way from us. Immediately we called the captain and officers; for, although no alarm was given from the Queen, yet, as she was evidently on fire, every exertion was made to man our boats with fire engines, buckets, &c. for their assistance; but, within a few minutes of our discovering the smoke, she was com-

pletely in flames from her stern to the bows, and in a few minutes more the three masts were overboard. Unfortunately it blew very fresh, and a current of at least three or four knots. This, of course, rendered it difficult for the boats to get along-side to save the people; and so rapid were the flames, that about thirty soldiers perished below decks, being unable to get up the hatchways. The number of lives lost is about eighty. Captain Craig, with the ladies, were on shore. All the officers of the ship are saved: and, fortunately for us, the current carried her clear of the bay, and she drove a considerable distance before she blew up, about seven A. M. The cause of the fire is not ascertained, as no person had been in the gun-room after eight o'clock; and although several people slept over the gun-room scuttle, the smoke was not discovered till near three o'clock. The scene was dreadful, from the cries of between 2 and 300 men, many of them perishing in the flames or sea. Those that are saved are almost entirely naked, from being hurried out of their beds. The remaining troops, and all the passengers (about 300,) proceeded in the Kent to India. There are five ladies, and General St. John and family, who are accommodated by the captain of the Kent with his cabin apartment."—This is the third East-Indiaman which has been destroyed by fire since the year 1791. The two former were, the Princess Amelia, captain John Ramsden; and the Earl Fitzwilliam, captain James Tweedale. The commanders of the above three ships were, however, saved. No blame is imputable to Captain Craig, the circumstances attending the fire perfectly exonerating him. She had upwards of fifty barrels of gunpowder on board when the accident happened.

The disastrous fate of the Kent, Captain Rivington, is so much connected with that of the Queen, that we shall give it to our readers in this place.

On Tuesday morning, the 7th of October, 1800, a strange sail was discovered in the N. W. quarter; the Kent at that time was lying to, for a pilot, and Captain Rivington, conceiving the vessel in sight to be a pilot schooner, immediately bore down, hoisted his colours, and made the signal for a pilot; the stranger upon this made sail, and hauled up towards the Kent. It was soon afterwards discovered that she was a ship, all hands were immediately called to quarters, and the ship prepared for action: upon her approach to the Kent, as she shewed no colours, a shot was fired at her from the larboard side, which was followed up, as she passed upon the opposite tack, by a broadside, and a constant fire kept up while she was within reach of the guns. The privateer, for it was now ascertained to be one, soon afterwards tacked, came up on the larboard side, and commenced the engagement within about musket shot, but without doing much injury, although she continued in this position for some time: she then got a-head, and passing round the bow of the Kent, renewed the engagement on the other side, nearly at the same distance, and for the same length of time, but with as little effect as before.

She afterwards made sail a-head, as if with an intention of relinquishing the attack, and making off, which she could easily have done, having greatly the superiority in sailing: when she had got about the distance of half a mile a-head of the Kent, she was, however, observed to haul her mainsail up, and wear round immediately towards her, and in about ten or fifteen minutes afterwards, or as soon as her guns would bear, she, for the first time, hoisted the national colours (Surcouff afterwards declared that he had forgot them before,) and fired a broadside and volley of musketry from every part of the ship, which was immediately returned by the Kent, and continued while her guns would bear; the privateer then wearing round her stern, ranged close up along-side, and received a full discharge from the Kent's starboard guns; at this moment she fired a whole broadside, and threw a number of hand-granades from her tops into the Kent, some of which penetrated the upper deck, and burst on the gun-deck; at the same time a fire of musketry was kept up from her tops, which killed and wounded a number of passengers and recruits that were on the quarter-deck and poop: when the ships were completely locked with each other, captain Surcouff entered at the head of about 150 men, completely armed for boarding, having each a sabre and a brace of pistols; the contest upon deck was now desperate, and lasted for about twenty minutes; but the enemy having greatly the superiority, both in numbers and arms, were victorious, and a dreadful carnage ensued, they shewing no quarter to any one who came in their way, whether with or without arms; and such was their savage cruelty, that they even stabbed some of the sick in bed.

Upon gaining possession of the poop, the French immediately cut down the colours, and soon after this had complete possession of the ship.

Captain Surcouff finding some disinclination in his crew to board, had been under the necessity of plying them several times with liquor, as well as to promise them an hour's pillage in the event of their carrying the ship; and this time they completely occupied, breaking open every package they could come at, and even taking the coats, hats, shoes, &c. from the persons of the officers and passengers.

From the commencement of the action until the time the French were in possession of the ship, was about an hour and forty-seven minutes, and from the gallant manner in which the officers and crew of the Kent behaved, while the ships were clear of each other, there is not a doubt but she would have overcome the privateer; but there being a very great deficiency of small arms, they had no means of repelling such a number of boarders, so well prepared for close action; and Captain Surcouff acknowledged, that had he not succeeded in carrying her, his own ship must soon have sunk along-side.

It is with extreme regret we add, that Captain Rivington, after the most manly conduct in the defence of his ship, fell by the musketry from the tops of the privateer,

while Surcouff was in the act of boarding.

In the afternoon the officers, passengers, and crew of the Kent, were sent on board an Arab vessel, and which had been plundered by the privateer the day before; they afterwards landed at Calcutta. Some of the seamen were, however, detained on board the privateer, and put in irons, with the hopes of inducing them to enter. The chief officer, surgeon, and surgeon's mate, with thirteen of the most dangerously wounded, were detained on board the Kent, under pretence of its requiring too much time to remove them.

Although the prize-master informed the unfortunate people, who were sent on board the Arab, that there was abundance of provisions and water, yet, upon inquiry, there was found but a very small quantity of rain-water, scarcely equal to half-a-pint each per day, for four days, with a few dates and raw rice to subsist on; and they were consequently reduced to the utmost distress before they were relieved by one of the pilot-schooners which they met in the roads.

General St. John and his family were on board the Kent, and appear to have been particularly unfortunate. All his jewels, plate, and baggage, had been burnt on board the Queen, at St. Salvadore, in July last.

The new species of hemp, called sun, the produce of Bengal, and which has been manufactured there for general purposes, has turned out nearly equal to our own rope. In order to give it a fair trial, the company's ship the Earl Howe, Captain Robert Burrowes, which has lately arrived, had all her running rigging rove with this rope in Bengal, by the order of government; it answered Captain Burrowes most sanguine expectations, during a long voyage home. All the marine establishments in India are to be supplied with this new article of eastern produce, which is esteemed an invaluable acquisition to the shipping navigating the Indian seas.

Dublin.—On Wednesday, August the 27th, the trial of Thomas and John Carson, (brothers) came on at the town assizes, for the wilful murder of Charles Capilly. The murder being proved against Thomas Carson, the jury returned a verdict of guilty, and the judge (Kelly) passed sentence on him, and directed that the execution should take place on the following Friday morning.

At five o'clock on Friday morning another brother came to see the unhappy convict, and informed the gaoler that Mr. Wainwright would attend in a short time to pray with and administer the sacrament to his brother. The learned judge had very humanely directed that his relations should have access to the prisoner, so that his brother was permitted to go into the condemned cell to him. Some time after the gaoler came in to say that the time was very short, that his orders for the hour of execution were peremptory, and that they had better send for the clergyman, it being then near six o'clock. The brother offered to go for him, and accordingly did so. Shortly after Mr. Wainwright came, and being shewn into the cell, continued a long time in prayer with the prisoner.

Eight o'clock was approaching when the gaoler came in, accompanied by the prisoner's uncle. The clergyman then told the prisoner that he had no time to lose, that his uncle had come to see him, and could communicate with him in the administration of the sacrament. The prisoner entreated to be allowed a little time longer to pray, which was permitted, and he seemed for some time quite absorbed in devotion, until at length the gaoler becoming impatient, he rose from the straw, upon which he was kneeling, and welcomed his uncle. The latter started back astonished, and exclaimed, "Good God! how grief has altered him! this cannot be Tommy!" then looking nearer, "No," said he, "it is Anthony Carson." The clergyman was amazed, the gaoler ran down stairs, and discovered that the person whom he had sent for the clergyman, was no other than the convict himself, who had not thought proper to return. It afterwards appeared that the real convict, Thomas Carson, wrapped in his brother's frize great coat, and attended by the gaoler, had passed all the doors of the prison, and walked deliberately into the street, from whence, in great apparent affliction, he looked up at the preparations for the execution, and then passed on as if to Mr. Wainwright's house. Every search after him has as yet proved fruitless.

We regret to state, that during the last six weeks, riots have taken place in many parts of the country, and much mischief has been done to the farmers, mealmen, bakers, &c., the infatuated populace thus adopting the most effectual means to produce the scarcity, the existence of which they deny, and to keep up the high prices of which they complain.

The recent spirited and judicious conduct of the lord mayor, during the similar indications in the metropolis, will, however, we trust, prove beneficial to the country at large; and the ease with which the late formidable appearances have beenquelled, by a little timely vigour, must point out to these misguided men the utter hopelessness of their endeavours, and conduce to the restoration of general order and tranquillity.

Weymouth.—This morning, Charles Sturt, esq. of Brownsea-castle, M.P. for Bridport, and who is owner of a fast sailing cutter stationed in the bay, went out early in the morning; and after dinner, being about two leagues from shore, made a match for his cutter to sail against that of Mr. Weld, of Lulworth-castle. When, in the onset, Mr. Sturt's cutter having the boat fastened to her stern, he ordered a boy to go into her, and convey it to shore, as he supposed it retarded and impeded the sailing. The child (the sea running high) being afraid, Mr. S. requested any man on board, but they also declined the task; on which he jumped into the boat, when just at that instant, the rope, by which it was lashed, parted from the vessel, and he was, by the force of the tide, drifted to sea at a considerable distance, when the boat, by the surges, upset. In this perilous situation, left at the mercy of 20th.

the waves, he had the presence of mind to pull off all his clothes excepting his nankeen trowsers and stockings, keeping his station as well as he could, sometimes on the keel of the boat, and then, dashed off by a tremendous wave, compelled to swim and regain his former station. Giving up all for lost, previous to throwing away his clothes, he wrote with a pencil on a slip of paper, which he put into his watch-case, the following label:—"Charles Sturt, Brownsea, to his beloved wife."—The watch, in the case of which Mr. Sturt placed the label, was of the most elegant kind, being enriched with diamonds, &c. and is reported to be worth upwards of 300 guineas. It was a present from his lady. This he preserved by fastening it to his trowsers, the only covering left himself. Some transports, which were intended to carry the troops to Guernsey and Jersey, by contrary winds being obliged to put back; all had passed, but the last vessel, unnoticing him, when one of the mates exclaimed, "Good God! there is a man in distress!" The transports could not bring-to, as they lay full three miles to the windward, and a heavy sea, when four resolute fellows embarked in a boat, Mr. Sturt only being occasionally visible, and followed the line in which they perceived him; and, after near two hours, they came up with him, as he was only to be seen within a few yards, now almost worn out, when they lifted him into the boat; in which he had no sooner arrived, than he grasped his kind deliverers, and lifting up his hands to Providence for this relief, burst instantaneously into tears. In February, 1799, by his intrepidity, he saved the lives of a ship's crew, who would otherwise have perished: being shipwrecked near his seat at Brownsea-castle, within a short distance of Poole.

29th. The election came on this day at Guildhall, for two proper persons to be returned to the court of aldermen, for their choice of one of them to be lord mayor for the year ensuing, when the show of hands was declared by the sheriffs to be in favour of the present lord mayor and Sir William Staines; but a poll being demanded by the friends of Mr. Alderman Newman, the same was granted, and immediately commenced.

Died.—At Dunse, in Scotland, aged 107, John Nesbitt. He was born in the parish of Oldhamstocks, East Lothian, and entered early in life into the service of the States General, was present at the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom, 1747, where he was severely wounded, by a bayonet being thrust through his body, in consequence of which he was discharged. From that period to the day of his death he supported himself by his own industry, assisted by a small pension from Government.

At Hinsham, Oxfordshire, in his 102nd year, Hercules Humphreys. He retained the full use of his faculties to the last, and was subpœned as an evidence on a trial at Oxford, in his 101st year. Of his surviving children the eldest is 73, and the youngest only 17.

In France, M. Louis, a celebrated architect. The principal public buildings from his designs are several of the theatres at Paris, and the immense structures

which surround the Palais Royal, but his *chef d'œuvre* is the theatre at Bourdeaux, which may justly rank among the most perfect and superb edifices in modern Europe.

Died of his wounds, the brave Captain William Graham, who, on the 15th instant, so gallantly defended the ship Dick, of Liverpool, in a seven hours engagement, with La Grand Decidé, a famous French privateer, of much superior force.

OCTOBER.

1st. This morning, between 7 and 8 o'clock, a dreadful fire broke out on the premises of Messrs. Tydy and Barke, shipbuilders, by the boiling over of a pitch kettle. The greatest alarm was excited by the knowledge that several barrels of gunpowder were stowed in Mr. Tydy's warehouses; they were, however, all taken away except three, which were rolled by mistake to Mr. Culmer's, mathematical instrument maker, over the way; these took fire, and completely blew up all the floors and beams, and the roof of the house; and there is every reason to apprehend that Mr. Culmer's son, who was seen in an upper room not a moment before, and an apprentice who was in the shop, were destroyed by the explosion, as they have not been heard of since. Mr. Conolly, a publican, in passing Mr. Culmer's shop at the time, also lost his life; and a poor woman was killed by a fall of bricks and tiles from one of the burning houses. From Mr. Tydy's the fire extended to the Dundee Arms, whence the Gravesend boats set out, which was consumed, and thence to a pile of hoops of from 30 to 40 feet high; the flames proceeding from so large a quantity of light wood were strong and violent, and influenced by a brisk and variable wind, seemed to direct their fury to all quarters. Messrs. Wilkinson's pottery and house, adjoining the yard, felt their fatal effects; and presently after, a breeze from across the river, turned them directly against a wooden house on the opposite side of the way, which took fire in a few moments, and communicated the flames to a large cooperage and timber yards behind it, where incalculable mischief was done. Several of Messrs. Richard's stores and cooperages were destroyed, but their store of vats and the malt-house, containing 500 quarters of malt, were preserved, by supplying the engines with water from their large reservoirs, it being ebb tide. From Wilkinson's and the Police-office, which were both consumed, the flames communicated with the dwelling house of Mr. Curtis, adjoining their brewery, when a sudden shifting of the wind turned the flames to the east and north, so that the brewery escaped. At the water-side every thing was destroyed, from Curtis's brewery to the Phœnix wharf, and a lighter, which was aground, was burnt to the water's edge. Not less than fifty houses have been utterly destroyed and burnt to the ground, and many thousands have been lost by the numerous individuals who have suffered. Messrs. Tydys had been accustomed to

keep their Bank-notes and valuable papers in a strong iron chest, surrounded by bricks, and supposing that they would be safe there, they refused to have them moved; but, on opening the chest among the ruins, they found every paper in it destroyed. The bricks and iron had been thoroughly heated, and had, of course, burned the contents. During the fire, part of a wall fell upon some women and children, who were in a few minutes dug out, and conveyed, dreadfully wounded, to the London Infirmary.

On Wednesday last, an alarming riot took place at New Alresford. Considerable apprehension of a mob having been entertained, a detachment of the Fawley light dragoons paraded the streets all the morning, and every thing appearing tranquil, they withdrew from the town. But no sooner were they gone than symptoms of disorder commenced, and towards dusk a vast multitude of riotous persons assembled in the market-place, and uttering the most violent threats against the millers and farmers. The Riot Act was read, and the magistrates did every thing in their power to induce the mob to disperse by gentleness and persuasion. All their efforts, however, proving ineffectual, they were obliged to call in the military, and to order the Fawley light horse to charge. This manœuvre being executed with great alacrity, in a few minutes the streets were cleared, and greatly to the honour of the soldiers, tranquillity was restored without bloodshed, as they only used the flat side of their broad-swords.

A few days since, as some labourers were digging chalk, in a place called Pit-Mead, between Warminster and Heytesbury, they came down upon a substance which at first appeared to be common bricks, but which, upon examination, proved to be a most perfect and beautiful Roman pavement, twenty-two feet square, equal, if not superior, to those discovered at Woodchester, near Gloucester, some years since.

Dublin.—The new military road now forming through the mountains, and other most difficult parts of the county of Wicklow, has made very considerable progress, and it is expected will shortly be completed.

The following are the particulars respecting the highwayman who was shot by Mr. Mayne, on Thursday last, the 2nd inst. near Ripley, Surrey. Mr. Mayne, accompanied by a friend, was going on Thursday evening, in a single horse-chaise, to Guildford, when, within a mile and three quarters of Ripley, they observed a man on horseback ride by, and who, after going a short distance before them, pulled up, and let the chaise pass him; but in a few minutes rode up again to the side of the carriage, presented a pistol, and said, "Your money, or you are dead men." Mr. Mayne's horse going very fast at the time got a little way before the robber's, on which he rode up full speed; but his horse coming in contact with that of the chaise, wheeled about, and Mr. Mayne discharged a pistol at him, and he fell, exclaiming, "I am killed." Mr. Mayne not knowing but he might have accomplices, drove to the Hut

public-house, which is only a few hundred yards distance, where he procured assistance, and returning, met the robber near the spot where he had fallen, who instantly surrendered himself, and delivered up a loaded pistol which he had in his pocket. On being brought to the hut, a surgeon was sent for, when it was discovered that the ball had entered the shoulder, and lodged in the back-bone, whence it has not yet been extracted, though a deep incision has been made. He expressed great contrition, and declared it was his first offence. Mr. Mayne and the other witnesses are bound over to prosecute at the next assizes for the county. The prisoner refuses to tell his name, and denies having any friends living. He is a fine young man, about 23 years of age.

Last week, a duel took place in the neighbourhood of Dundee, between Lieutenant Stuart Watson, of the marines, and Ensign Godfrey Magarey, of the third North British militia, when the former received a shot which proved almost instantly fatal. Ensign G. Magarey has absconded, and also E. B. O'Keefe, late lieutenant in the 71st regiment, and Ensign James Bryson, of the third N. B. militia, who were the seconds in this lamentable encounter.

6th. On the close of the poll this day at Guildhall, the sheriffs declared the majority to be in favour of sir William Staines and the present lord mayor; and having reported the same to the court of aldermen, sir William Staines was by them elected lord mayor.

16th. This day the lord mayor and corporation of London attended his Majesty with their address; which being presented to the King on the throne, his Majesty was graciously pleased to make this answer: "I am always desirous of recurring to the advice and assistance of my Parliament on any public emergency; and, previous to receiving your petition, I had given directions for convening my Parliament, for the dispatch of business."

The Russian chargé d'affaires, about three weeks since, applied to the under secretary of state, for the northern department, for a passport for a Russian courier. Not receiving it immediately, he applied for it a second time, and seemed very impatient to procure it. At eight o'clock on the following morning, M. Lisakewitz left town, taking with him all his baggage; but he gave out that he was only gone for a few days into the country, having no business in town. He, however, left the country under the passport granted for this courier.

22nd. At Margate, a most tremendous storm of wind came on about three o'clock in the morning. The jetty, for thirty yards, and all the shops, including the fishmongers, watchmakers, and Mantle's the fruiterer, were beat down by a collier, which broke from her moorings in the harbour, and was driven in by the hurricane. Soon after a heavy swell from the north washed away at least half the Parade, which stood about six feet above the surface of the water at high tide.

31st. This night, about nine o'clock, a fire broke out at

Mr. Smith's, a shoe-maker, close to Aldgate pump, which in a short time consumed his house, and three others adjoining. They were wooden houses, and burnt with great rapidity. At one shop, a lady suddenly finding the fire burning through to the house in which she was, and supposing there was no escape by the staircase, threw herself out of the two-pair of stairs window. By the fall her arms were broken, and she was otherwise much bruised. She was carried to the hospital, and recovered her senses, but her life is in great danger. No other personal accident happened till about eleven o'clock, when the front of three of the houses fell forward on the street, and crushed several persons in the ruins. Two of the firemen were dug out before twelve o'clock. Four firemen were on the tops of the houses when the fronts were falling; but they clung to a stack of chimneys, and were saved. The calamity was occasioned by a person who was manufacturing squibs and rockets, preparatory to the celebration of the 5th of November; and who, by some accident or other, suffered a part of the apparatus to take fire.

The superb chapel of St. George, at Windsor, is now completed; and its grandeur is so combined with simplicity, that it is one of the finest specimens of Gothic architecture in Europe. The splendid painted Gothic window, at the west end, is to be removed; and a new one, after a design of Mr. West, is to be substituted. His Majesty is repairing and beautifying the small chapel adjoining to that of St. George, at Windsor, as a royal mausoleum. It is also reported that the castle is to be embellished with beautiful Gothic windows. Fifteen years is the period allowed for the completion of the new large window; and the subject is to be the Crucifixion.

A few days ago, as some workmen were digging for a foundation, at the north-west corner of Caerleon Church-yard, they dug up several large cubic altar stones, with inscriptions on two sides of them. Upon one of the stones is this inscription:

D: D: VIII. Kal. Oct.—on one side.

N: N: Aug. Gemio. Leg. 2 Aug. —on the other side.

The above is sufficient to shew that what Camden and others have said is true, viz. that Caerleon was the station of the second Roman Legion, and from thence had its name *Caer Legio*; in Welch, *Caerleon*.

Died.—Mr. Thomas Macklin, proprietor of the Poets' Gallery, in Fleet-street. To the spirited exertions of this enterprising gentleman, the professors of historical painting and engraving, in this country, have been indebted for many brilliant opportunities of displaying and improving their talents. His edition of the Bible must ever be considered as an unrivalled monument of the taste and energy of the individual who planned and carried it into execution, and of the liberality of the nation, whose munificence enabled him to accomplish so very magnificent an undertaking.

At Charter-house, Hinton, aged 101, Francis Rose. He was borne to the grave by five grandsons,

and one great grandson. In his 98th year, in company with his son, grandson, and great grandson, and another relation, he reaped 40 acres of wheat for Mr. E. Heal, farmer of that place. Besides which, he was in the habit of walking twice every day from the field to the farm-house, with three gallons of ale or cyder on his back; a distance of two miles each journey.

At West Keal, near Spilsby, Lincolnshire, aged 117, after being supported by the parish for many years, Mrs. Elizabeth Shaw. She remembered the Revolution in 1688, and retained her senses to the last hour of her life. Her great age was not known until a twelvemonth preceding her death; an examination of the parish register ascertained the fact.

NOVEMBER.

2nd. At 9 o'clock on Thursday morning, a duel was fought in a passage of the Blue Posts Inn yard, between Lieutenant Stapleton, of the 20th regiment of foot, and Mr. Granger, who was going as a volunteer from the Guards, to join Lord Robert Manners, in the Mediterranean. On the first fire from Lieutenant Stapleton, the ball entered the upper part of Mr. Granger's thigh, and all attempts to extract it have hitherto proved ineffectual. The dispute originated on board the Fortitude transport, at Spithead. Mr. Granger was called from his bed at the Blue Posts, by Lieutenant Stapleton, and they immediately went out to decide this affair of honour. Lieutenant Stapleton is now on board the Fortitude, from whence he is to be brought to answer the laws of his country.

It is with much concern we mention the loss of the Charles Baring, West Indiaman, Captain John Aris, which sailed from Port Royal, Jamaica, the 6th of September, and on the 15th of October sprung a leak. The unremitting exertions of the captain, crew, and passengers, kept her afloat till the 24th, all hands being continually employed in pumping her till the 21st, on which day the pumps were choaked from the quantity of coffee, cocoa, &c. on board. On the 24th, with nine feet of water in the hold, she foundered. The misery of the crew, previous to this awful moment, can be better conceived than described. No alternative but to have recourse to a boat, scarcely able to contain twenty people, upwards of a thousand miles distant from land, and in a sea running mountains high. Three days had those of the ship's company and passengers, who had the good fortune to get in the boat, lived in it with only a wine glass of water allotted to each per day, when they were fortunately picked up by the Harriot, of New York, Capt. Gaughard, who, by active exertions, got them all aboard in a heavy sea. Saved, Captain John Aris, General and Madame Le Grande; Thomas Bennet, Esq. of Jamaica; Captain and Mrs. Fitzmaurice, Madame and two Misses Beaubois, second mate, and fourteen seamen. Lost, General Beaubois, Mr. De Lafont, surgeon, Mr. Murray, the first mate, fifteen sailors, and twelve invalid soldiers.

4th. His Majesty's ship, Marlborough, of 74 guns, commanded by Captain Southby, was totally wrecked off Belleisle, the whole of the officers and crew have arrived safe at this port, having been rescued from the wreck by the Captain man of war, and the Amity, a ship from Malaga, detained by the Captain.

In consequence of some inflammatory hand-bills posted about the metropolis, inviting this day a mob on Kennington-common, the life guards were ordered out. The volunteer corps were also stationed in the environs. The police officers, in case of disturbance, attended at the Axe and Gate in Downing-street, and the following hand-bill was circulated:—

"TO THE PUBLIC.

"*Sunday, Nov.* 9, 1800.

"Whereas an inflammatory hand-bill has been distributed and posted up, inviting every journeyman, artizan, mechanic, and tradesman; every manufacturer, labourer, &c. to meet this day on Kennington-common, under pretence of petitioning the King and Parliament; and whereas there is reason to apprehend that such meeting would, from its circumstances, endanger the public peace: notice is hereby given, that the magistrates have taken measures to prevent any number of persons from assembling in consequence of such hand-bill; and all well-disposed persons are exhorted to abstain from going to such meeting, and to return peaceably to their houses, avoiding the hazard which they must incur by joining in any tumultuous proceedings."

9th. A most tremendous wind arose about eleven o'clock in London, and for 100 miles round, and did incalculable damage to houses, and occasioned floods in the country, by which much property in cattle, &c. was destroyed.

The dreadful hurricane of this day committed ravages in several parts of Germany, but especially in Holland. At Rotterdam, the damage done was also considerable: it pierced a dyke in one place, where 1520 head of cattle were drowned.

10th. The old and new lord mayor, &c. proceeded in the accustomed state to Westminster, where Sir W. Staines was sworn into office for the ensuing year. On returning from Blackfriars-bridge, the populace took the horses from the carriage of the old lord mayor, Alderman Coombe, and drew him to Guildhall; and did the same by Lord Nelson, who (having obtained the King's permission to appear in public before he was introduced at court) was one of the numerous company that dined with the lord mayor; when he received the sword voted by the city of London.

12th. His Majesty held a levee, at which Lord Nelson and Sir W. Hamilton were presented on their arrival from Naples.

Were executed before Newgate, Thomas Chalfont, for secreting a letter, which came within his power, as a sorter at the General Post-office, and stealing thereout a 10*l.* Bank note, the property

of Messrs. Bedwell and Co.; Thomas Newman, for stealing a gelding, the property of George Arnold; John Price, and John Robinson, for a burglary in the dwelling-house of Mr. John Lambe and Co. and stealing a quantity of silk; and Wm. Hatton, for maliciously firing at J. Doonah (a watchman) with a loaded pistol.

19th. The King held a levee at St. James's, when the Algerine ambassador, who went to court in one of the royal carriages, had his first audience, and presented to his Majesty two beautiful horses, the skins of several tygers, &c. a sword, and other valuables.

Early this morning the guard of one of the coaches from Dover to London, was shot by two highwaymen, who stopped the coach near Shooter's-hill. The poor man has, it is feared, received a mortal wound in his back. The highwaymen fired slugs. There were five inside passengers, all of whom these ruffians robbed of their money. We have since learnt that the above unfortunate man is dead.

Recent letters from the Rev. Mr. Jackson, chaplain to the colony in New South Wales, states its condition to be most promising. Grain, of all kinds, but more especially barley, was abundant; and some hop-seeds, which about three years since were sent from England to this gentleman, had thriven in such a manner, that several plantations had been formed, and porter of the best quality produced from it.

The late storms, in various parts of the country, have been perfectly tremendous. Great injury has been done throughout the county of Sussex, and along the coast of Kent. At Plymouth the winds have been awful, and much mischief has been done at sea. The Weymouth coach was actually blown over near the turnpike in that town. The damage done in the neighbourhood of Exeter is most lamentable. Mr. Holland and family, from Oakhampton, arriving in two carriages, were stopped on the other side of the new bridge, just at the entrance of Exeter, by the flood, the horses being unable to proceed; the water continued to rise till the horses swam, and till the company in the carriages were nearly up to their chins. The deplorable shrieks of the ladies were heart-piercing, but no one dared attempt to afford them any relief; after remaining nearly an hour in this perilous situation, the driver of the first carriage got free with one horse, the other was shortly afterwards drowned. Happily, at this critical moment, when all appeared lost, five or six intrepid soldiers, of the fourth regiment of foot, dashed into the flood, and rescued the ladies—got them out of the carriages, and bore them safely through the water on their shoulders. Mr. Holland and the others effected their escape by means of a boat. One of the drivers had a very narrow escape: endeavouring to save himself by swimming, the current darted him instantaneously into an orchard, where, fortunately catching hold of the branch of a tree, he remained suspended for nearly half an hour, until rescued by the boat. The demand

for tiles, since the storms has been so great, that the kilns in the neighbourhood of the places which have most suffered, have not yet been able to supply a sufficiency for the reparation of the damage. These storms, it is said, have had no equal since the year 1703, when in the month of November, weather of the same kind was experienced, though much more disastrous and fatal in its effects, which filled a volume published in the following year, and which are recorded in the Philosophical Transactions.

The dreadful sickness at Cadiz had, on the 24th of October, the date of the last letters, carried off in that city alone, within two months, above eleven thousand of its inhabitants. This fatal disorder is stealing on towards Portugal, and has reached the town of Ayamonte, on the Spanish side of the mouth of the river Guadiana, which separates the two kingdoms. The deaths there are from nine to fifteen a day.

Mr. Granger being dead of his wound, a coroner's inquest sat upon the body, and returned their verdict wilful murder against Lieutenant Stapleton, who has been taken into custody in consequence.

Died.—At Florence, of apoplexy, aged 74, Signora Morelli, a most celebrated female improvisatore, better known by the academical name of Corinna. She had formerly, like Petrarch, received at Rome the laurel crown.

In London, the Marquis De Bouillé, justly celebrated for his military talents, ehivalric notions of honour, and faithful attachment to his unfortunate monarch. In 1791, after Louis the XVI. returned from Varennes, the Marquis wrote to the Convention, that if they dared to injure a hair upon the head of their king, he would raise an army which should not leave one stone upon another in Paris; nor was he wanting in ardent, though unsuccessful, endeavours to fulfil his threat; but unaided and unseconded, he sunk into a melancholy after the murder of the king which never quitted him, and too probably hastened his death.

DECEMBER.

Manchester. — About eleven o'clock last night 1st. this town was alarmed by one of the most dreadful fires, the extent of property considered, that ever happened in it. At that hour a watchman gave the alarm, that a warehouse in Hodson's yard was on fire. Immediate assistance was attempted, but from the peculiar situation of the premises, it was a considerable time before it could be effectually applied. The square is completely inclosed by high buildings, chiefly warehouses, and the streets or lanes formed by these are very narrow. It consisted of ten large and lofty warehouses, (no dwellings) to which there were two narrow avenues, and one cart road, but the whole was every night closed up by doors and gates, and locked. The flames continued to spread rapidly, and in a short time broke through the roofs of the buildings. The firemen and engines being assembled, and a great number of persons, every possible assistance was rendered,

but in vain, and the impossibility of saving any of the warehouses became evident. As there were goods in them to a very great amount, every exertion was made to preserve them, and with such success, that property to the value it is supposed of 100,000*l.* was snatched from the flames. Providentially the night was calm, and favoured the exertions to save the surrounding buildings, which were for some time in imminent danger, so that terrific as the fire appeared for many hours, it was happily confined, except in the destruction of one warehouse, to the inclosure of the square, and by four o'clock in the morning was sufficiently got under to relieve the neighbourhood from their apprehensions. In some of the warehouses all the property was consumed, and as far as can be conjectured at present, the loss is not less than 15,000*l.*

2nd. R. Tighe, Esq. of the county of Westmeath, obtained a verdict, and 10,000*l.* damages, in the court of King's Bench, Dublin, against a Mr. Jones, for *crim. con.*

3rd. His Majesty in council, in compliance with the request of the two houses of Parliament, issued his royal proclamation, exhorting all persons who have the means of procuring other food than corn, to use the strictest economy in the use of every kind of grain, abstaining from pastry, reducing the consumption of bread in their respective families, at least one-third, and, upon no account, to allow it "to exceed one quartern loaf for each person in each week;" and also all persons keeping horses, especially those for pleasure, to restrict their consumption of grain as far as circumstances will admit.

4th. This day came on the election, in the prince's chamber, House of Lords, of a Radcliffe travelling physician; when Dr. Vaughan, of All Souls college, in Oxford, was elected. Dr. Ashe, of Holles-street, made the present vacancy. There are only two of these medical travellers belonging to the University of Oxford; who hold the appointment for ten years, the first five of which they are required to spend in medical pursuits abroad. No one can be a candidate, who is not a graduate of the University of Oxford. There are two spacious suites of apartments in University college, belonging to the Radcliffe physicians, who become, by the appointment, fellows for the time being. Dr. Turton and Sir Francis Millman, formerly travelled under this appointment, which is reckoned the most honourable situation that can be held by a physician in this or any other country. It often requires more interest to obtain this, than to become a member of Parliament. The following great personages are the electors, by virtue of their office; viz. the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, the Chancellor of the University of Oxford, the two lord-chief-justices of the King's Bench and Common Pleas, the two principal Secretaries of State, the Master of the Rolls, and the bishops of London and Winchester.

9th. The Recorder passed sentence of death, at the Old Bailey, on J. Coward, for stealing three heifers; Elizabeth Deering

and J. Mills, for stealing in a dwelling-house; John and Mary Oakes, and Margaret Miller, for highway robberies; J. Reynolds, W. Barnes and D. Lawley (a boy) for burglaries; J. Fisher, for stealing sugar off a wharf; and G. Thomas, for forgery. D. Grant, for receiving stolen sugar, was sentenced to be transported for 14 years. Twenty-eight persons were ordered to be transported for 7 years; 27 to imprisonment, whipping, and fines; and Mary Ann Bellows, a girl 11 years old, was ordered to the Philanthropic Society. B. Pooley, a letter-carrier, found guilty, at September sessions, of having taken a bill for 200*l.* out of a letter, and whose case, in consequence of his counsel having objected to the indictment, on the ground that the note not having been duly stamped, he had not stolen any thing of value, had been referred to the twelve judges, was pardoned; but he was ordered to be detained, to answer other charges.

10th. The Admiralty session was held at the Old Bailey, when T. Potter, one of the crew of a smuggling vessel, was sentenced to be hanged, and to be afterwards anatomized, for the wilful murder of H. Glynn, late a boatswain belonging to his Majesty's customs at Plymouth, and who was shot whilst rowing towards the smuggler, for the purpose of boarding her, in the execution of his duty. He was executed on the 18th.

13th. Between nine and ten o'clock three footpads stopped a post-chaise, in which were three gentlemen, on the road between Shooter's Hill and Blackheath, whom they robbed to nearly the amount of 100*l.* Mr. Taylor, of Crayford, happening to pass on horseback immediately after, at the request of the gentlemen, pursued; and, having watched the robbers into a wood between Charlton and Woolwich, rode off to inform the commandant of that garrison of the circumstance, who immediately ordered detachments of the royal horse artillery to surround and patrole the skirts of the wood, while parties of the foot artillery entered it in search of the offenders, who were soon secured without resistance, having first deposited their booty and six brace of pistols in a ditch, where they were found by one of the gunners. When stripped of their disguise, they were of good appearance, the eldest not more than twenty-three years old. Eleven of the pistols were loaded, and several cartridges, balls, and slugs, were found upon these fellows.

This afternoon, about five o'clock, as one of the Chatham coaches was coming to town, through Woolwich, with a guide, (the coachman having, it is supposed, lost his way,) the coach overturned in passing through a cart-rut. One of the inside passengers, a lady from Canterbury, had her skull fractured, which afterwards caused her death. The coachman had his collar-bone and arm broken by the fall from his box, and several others were hurt.

22d. St. Thomas's day falling this year on a Sunday, the annual election of common-councilmen, for the city of London, was held this day; when fewer

changes took place than has been for many years remembered. There was no poll in any of the wards.

29th. This day, a very extraordinary attempt is said to have been made on the life of Buonaparte. A combustible machine, it appears, placed in a cart, was set fire to as he passed in his carriage to the Opera. The explosion caused much damage, and several lives have been lost.

By a diary of the weather, kept during the year 1800, at Norwich, there appears to have been 214 dry days, viz. 20 in January, 23 in February, 14 in March, 7 in April, 23 in May, 16 in June, 28 in July, 16 in August, 14 in September, 17 in October, 15 in November, 21 in December. In 1799 there were only 173 dry days.

It appears, by the adjutant-general's returns, that the number of troops in the pay of Great Britain, on the 24th of December, 1800, amounted to 168,082. The marines being in the admiralty department are not included; but that corps, consisting of 23,370, increases our effective military force to 191,452, exclusive of the numerous volunteer corps, which do not receive pay from government. The military establishment of Ireland, as stated by lord Castlereagh, on the 10th of February, consists, of regulars 45,839, militia 27,104, and yeomanry 53,557; amounting to 126,500; which makes the military establishment of the United Kingdom 317,952 men. Taking the naval establishment, exclusive of marines at 100,000 men, our force will be found to consist of 417,952 men.

From the first day of March last there has been a difference of twelve days between the old and new styles, instead of eleven, as formerly, owing to the regulations of the Act for altering the style, passed in 1752; according to which, the year 1800 was only to be accounted a common year, and not a leap-year, as it otherwise would have been. In consequence of this alteration, Old Lady-day will be April 6; Old May-day, May 13; Old Midsummer, July 6; Old Lammas, August 13: Old Michaelmas-day, October 11, &c.; and will continue so for one hundred years.

A few days since, two boys of Knipton, each about fifteen years of age, were sent to Belvoir inn, near Grantham, for a gallon of rum, of which, on their return, they drank to such excess, that they were both found dead in the road next morning.

A short time ago, between two and three hundred pieces of ancient silver coin were discovered in a tan-yard at Stafford, about a yard from the surface of the ground. They were contained in a small jug, and are in an excellent state of preservation. It is supposed that they have lain there about 700 years, as they appear to have been coined during the reigns of Ethelred, Canute and Hardicanute, which last monarch died at Lambeth in 1044.

Early in last week, as the lady of Captain O'Brien, of the 24th regiment, was playing with one of her children, at the New Inn, Exeter, her clothes caught fire; she was about to roll herself in the carpet, when she saw the flames communicating to her infant; all regard to her own safety was now lost in the more powerful consi-

deration of saving her child, and rushing down stairs, she preserved its life at the sacrifice of her own. The flames were soon extinguished, but she was previously burned in so dreadful a manner, that after languishing four days she expired, in the nineteenth year of her age.

30th. *Birmingham.*—The manufactory of Messrs. Boulton and Co. has long been an object of the highest temptation to the *Chevaliers d'industrie* of this neighbourhood, on account of the portable riches which it was supposed to contain; but a considerable difficulty has long presented itself to every scheme they could devise, to pay this seat of the arts a nocturnal visit.

Messrs. Boulton and Co. having long employed a watchman of stubborn integrity, whose vigilance they could not easily elude, despairing of success without his connivance, he was a short time since sounded by one of the principals of the party, and after some preliminaries, which were faithfully communicated to Mr. Boulton, the watchman was ordered to enter into a negociation, which soon terminated in an agreement, by which it was stipulated that the watchman should be entitled to a share of the booty in reward for his connivance. Yesterday morning at one o'clock was the time appointed for the execution of the plot. Mr. Boulton, who had previously been informed, having marked a number of guineas, and placed them in the counting-house, procured some constables and other assistants, to the number of twenty in the whole, who were well armed, and concealed in the manufactory.

At the appointed hour the gang, consisting of five, broke into the premises, took the guineas which Mr. Boulton had marked, a quantity of grain gold, and whatever other articles of value they could lay their hands upon. As soon as they attempted to depart, the party in ambush rushed upon them, and a terrible conflict ensued; fire-arms were discharged on both sides, and after a severe struggle four of the five offenders were secured. The fifth, though severely wounded, made his escape through a window, and having got on the top of the building, leaped a considerable height, and got clear off, taking with him above a hundred guineas. He was traced by his blood for some distance. A reward of fifty pounds is offered for his apprehension. The four prisoners are all wounded, and Mr. Boulton's watchman was shot in the neck, but the slugs are extracted, and he is in a fair way of recovery. The offenders are lodged in Stafford Gaol.

31st. At seven this evening was seen a very fine and brilliant meteor, at Camborne, N. B. It appeared in the south, and passed with incredible velocity, illuminating its track with an immense glare of light, equal to the most vivid lightning. Its shape was round, and it emitted sparks in its progress: when it disappeared, it seemed to explode with a variety of scintillations like a sky-rocket, and presented to the spectators a most beautiful and magnificent spectacle.

Died.—At Wexford, in Ireland,

John Green, a superannuated revenue officer, at the extraordinary age of 106. He was born in July, 1694, and had he lived a few days longer would have seen three centuries. He retained his memory and other faculties in great perfection till within a short time of his death.

At Edinburgh, in his 83rd year, Hugh Blair, D.D. Professor of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres in that university, Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, &c. &c. and author of some of the most popular works on subjects of piety, taste and morals, that have ever appeared in Europe.

At her cottage, on Englefield-green, Mrs. Mary Robinson, the once celebrated Perdita. She had been several months in a declining state of health, which worldly troubles greatly aggravated. As the author of several popular novels and poetical pieces, many of them under the signature of Laura-Maria, she was well known to the public. Her last work was a translation of Hagar's "Picture of Palemeo," just published. She was interred, in a private manner, at Old Windsor.

BIRTHS in the Year 1800.

January 3.—Lady Sondes, a son.

8. The Countess of Mansfield, a daughter.

15. Lady Margaret M'Lean, a son.

Lady Bland Burgess, a still-born child.

16. The Countess of Antrim, a daughter.

20. The Countess of Oxford, a son and heir.

27. The lady of John Denison, esq. M.P. a son.

31. Lady Fludyer, a son.

Marchioness of Bath, a still-born child.

February 3.—Lady Mildmay, a son.

Lady Charlotte Carr, a son and heir.

11. Countess of Berkeley, a son.

17. Hon. Mrs. Simpson Bridgman, a son and heir.

18. Hon. Mrs. Grenfell, a daughter.

The hereditary Princess of Orange, a prince.

Lady Elizabeth Talbot, a son.

22. Countess of Yarmouth, a son and heir.

24. Countess of Errol, a daughter.

25. Countess of Caithness, a son.

Lady Georgiana Buckley, a son.

March 9.—Countess of Derby, a son.

19. Lady Harpur, a daughter.

April 10.—Lady Smith, of Sydling House, Dorset, a son and heir.

19. Lady Bagot, a daughter.

At Constantinople, the Countess of Elgin, a son and heir.

Lady Sinclair, of Ulbster, a daughter.

May 2.—Hon. Mrs. Browne, a son.

5. Lady Prowley, a son.

8. Lady Trollope, a son and heir.

14. Lady Arabella Ward, a daughter.

25. The Duchess of Rutland, a daughter.

31. The lady of Charles Smith, esq. M.P. a daughter.

Lady William Beauclerc, a daughter.

June 8.—Lady Porchester, a son and heir.

17. The lady of the Speaker of the House of Commons, a daughter.

The Countess of Cassilis, a daughter.

The lady of B. Hobhouse, esq. M.P. a daughter.

July 10.—Lady Saumarez, a daughter.

15. Lady Hervey, a son.

Lady Massey, a son.

Lady Rous, a son.

20. Hon. Mrs. Rodney, a daughter.

Lady Harriet Gill, a daughter.

30. Hon. Mrs. Cathcart, a daughter.

August 2.—Lady Louisa Hartley, a son.

3. Hon. Mrs. Boyle, a son.

5. Marchioness of Clanricard, a daughter.

The Duchess of Manchester, a son.

11. Lady Charlotte Campbell, a son.

16. Countess of Albemarle, a son.

17. Countess of Ancram, a son.

20. Countess of Hardwicke, a son.

Lady Stewart, a daughter.

24. Marchioness of Tweedale, three sons, two still-born.

25. Lady Charlotte Duncombe, a son.

27. Countess of Sefton, a son.

31. Lady Cholmondeley, a son.

September 2.—The lady of C. Morgan, esq. M.P. a son.

3. Lady Mulgrave, a daughter.

10. Lady Ford, a daughter.

Lady Cotton, a son.

16. Lady Garlies, a son.

17. Hon. Mrs. Charles Ellis, a son.

24. Lady Charles Somerset, a son.

October 7.—The Princess of Peace, a daughter.

24. The Countess of Dalkeith, a daughter.

27. The lady of the Hon. George Gunning, M.P. a son.

28. The Countess of Mountcashel, a son.

29. Lady Anne Wombwell, a still-born son.

Lady Blaney, a son.

Lady Bantry, a son and heir.

November 2.—Hon. Mrs. Petre, a daughter.

14. Countess of Chesterfield, a daughter.

Countess of Northesk, a daughter.

28. Countess of Banbury, a son.

29. Lady Burdett, a daughter.

30. Hon. Mrs. Richard King, a son.

Lady O'Brien, a son and heir.

Hon. Mrs. Ward, a daughter.

December 1.—The Countess of Mansfield, a son.

6. The Countess of Cork and Ossory, a son.

12. The lady of the Bishop of Chester, a son.

14. Viscountess Chetwynd, a son.

17. Lady Grey, a daughter.

24. Lady C. Denys, a daughter.

26. Lady Harriet Sullivan, a daughter.

Lady Elizabeth Lowther, a daughter.

MARRIAGES in the Year 1800.

January 1.—Colonel Lake, to Lady Graham.

6. Hon. Richard King, to Miss Bell.

29. Hon. Andrew Ramsay, to Miss Cock.

February 6.—Colonel Charles Crawford, to her Grace the Duchess of Newcastle.

20. Sir Frederick Hamilton, bart., to Miss Collie.

March 2.—Earl Morton, to Lady Mary Howe.

7. Sir William Baganel Burdett, bart., to Miss Maria Reynett.

24. Earl of Westmoreland, to Miss Saunders.

31. Lord Francis Godolphin Osborne, to the Hon. Elizabeth Charlotte Eden.

April 2.—Colonel Lindsey, to Lady Charlotte North.

3. Marquis of Abercorn, to Lady Ann Hatton.

7. Sir George Berney Brograve, to Miss Emma Whitwell.

Lord Bantry, to Miss Hare.

8. William Gore Langton, esq., M.P. to Miss Browne.

26. At Prague, the Prince of Hohenzollero Hechingue, to the Princess Paulina of Courland.

28. Major General Morrison, to Lady Caroline King.

May 7.—Hon. John Cochrane, to Miss Birch.

19. Sir Hew Dalrymple Hamilton, bart., to the Hon. Miss Duncan.

21. Henry Slaughter, esq., to Viscountess Montague.

27. Lieut. Col. Howard, to Lady Charlotte Primrose.

June 17.—Cecil Forester, esq., M.P. to Lady Catherine Mary Manners.

25. The Duke of Somerset, to Lady Charlotte Hamilton.

July 1.—Hon. Capt. Seymour, to the Hon. Miss Byng.

8. Right Hon. George Canning, to Miss Scott.

9. Hon. J. Rice, to Miss Charlotte Lascelles.

Hon. Charles Herbert, to Miss B. A. F. Byng

Sir Charles Ware Malet, bart., to Miss Wales.

20. Mr. Whaley, to the Hon. Miss Lawless.

24. Lord Amherst, to the Countess of Plymouth.

31. The Marquis of Winchester, to Miss Andrews.

Hon. and Rev. Richard Hill, to Miss F. M. Owen.

Earl of Clanricard, to Miss Burke.

Baron Hompesch, to Miss Christian.

August 7.—Lord Dunsany, to Miss Smith.

14. Sir Brooke Bridges, bart., to Miss Foote.

19. Earl of Exeter, to the Duchess of Hamilton.

25. Hon. John Vesey, to Miss Brownlow.

28. Earl Talbot, to Miss Lambert.

29. John Tickell, esq., to lady Casilda Stanhope.

Sir Thomas Williams, to Miss Wapsheare.

Stephen Sloane, esq., to the Hon. Mrs. Estwick.

Mr. Gathen, to Lady Clifton Wintringham.

September 5.—Viscount Tamworth, to the Hon. Miss Curzon.

10. Sir Charles Henry Knowles, bart., to Miss Charlotte Johnstone.

17. Marquis of Bute, to Miss Coutts.

20. The Count de Vandes, to Mrs. Wright.

27. Sir Wharton Amcotts, bart., M.P. to Miss Amelia Campbell.

*

October 2.—Lord Folkestone, to Lady Catherine Pelham Clinton.

18. Lister Kay, esq., to Lady Amelia Grey.

20. Viscount Corry, to Lady Juliana Butler.

Sir Charles Syer, bart., to Miss Winson.

Hon. and Rev. Lord Henry Fitzroy, to Miss Caroline Pigott.

November 10.—Hon. and Rev. Richard Bruce Stopford, to the Hon. Miss Powis.

11. Viscount Aghrim, to Miss Eden.

17. John Ormsby Vandeleur, esq. M.P. to Lady Francis Moore.

John Simon Harcourt, M.P. to Miss Henniker.

December 23.—Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, to Miss Onslow.

Hon. Frederic Millins, to Miss Croker.

PROMOTIONS in the Year 1800.

January 1.—Lieutenant-colonels, W. Gooch, of the 4th dragoons; Henry Chaytor, 1st foot-guards; Stapleton Cotton, 27th light dragoons; Samuel Dalrymple, 3d foot-guards; William Johnston, ditto; George Frederick Koehler, royal artillery; Frederick William Wollaston, 22d light dragoons; Rowland Hill, 90th foot; William Stewart, 89th ditto; hon. William Stapleton, 31st light dragoons; Denzell Onslow, late 97th foot; John Murray, 84th ditto; William Twiss, royal engineers; hon. Chas. Hope, 7th dragoon-guards; Richard Mark Dickens, 34th foot; sir George Pigot, bart. late 130th ditto; Frederick Maitland, 27th ditto; John Leveson Gower, on half-pay; Martin Hunter, 48th foot; John lord Elphinstone, 26th ditto; Richard viscount Donoughmore, late 112th ditto; John Abercrombie, 53d ditto; Richard William Talbot, 23d ditto; George Charles Braithwaite Boughton, on half-pay; Carr Beresford, 88th foot; John Evelegh, royal engineers; Orlando Manley, royal artillery; Alexander Shand, ditto; George earl of Dalhousie, 2d foot; Thomas Baker, late 123d ditto; George Porter, late 117th ditto; Jas. Erskine, 15th light dragoons; Henry Williams, late 120th foot; hon. George Napier, late Londonderry regiment; Francis Earl Conyngham, ditto; hon. John Vaughan, late loyal Sheffield regiment; Charles Baillie, 51st foot; hon. Alex. Hope, 14th foot; John Thomas Maddison, late loyal Kelso regiment; Peter Heron, late 2d battalion 90th foot; Robert Lawson, royal artillery; Thomas Peter, on half-pay; Robert Montgomery, 9th foot; Edward Fage, royal artillery; hon. Montague Mathew, late 114th foot; John Ramsay, 3d foot-guards; William Earl Bulwer, on half-pay; John Delves Broughton, late 106th foot; William Dyott, 25th ditto; Ronald Craufurd Ferguson, 31st ditto; Andrew Gammell, of col. Edwards's fencibles; Robert M'Farlane, 72d foot; Peter John James Dutens, Minorca regiment; Samuel Achmuty, 75th foot; James Thewles, 4th dragoon-guards; John Gustavus Crosbie, 22d foot; to be colonels in the army.—Majors Rowland Edwards, 9th foot; Henry Baird, 54th ditto; hon. Alex. Murray, 4th ditto; William Cullen, Scotch brigade; R. Sacheverell Newton, 9th foot; John Wingfield, 4th dragoons; William

Charles Fortescue, on half-pay; Andrew Ross, Reay fencibles; Gerrard Gosselin, late 130th foot, Richard Lee, late 124th ditto; H. Lewis Dickenson, 84th ditto; William Pearce, late 123d ditto; William Alexander, Essex fencibles; lord Henry Murray, late 2d battalion 90th foot; Andrew Hay, of a fencible regiment; Thomas Robinson Grey, 20th foot; Frederick Philip Robinson, late 134th ditto; Charles Campbell, late 132d ditto; Arthur Robert Dillon, late 115th ditto; hon. George Carnegie, late 110th ditto; Thos. Partridge Thorpe, on half-pay; Duncan Darrock, Rothsay and Caithness fencibles; Frederick Delme, late 103d foot; John Grey, late 113th foot; William Henry Pringle, 4th ditto; hon. Robert Clive, late 110th ditto; William Hutchinson, on half-pay; Anthony Egan, late Irish brigade; count Philip Walsh, ditto; David Barry, ditto; William O'Shee, ditto; James Conway, ditto; Francis Stewart, 79th foot; George Jackson, late 96th ditto; William Tomlinson, late 91st ditto; Gordon Skelly, Scotch brigade; Tho. Hockley, Suffolk fencibles; Hugh Antrobus, Somerset fencible infantry; John Murray, late 108th foot; Arthur Aylmer, 2d Manks fencibles; William Maxwell, 32d foot; William Say, late 99th ditto; John Mackenzie, 78th ditto; Edward Barnes, late 99th ditto; Henry Zouch, late 121st foot; John Shee, 33d ditto; Edmund Reilly Cope, late Dublin regiment; Henry Davis, 9th foot; hon. E. M. Packenham, 23d light dragoons; John Bagwell, late 30th ditto; Phœneas Riall, late 128th foot; Robert Bell, 86th ditto; Robert Campbell, late 2d battalion 82d ditto; William Brooke, late 96th ditto; William Ponsonby, 5th dragoon-guards; Thomas Molyneux, late 104th foot; William Roberts, late 135th foot; Hugh Baillie, 86th ditto; Edward Macdonnell, 46th ditto; Edward Edwin Colman, 84th ditto; hon. J. Butler Wandesford, late 104th ditto; George A. Armstrong, on half-pay; James Francis Bland, late 107th foot; Augustus Fitzgerald, ditto; Charles Smith, 22d light dragoons; John Bainbridge, Durham fencibles; John Shaw Maxwell, 23d light dragoons; Benjamin Forbes, 75th foot; John Charles Tuffnell, on half-pay; John Popham Watson, late 117th foot; Haviland Smith, late Corsican corps; William Peachy, late 108th foot; George Vigoreux, late Corsican corps; Thomas Skinner, royal engineers; Thomas de la Beeche, late 123d foot; Charles Newton, late 134th ditto; George Lewis Hamilton, royal artillery; George Hart, 36th foot; Humphry Dennis, 9th dragoons; George Glasgow, royal artillery; George Johnson, 28th foot; Henry T. Thompson, royal artillery; Rich. Donaldson, 9th dragoons; Abraham Duvernette, royal artillery; James Butler, ditto; William Inglis, 57th foot; David Robertson, 74th foot; James Brag, royal artillery; William Douglas, 74th foot; Matthew Jenour, 39th ditto; James Wynch, 4th ditto; Charles Robison, royal artillery; Thomas Judson, ditto; William Bentham, ditto; William Frederick M'Bean, 6th foot; John Vincent, 49th ditto; William Booth, royal engineers: John Borthwick, 71st foot; Thomas Bassett, 5th ditto; William

Wade, 3d dragoons; George Lewis, royal artillery; William Fyers, royal engineers; Sherborne Steward, 1st life-guards; John Hadden, 11th foot; Robert Lethbridge, 60th ditto; David Gordon, 48th ditto; Frederick De Chambault, late 109th ditto; Alexander Cumine, 75th ditto; William Frederick Spry, 77th ditto; Edward Musgrave, 76th ditto; Patrick Maxwell, 19th light dragoons; to be lieut.-colonels in the army.—Captains Charles Duperry, 37th foot; Stephen Collins, 61st ditto; Charles Sutherland, 74th ditto; Edward Wood, royal artillery; Thomas Paterson, 19th light dragoons; William Kersteman, royal engineers; Samuel Swinton, 74th foot; John William Evans, 19th ditto; Malcolm M'Pherson, 77th ditto; George Johnstone, New South Wales corps; William Buller, 9th foot; J. Killigrew Dunbar, 69th ditto; sir George Leith, bart. 73d ditto; George Cookson, royal artillery; Philip Riou, ditto; Christophor Seaton, 54th foot; George Calland, 2d life-guards: to be majors in the army.

January 4.—Brevet. Captain the hon. Alexander Murray, to be major in the army.

8. Lieutenant-general the hon. sir Charles Stuart; sir Henry Harvey, vice-admiral of the white; and sir Andrew Mitchell, vice-admiral of the blue; created knights of the Bath.

11. Barracks. Thomas Fraser, gent. to be barrack-master at Fort-George, vice Maclean, superseded.

18. Invalids. Lieut. Robert Bullock, from the half-pay of the late 132d foot, to be lieutenant in capt. Campbell's company of invalids at Guernsey, vice Sawkins, deceased.—Brevet. Major Walter Partridge, of the 5th foot, to be lieutenant-colonel in the army.—Garrison. Lieut. Robert Robinson, of the royal fusileers, to be town-major in Prince Edward's Island, vice Lyons.—Staff. Major George Stracey Smyth, of the 83d foot, to be deputy-quarter-master-general to the forces serving in North America, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army.—Hospital-staff. Hospital-mate William Tytler, to be apothecary to the forces.

21. Invalids. Ensign Peter Whannell, from the late independent companies, to be ensign in major Gordon's independent company of invalids in Alderney, vice White, deceased.—Hospital-staff. John Wright, M.D. to be assistant-inspector of hospitals.

24. Brevet. Majors Hugh Bowens, on half-pay; Henry Proctor, of the 43d foot; John Brown, royal engineers in Ireland; Joseph Walker, royal artillery in Ireland; William Hutchinson, 49th foot; Taylor White, 81st foot; Daniel Seddon, 22d light dragoons; to be lieutenant-colonels in the army.—Staff. Colonel George Milner, of the foot-guards, to be brigadier-general in the island of Jersey only.—Hospital-staff. Hospital-mates, William Warcup and Peter Travers, to be apothecaries to the forces.

29. John M'Mahon, esq. (late lieutenant-colonel in the 87th foot) to be vice-treasurer and commissioner of accounts to his royal highness the prince of Wales; and Robert Gray, esq. to be deputy commissioner of accounts. Lieut.-

col. George Leigh, of the 10th or prince's own light dragoons, to be his equerry; and Mr. Gaskoin to be clerk of the stables.

February 1.—Mr. W. M'Farlane, appointed keeper of the minute-book of the new session-house of Edinburgh, and Mr. John Thompson to be commissary of the commissariat of Kirkcudbright.

Edward Hamilton, esq. captain in the royal navy, and commander of his majesty's ship Surprise, knighted.

4. Brevet. Capt. W. A. Phipps, inspector of the royal military academy at Woolwich, to be major in the army.

15. His majesty has been pleased to appoint the under-mentioned officers of the East-India Company's forces to take rank by brevet in his majesty's army in the East Indies only: Majors Thomas Holland, John Barton, Nicolas Carnegie, James Gordon, John Horseford, Richard Humphries, Patrick Alexander Agnew, Edward Gibbings, Robert Mackay, John Tendal Evans, Hector Macleane, Robert Cameron, Thomas Dallas, John Torin, Keith Macalister, Charles Frederick Mandeville, Richard Gore, Francis William Bellis, John Little, John Wiseman, Henry Oakes, Thomas Marshall, Charles Reynolds, Burnaby Boles, George William Mignan, William Home, Andrew Anderson, Charles Boyle, John Macdonald, James Romney, Henry Long, Jacob Thompson, Jeremiah Hawkes, John Baillie, Joseph Bland, and William Henry Blashford, to be lieutenant-colonels. Captains Richard Walker, Edward Pennington, Thomas Polhill, Alexander Legertwood, Andrew Fraser, Edward Tolfrey, Samuel Jeannerett, John Chalmers, and George Knox, to be majors.—Brevet. captain Charles N. Cookson, of the royal artillery, to be major in the army.—Garrison. Lieutenant-general David Dundas, to be governor of Landguard fort, vice Trelawney, deceased.

18. Edward King, esq. of Lincoln's-inn-fields, vice-chancellor of the duchy and county palatine of Lancaster.

21. Right hon. Thomas lord Bolton, lord-lieutenant of the county of Southampton, and of the town of Southampton and county of the same.

25. Brevet. Major sir William Lowther, bart. to be lieutenant-colonel in the army.

March 4. Dr. William L. Brown, principal of Mareschal college in Aberdeen, to be one of his majesty's chaplains in ordinary in Scotland.

4. Staff. Colonel John Stewart, of the royal artillery, to be brigadier-general at Gibraltar only.

15. Hon. Arthur Paget, to be his majesty's envoy-extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at the court of his Sicilian majesty. Hon. William F. Wyndham, his majesty's envoy extraordinary at Florence, to assume the additional character of minister-plenipotentiary at that court.—Archibald M'Nien, esq. to be his majesty's consul at Leghorn.—Joseph Pringle, esq. to be his majesty's agent and consul-general in the island of Madeira, vice Murray resigned.

19. Robert Coney and Robert Hickes, together with Charles Agar, John Pouchet, and Richard Bevan, esqrs. to be his majesty's

commissioners for appeals and regulating the duties of excise.

21. Sir Charles Whitworth, K.B. created a baron of the kingdom of Ireland, by the title of baron Whitworth, of Newport Prat, county of Mayo.

22. Sir Walter Farquhar, bart. to be physician to his royal highness the prince of Wales.

April 2.—Lieut.-colonel John Douglas, late commander of a party of marines serving on board the Tigre, knighted.

5. Right rev. William, lord bishop of Chester, to be bishop of Bangor, vice Warren, deceased.

8. Hospital-staff. —— Frank, M.D. to be inspector of hospitals to the forces. Purveyor, Robert Patrick; and surgeon —— Jamieson, to be assistant-inspectors of hospitals to the forces. Surgeon —— Cope, to be inspector of field-hospitals to the forces. To be purveyor to the forces: surgeon George Dickson, from the 12th light dragoons. To be deputy-purveyors to the forces: hospital-mate, —— Gunson, and William James, gentleman.—Garrison. Surgeon Alex. M'Dowell, from the 60th foot, to be garrison surgeon of the island of St. Lucia, vice Bishop, deceased.

12. Hospital-staff. Joseph Phelan, M.D. to be physician to the forces.

May 10.—Staff. Col. Alexander Buchanan, of the 37th foot, to be brigadier-general in the Leeward Islands only. — Hospital-staff. Garrison surgeon, —— Walters, to be assistant-inspector of hospitals to the forces in Guernsey.—Barracks. B. Westropp Atkins, to be assistant barrack-master to the south-west side of the Isle of Wight, vice Menzies, deceased.

13. Brevet. Major-gen. Henry Bowyer, to be lieutenant-general in British North America only. Hon. col. John Hope, to be brigadier-general in the Mediterranean only.—Staff. Brevet-major Charles Neville, to be deputy quarter-master-general to the British troops serving in the kingdom of Portugal, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army, vice lieutenant-colonel Lindenthal, resigned.—Garrison. Major-general William Goodday Strutt, to be governor of Quebec. Lieut.-colonel Samuel Graham, of the 27th foot, to be deputy-governor of Stirling castle.

24. Henry William Majendie, D.D. one of the canons residentiary of St. Paul, London, to be bishop of Chester, vice Cleaver, translated to Bangor.

The earl of Carysfort to be his Majesty's envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary to the court of Berlin.

June 10. — Alexander baron Bridport, K.B. admiral of the white, and vice-admiral of Great Britain, created a viscount of Great Britain, by the title of viscount Bridport, of Cricket St. Thomas, county of Somerset.— Right hon. Henry Dundas, to be keeper of his Majesty's privy-seal of Scotland, vice Mackenzie, deceased.

14. Thomas Wallace, esq. to be one of his Majesty's commissioners for the management of the affairs of India.

17. Brevet. Captain Peter Beaver, of the 27th foot, to be major in the army.

19. William Leighton, Edwin

Joynes, Roger Kerrison, John Everitt, Thomas Carr, Matthew Bloxam, Robert Burton, John Brazier, Alexander Gordon, James Earle, Beaumaris Rush, and Robert Graham, esqrs. knighted.

24. Brevet. Captain Hampson P. Thomas, of the 64th foot, to be major in the army.—Staff. Assistant-commissary, C. Wright, to be deputy-commissary to the forces under the command of general sir Ralph Abercromby. Jas. Pipon, ditto.

Lord Carrington elected president of the Board of Agriculture for the year ensuing, vice lord Somerville.

25. Right hon. William Dundas, sworn of his Majesty's most honourable privy-council.

July 1.—Earl Temple to be one of the commissioners for the management of the affairs of India.

4. Thomas Johnes, esq. appointed lieutenant of the county of Cardigan.

5. Hon. William Elliot, to be a lord of the admiralty, vice Wallace.

10. Brevet. Captain Thomas Macmahon, of the 27th foot, to be major in the army.—Staff. Assistant commissary —— Assiotti, to be deputy-commissary-general of stores and provisions to the forces serving in North Britain, vice Cochrane, appointed collector of the customs at Trinidad.

16. Philip John Ducarel, esq. to be lieutenant of the yeomen of the guard, vice Roberts, resigned.

19. John Lane, of Upper Eaton-street, Grosvenor-place, esq. to be receiver of the duties of sixpence in the pound, and one shilling in the pound on salaries, fees, and wages, of any offices and employments payable by the crown.

26. Right hon. Thomas Grenville, to be warden, chief justice, and justice in Eyre, of all his Majesty's forests, chaces, parks, and warrens, on this side the Trent, vice lord Sidney, deceased.—Lord Granville Leveson Gower, to be a lord of the treasury, vice hon. John Thomas Townshend, now lord Sidney.

Dublin, July 30.—Chas. Henry earl of Mountrath, to be baron of Castle Coote, county of Roscommon; and, in default of issue, to Charles Henry Coote, Esq. of Forest-lodge, in the Queen's county.—Hon. Clotworthy Rowley, baron Langford, of Somerhill, county of Meath.—Right hon. sir John Blaquiere, bart. K.B. baron de Blaquiere, of Ardkill, county of Londonderry. — Right hon. Lodge Morres, baron Frankfort, of Galmove, county of Kilkenny.—Dame Dorcas Blackwood, widow of sir John Blackwood, bart. baroness Dufferin and Claneboye, of Ballyleidy and Killyleagh, county of Down; and the dignity of baron Dufferin and Claneboye to the heirs male of her body by the said sir J. Blackwood.—Sir John Henniker, bart. baron Henniker, of Stratford-upon-Slaney, county of Wicklow.—Dame Charlotte Newcomen, wife of sir William Gleadowe Newcomen, bart. baroness Newcomen, of Mostown, county of Longford; and the dignity of baron Newcomen, to the heirs male of her body by the said sir William Gleadowe Newcomen, bart.—Sir Richard Quin, bart. baron Adare, of Adare, county of Limerick.—Sir T. Mullins, bart. baron Ventry, of Ventry,

county of Kerry.—Wm. Hare, esq. of Tivoli, baron Ennismore, of Ennismore, county of Kerry.—Joseph Henry Blake, esq. baron Wallscourt, of Ardfry, county of Galway; and, in default of issue, to the heirs-male of the body of his father, Joseph Blake, esq.—Henry Moore Sandford, esq. baron Mount Sandford, of Castlereagh, county of Roscommon; and, in default of issue, to his brother, William Sandford, esq.; and, in default of issue, to his brother, George Sandford, esq.—Henry Prittie, esq. baron Donally, of Killboy, county of Tipperary.—John Preston, esq. baron Tara, of Bellinter, county of Meath.—Maurice Mahon, esq. baron Hartland, of Strokestown, county of Roscommon; and John Bingham, esq. baron Clanmorris, of Newbrook, county of Mayo.

August 2.—Biorn Salvesin, esq. approved by his Majesty to be consul for the king of Denmark, in Scotland, and in the northern parts of England to Flamborough Head, conjointly with Thomas Mulderup, esq.

12. Brevet. Hon. colonel Thomas Maitland, of the 10th West India regiment, to be brigadier-general to the forces serving under the command of lieutenant-general sir James Pulteney.

13. Right hon. Richard earl of Shannon, K.P. the right hon. Isaac Carry, chancellor of his Majesty's exchequer in Ireland, the right hon. Robert Stewart, commonly called lord viscount Castlereagh, keeper of his Majesty's signet, or privy-seal, and chief secretary to the lord-lieutenant-general and general governor of Ireland, the right hon. lord Frankfort, and the right hon. John Loftus Loftus, commonly called lord viscount Loftus, to be commissioners for executing the office of treasurer of his Majesty's exchequer in Ireland.

26. Right hon. Alexander lord Bridport, K.B. admiral of the white, to be general of his Majesty's marine forces, vice Barrington, deceased; and the right hon. John earl St. Vincent, to be lieutenant-general of the said forces, vice lord Bridport.

September 6. — Hospital-staff. Assistant inspector, Theodore Gordon, to be deputy-inspector-general of hospitals in the Leeward Islands.

9. Staff. Captain Adolphus Hinaber, of the 68th foot, to be deputy adjutant-general to the forces serving in the island of Minorca, with the rank of major in the army. — Hospital-staff. Surgeon W. D. Lawlor, from the half-pay, to be garrison-surgeon at St. Kitt's.

10. Henry Luttrell, esq. to be clerk of the pipe, and engrosser of the great roll, in the court of exchequer of Ireland.

27. Garrisons. Lieutenant Hector M'Lean, of the royal fusileers, to be town-major of Halifax, vice Tonge, resigned. Lieut. Donald Campbell, of the royal fusileers, to be fort-major in Upper Canada, vice Eyre, resigned.

30. Brevet. Colonel Gerrit Fisher, of the 9th foot, to be brigadier-general to the forces serving under the command of lieutenant-general sir James Pulteney. Captain Robert Alexander Dalzell, of the 1st foot guards, to be major in the army.—Hospital-

staff. Dr. Joseph D. A. Gilpin, to be assistant-inspector of hospitals to the forces.

October 11.—Staff. Major John Thomas, of the 28th foot, to be deputy adjutant-general to the forces serving in the West Indies, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army, vice Cuyler, who resigns. — Garrison. Lieutenant Nash, of the Minorca regiment, to be town and fort-adjutant to the garrison of Ciudadella and its dependencies, in the island of Minorca.

21. John Hookham Frere, esq. to be his Majesty's envoy-extraordinary, and minister-plenipotentiary at the court of the prince-regent of Portugal.

22. Lieutenant-colonel Marcus Beresford, to be lieutenant-general of his Majesty's ordnance in Ireland.

November 4.—Sir Richard Carr Glynn, of Gaunts, county of Dorset, knight, late lord-mayor of the city of London; Robert Kingsmill, esq. admiral of the blue; Robert John Buxton, of Shadwell-lodge, county of Norfolk, esq.; William Elford, of Bickham, county of Devon, esq.; lieutenant-colonel of the South Devon militia; Nathaniel Holland, of Wittenham, county of Berks, esq.; Francis Millman, of Levaton, county of Devon, M.D. and physician to his Majesty's household; Robert Peel, of Drayton Manor, county of Stafford, and of Bury, county of Lancaster, esq.; and Walter Stirling, of Faskine, county of Lancaster, esq.; banker, of London, eldest son of the late sir Walter Stirling, of Faskine, knt. captain in the royal navy; created baronets.

Garrison. Lieut. Wm. Kirk, of the 17th foot, to be town and fort-major of the garrison of Ciudadella and its dependencies, in the island of Minorca.

11. Rev. George Heath, D.D. to be prebendary of his Majesty's free chapel of St. George, at Windsor, vice William, late bishop of St. David's, resigned.

18. Brevet. To be brigadier-generals in the army serving under the command of general sir Ralph Abercromby; the hon. col. Edward Finch, of the Coldstream foot-guards; and colonel Thomas Grosvenor, of the 3d foot-guards. —Hospital-staff. Robert Jackson, M.D. late inspector of hospitals for the Russian troops, to be physician to the forces, and head of the hospital at Chatham.

25. Hon. and rev. William Stuart, bishop of St. David's, translated to the archbishopric of Armagh, in Ireland, vice Newcome, deceased.

29. Lord Seaforth appointed governor of Barbadoes.

December 2.—Brevet. Lieut.-colonel John Fraser, commandant of a corps of infantry, to be colonel in the army.—Barracks. Lachlan Maclean, to be barrack-master at Hamilton, vice Lockhart, deceased.

6. Brevet. Colonel Frederick Maitland, of the 27th foot, to be brigadier-general to the forces serving in the Leeward Islands only.—Staff. Lieutenant James Stevenson, on the half-pay of Elford's late corps, to be adjutant to the detachments in Hilsea barracks.—Hospital-staff. J. Buchan,

M.D. and —— Luxmore, M.D. to be physicians to the forces.

9. John Hiley Addington, esq. to be one of the lords-commissioners of the treasury, vice Sylvester Douglas, created baron Glenbervie, of Kincardine, Scotland, and appointed governor of the Cape of Good Hope, vice sir George Yonge, resigned.—Right hon. Charles Sloane lord Cadogan, to be viscount Chelsea, county of Middlesex, and earl Cadogan.—Right hon. James lord Malmesbury, K.B. to be viscount Fitz-Harris, of Horn Court, county of Southampton, and earl of Malmesbury.

16. Right rev. William lord bishop of Armagh, and St. George Daly, esq. his Majesty's prime serjeant at law, sworn of the privy-council of Ireland.

20. Rev. George Murray, commonly called lord George Murray, to be bishop of St. David's, vice Stuart, translated to Armagh.

Right hon. John Toler, to be chief justice of the court of common pleas of Ireland, vice lord viscount Carleton, who retires.

23. Right hon. John Stewart, to be his Majesty's attorney-general in Ireland, vice Toler; and William Smith, esq. to be his Majesty's solicitor-general, vice Stewart.

Lord viscount Loftus, John Stewart, esq. attorney-general, and Charles Henry Coote, esq. sworn of the privy-council of Ireland.

27. *Dublin.*—Lord Chas. Fitzgerald created lord Lecale; admiral Waldegrave, lord Radstock; Sylvester Douglas, lord Glenbervie; John Toler, lord Norbury; and sir Alan Gardner, lord Gardner; the marchioness of Buckingham, to be baroness Nugent, and her second son, lord George Nugent Grenville, to be lord Nugent; Frederick Trench, lord Ashtown; general Eyre Massey, lord Clarina; and the hon. Robert King, lord Erris.

29. The earl of Inchiquin, created marquis of Thomond; earl of Bective, marquis of Headfort; earl of Altamont, marquis of Sligo; and earl of Ely, marquis of Ely; viscount Castle Stewart, earl of ditto; viscount Donoughmore, earl of ditto; viscount Caledon, earl of ditto; viscount Kenmare, earl of ditto; earl Clanricarde, the title in reversion to his daughters; lord Glentworth, viscount Limerick; lord Somerton, archbishop of Cashel, viscount Somerton; lord Yelverton, viscount Avonmore; lord Longueville, viscount ditto: lord Bantry, viscount ditto; lord Monck, viscount ditto; lord Kilconnel, viscount Dunlo; lord Tullamore, viscount Charleville; and lord Kilwarden, viscount ditto.

30. Henry earl of Exeter, advanced to be marquis.

Staff. Colonel John Abercromby, of the 53d foot, to be deputy adjutant-general to the forces serving under the command of general sir Ralph Abercromby. Lieutenant-colonel John Duncan, of the royal artillery, to be deputy quarter-master-general to the said forces. Lieut.-col. William Henry Clinton, of the 1st foot-guards, to be inspector-general of foreign corps in his Majesty's service (the Dutch troops excepted) vice colo-

nel John Ramsay.—Hospital-staff. Surgeon John Joberns, to be assistant-inspector of hospitals.

31. Lord Conyngham, elected a knight of the order of St. Patrick, vice marquis of Waterford, deceased.

Edward Christian, esq. barrister at law, and the Downing professor of the laws of England in Cambridge university, appointed by the bishop of Ely, chief justice of his franchise in the isle of Ely, vice Henry Gwillim, esq. promoted to one of the judges at Madras.

DEATHS in the Year 1800.

January 3.—Sir William Musgrave, Bart. V.P.R.S. and F.A.S.

6. William Vaughan, fourth Viscount, and first Earl of Lisburne; lord lieutenant and custos rotulorum of the county of Cardigan, aged 72. His lordship married in July, 1754, Elizabeth, only daughter of Joseph Gascoyne Nightingale, Esq. and had by her one son, Wilmot, now Earl of Lisburne, born 1755. The Countess dying in 1755, his lordship married secondly, 1763, Dorothy, daughter of John Shaftoe, Esq. by whom he had a son, John, born 1769, and two daughters, Dorothy Elizabeth, born 1764, and Mallet, born 1765.

7. William Tait, Esq. M.P. for Dunfermline, &c.

Sir Edward Bayntun, Bart. aged 90 years.

8. Lady Lucy Hope Johnstone, youngest daughter of the Earl of Hopetoun.

10. Henry, twelfth Lord Roper, of Teynham, aged 36; dying unmarried, his lordship is succeeded by his only brother, John, now Lord Roper.

11. William Newcombe, D.D. Archbishop of Armagh, and Primate of all Ireland.

Hon. Major-General Charles Monson, third brother of the present Lord Monson.

Charles Nevinson, Viscount Andover, eldest son of the Earl of Suffolk, aged 24. His death was occasioned by the accidental discharge of his own fowling-piece.

13. Sir Paul Pechell, Bart.

16. Lady Elizabeth Worsley, relict of the late Sir Thomas Worsley, Bart.

At Berlin, in his 87th year, Count Finkenstein, Prussian Minister of State.

24. Sir John Boyd, Bart.

Hon. Mrs. Hamilton.

26. Hon. William Fortescue, third son of Earl Fortescue.

Thomas Powis, first Lord Lilford, in his 57th year.

27. The Right Rev. John Warren, Lord Bishop of Bangor.

28. The most Honourable Charlotte Jane Windsor, Marchioness of Bute.

At Augsburgh, Baron de Steiger.

The reigning Prince Bishop of Constance.

At Dresden, the Saxon Minister of State, Louis de Wurmb.

At Wolfenbuttle, Field Marshal De Castries.

Sir Hugh Dalrymple, Bart.

February 4.—Hon. Eleonora Adams, daughter of Lord Elphinstone.

5. Hon. James Eden, son of Lord Henry Eden.

6. At Hamburgh, aged 85, her Excellency Sophia-Charlotte, Countess Dowager of Bentinck.

Right Hon. John Sutton, Lord Mayor of Dublin.

10. At Rome, aged 57, Cardinal Altieri.

16. Lady Hannay, relict of the late Sir Samuel Hannay, Bart.

Hon. Miss Howard, sister to the Earl of Suffolk.

The Lady of Sir John Wardlaw, Bart.

17. Admiral Sir Thomas Macbride, Knt.

21. Sir Thomas Shirley, Bart.

Jane, Lady Dowager Erne.

Aged 57, the Princess Abbess of Lindau, Baroness of Ulm.

24. In her 80th year, Elizabeth Douglas Hamilton, Countess Dowager of Brook and Warwick, and eldest daughter of Lord Archibald Hamilton.

27. John Viscount Arbuthnot, Lord Inverbervie. His lordship is succeeded in his titles and estates by his eldest son.

Master Randolph, eldest son of the Bishop of Oxford.

Hon. Mrs. Lockwood Percival, daughter of the late Lord Robert Manners Sutton.

28. Princess Marie Adelaide, aunt to the late King of France.

Hon. Mrs. Butler, relict of the late Hon. Mr. Butler.

Susannah, second daughter of Sir William Wolseley, Bart.

March 14. Hon. Dacines Barrington, F.R. and A.S.S. fourth son of Viscount Barrington.

Lady Charlotte Radclyffe, daughter of the Countess of Newburgh.

15. The Lady of Sir John Chapman, Bart.

17. Lady Hawkins, relict of Sir Cæsar Hawkins.

Hon. and Rev. William Aston, brother to Lord Aston.

19. Lady Jones.

25. Hon. Col. Rawdon, M.P. brother to the Earl of Moira, and nephew to the late Earl of Huntingdon.

The lady of Sir Thomas Miller, Bart.

Sir John Menzies, Bart.

Hon. Philip Wenman, seventh Lord Viscount Wenman, Baron Wenman, of Kilmainham, and a Baronet; born April, 1748, married July, 1766, to Lady Eleanora Bertie, fifth daughter of the Earl of Abingdon, by whom he had no issue, and the title is extinct.

26. Elizabeth, only daughter of the late Hon. John Watson.

Thomas, youngest son of the late Sir James Smyth, Bart.

27. Hon. Mr. Ponsonby, brother to the late Earl of Besborough.

Fisher Lyttleton, Esq. brother to Sir Edward Lyttleton, Bart.

Lady Jones.

28. Mrs. Montague, daughter of the late Hon. Henry Hobart, M.P.

29. Lucy, daughter of Ambrose Goddard, Esq. M.P.

Sir Charles Preston, Bart.

April 6. Right Hon. James Stewart Mackenzie, lord privy seal of Scotland, brother to the Earl of Bute.

Lady Isabella Henrietta de Ginkell, fourth daughter of the Earl of Athlone, and wife of the Baron W. J. De Reede.

At Berlin, the Prussian Minister of State, Count Blumanthel.

At Vienna, Imperial Field Marshal Count Nadasti.

9. Lady Mary Juliana Howe, second daughter of the late Earl Howe.

9. Ladies Mary and Juliana Colyear, daughters of the Earl of Portmore.

22. The most noble George Paulet, Marquis of Winchester, Earl of Wiltshire, Baron Saint John, and premier marquis of England. His lordship is succeeded by his eldest son.

28. The lady of Sir Clement Cottrell Dormer.

The Countess of Strathmore, relict of John Earl of Strathmore.

At Warsaw, Prince Poniatowsky, brother to the late King of Poland.

30. Hon. George Barnewell, Viscount Kingsland. The title is extinct.

The Marquis Del Campo, formerly ambassador from Spain to this country.

May 6. The lady of Sir Lionel Darell, Bart.

18. Field Marshal Suwaroff.

24. Sir John Hunter Blair, Bart.

At Hamburgh, the Duke D'Aiguillou.

At Berlin, the Princess Dowager Landgrave of Hesse Cassel.

Mrs. Onslow, daughter of Lady Mary Ayre.

Francis, the eldest son of Sir George Armytage, Bart.

June 3. Sir Godfrey Webster, Bart.

5. Hon. Henry Bridgman, first Lord Bradford, and a Baronet. Born 1725. Married 1755, Elizabeth Simpson, by whom he had a numerous issue. His lordship is succeeded by Orlando, his eldest son.

Mrs. Coke, sister to Lord Sherborne.

Sir Francis Buller, Bart. one of the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas.

7. Right Hon. Henry Willoughby, Lord Middleton, of Middleton, and a Baronet. Born 1726. Married 1756, Dorothy, heiress of George Cartwright, Esq. by whom he had several children.

8. Right Hon. Emily, Lady Bagot, daughter of Lord Southampton, and married in 1760 to William Lord Bagot.

Very suddenly, the Right Hon. Thomas Townshend, Viscount Sydney, Chief Justice in Eyre, S. of Trent, &c. &c.

30. Hon. Mrs. Wiggens, sister to Lord Kinnaird.

Harriet, daughter of the Rev. Sir James Hadham, Bart.

Edward, fifth son of Sir E. Nightingale, Bart.

Hon. Stephen Digby, uncle of the Earl of Digby, and Ranger of Richmond Park.

Gilbert, fourth son of the late Sir William Heathcote, Bart.

Sir William Stanley, Bart.

Lady Anne Carleton, sister to the Bishop of Exeter.

Hon. Mrs. Moore.

At Madras, Capt. Flood, of the 51st regiment, only son of Sir Frederic Flood, Bart.

July 1. The lady of Sir Wharton Amcotts, Bart.

Sir Robert Goodere, Bart.

Hon. James Drummond, first Lord Perth, Baron Drummond.

The Duke de Duras, a Peer of France.

13. Hon. Miss St. John, sister to Lord St. John.

Bryan Edwards, Esq. M.P.

14. Right Hon. Basil Fielding, Earl of Denbigh, Viscount Fielding, one of the lords of his Majesty's bed-chamber, and Earl of Desmond, in Ireland. Born 1719. Married first, 1757, Mary, daughter of Sir John Bruce Cotton; secondly, 1783, Sarah, relict of Sir Charles Halford, Bart. His lordship is succeeded by his eldest grandson, a minor.

Right Hon. Mason Villiers, Earl Grandison, Viscount Grandison, and Viscount Villiers. Born 1751. Married 1774, the lady Gertrude Conway Seymour, daughter of the Marquis of Hertford. The title is extinct, as his lordship has only left one daughter.

18. Mrs. Scott, mother of Lord Eldon and Sir William Scott.

Harriet, second daughter of Sir John Morshead, Bart.

The Countess of Burford.

22. Sir Benjamin Hammet, Knt. M.P.

30. The Right Hon. Frederic Montague.

Mrs. E. Colebrooke, sister to Sir George Colebrooke, Bart.

Right Hon. Lady Anne Powell, daughter of the Earl of Aldborough.

The relict of the Rev. Sir Charles Mill, Bart.

August 2. Mrs. Erskine, daughter of the Hon. Thomas Erskine, M.P.

9. Mary Countess Dowager Howe, widow of the late Earl Howe.

Hon. Samuel Barrington, senior admiral of the white.

19. Caroline, third daughter of Lord Charles Somerset.

Hon. Charlotte, second daughter of Hugh Lord Clifford.

24. Hon. Mrs. Shirley, relict of the Hon. George Shirley.

31. Hon. Harriet Wingfield, sister to the Earl of Powerscourt.

Mrs. Montague, relict of the late Edward Montague, Esq., and sister to Lord Rokeby.

Mrs. William Buller, relict of the Bishop of Exeter.

September 1. Mary Dowager Lady Walsingham.

General Russell Manners.

4. Countess Dowager of Darlington, sister to the Earl of Lonsdale.

9. Henry Edward, son of Sir Digby Mackworth, Bart.

10. Lady Hoare, relict of the late Sir Richard Hoare, Bart.

13. Eleanora, Dowager Lady Saltoun.

15. Hon. — Lloyd, eldest son of Lord Kenyon.

16. William Vernon, Esq. father to the Countess of Warwick.

Lady Danvers, relict of the late Sir John Danvers, Bart.

19. Lady Clarke, relict of the late Sir Simon Clarke, Bart.

22. Eloisa, daughter of the Hon. Major Carleton.

Lady Diana Capel, daughter of the late and aunt to the present Earl of Essex.

Aged 76, the Duke of Saxe Cobourg.

Everilda, wife of Sir Mordant Martin, Bart.

30. Hester, wife of Sir Roger Newdigate, Bart.

Lady Hughes, relict of the late Sir Edward Hughes, Bart.

Mrs. Bernard, lady of the Bishop of Limerick.

Right Hon. John Meade, Earl

and Viscount Clanwilliam, Baron of Gillford, and a Baronet. Born 1744. Married Theodosia, daughter of Robert Macgill, Esq. by whom he had a numerous issue.

Lady Rogers, relict of the late Sir Frederic Leman Rogers, Bart. M.P.

October 5. The Countess of Tyrconnel. Her ladyship was daughter of Lord Delaval, and married the Earl of Tyrconnel in 1780.

9. Hon. Elizabeth Wandesford, aunt to the Countess of Ormond.

10. Rev. Sir John Dalmahoy, Bart.

18. Grizel, eldest daughter of the Hon. George Baillie.

20. Right Hon. John Rushont, Baron Northwick, and a Baronet. Married Rebecca, daughter of — Bowles, Esq. by whom having no issue, the title descends to his lordship's brother.

Right Hon. Charles Coote, Earl of Bellamont, Baron Coloony, K.B. married 1774, the Lady Emily Fitzgerald, daughter of the late Duke of Leinster, by whom he had several daughters, but no son; the titles are extinct.

24. Sir Archibald Kinloch, Bart.

25. Lieut.-Col. William Montgomery, M.P.

28. Lord William Seymour, uncle to the present and brother to the two last Dukes of Somerset.

The Countess of Massareine, formerly Madame Borcier, married to Clotworthy, Earl of Massareine, in 1789.

November 1. William, only son of the Hon. Captain Paget Bayley, R.N. and nephew to the Earl of Uxbridge.

Mrs. Mitchell, mother to Sir Charles, and Admiral Sir Andrew Mitchell.

5. Sir Ernest Gordon, Bart.

10. Dowager Lady Reay.

17. Right Hon. Thomas Boothby Parkins, Baron Rancliffe.

The Marquis De Bouillé.

Hon. Lieutenant A. J. Stewart, son of the Marquis of Londonderry.

19. Hon. Baron Gordon, of Cluny.

22. Hon. Stephen Fox, son of Lord Holland.

26. Right Rev. Dr. Matthew Young, Bishop of Clonfert, and Milmacduach.

Lady Ogilvy, relict of Sir David Ogilvy.

The Lady of John Langston, Esq. M P.

Charles Townley, Esq. eldest son of Sir Charles Townley, Garter King at Arms.

Hon. Charles Henry Boyle, brother of the Earl of Cork and Ossory.

28. Barbara, Countess of Coventry, daughter of Lord St. John, married to the Earl of Coventry in 1764.

Hon. John Matthew Robinson Morris, Lord Rokeby, and a Baronet. His Lordship died unmarried, and is succeeded by his nephew, Morris Robinson, Esq. M.P.

Lady Molyneux, relict of the Right. Hon. Sir Capel Molyneux.

Hon. George de la Poer Beresford, Earl and Baron of Tyrone, Marquis of Waterford, &c. &c. &c. Married 1769 Elizabeth, daughter of Henry Monck, Esq. by whom he had issue, four sons and four daughters.

Right Hon. Barry Maxwell, Earl of Farnham, married first,

Margaret, daughter of Robert King, Esq. by whom he had one son, who succeeds him; second, Grace, daughter of Arthur Bindel, Esq. by whom he had several children.

At Bombay, Colonel Robinson, son of Sir George Robinson, Bart.

December 1. Rear-Admiral Stanhope, first cousin to the Earl of Chesterfield.

Sir Edward Hulse, Bart.

6. At Hamburgh, the Danish Minister, Count Schimmelmann.

Sir Robert Scott, M.D.

9. Admiral Sir George Bowyer, Bart.

16. Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Robert Abercromby, Bart.

19. Elizabeth, wife to the Earl of Bristol and Bishop of Derry, and sister to Sir Charles Danvers, Bart. M.P.

Right Hon. Charles Jones, Viscount Ranelagh. His lordship is succeeded by his brother, Major Thomas Jones, of the 66th regiment.

22. Rev. John Honeywood, son of the late Sir John Honeywood, Bart.

25. Colonel Enoch Markham, brother to the Archbishop of York.

29. Sir Joseph Andrews, Bart.

30. Baron Dimsdale, M.D. F.R.S.

Sir William Murray, Bart.

Hon. John Wynn, only son of Lord Newburgh.

Lucy, relict of Sir William Wheler, Bart.

Frances, Dowager Countess of Northampton.

At Lisbon, the Conde Da Lima, Prime Minister of Portugal.

Henry Lord Baron Donally. His lordship is succeeded by his eldest son, the Hon. Henry Sadleir Prittie, M.P.

Maurice Dillon, Baron Drumreany, a Roman Catholic Peer.

Sir George Leonard Staunton, Bart. F.R.S.

Lady Mansel.

Thomas, son of Sir Thomas Roberts, Bart.

Mary, relict of Sir Egerton Leigh, Bart.

SHERIFFS *appointed by his Majesty in Council, for the Year* 1800.

Bedfordshire, John Everitt, of Westoning, esq.

Berkshire, Sir J. C. Hippesley, bart. of Worfield-Grove.

Bucks, M. D. Mansell, of Lathbury, Esq.

Cambridge and Huntingdonshires, R. Ketley, of Alwalton, esq.

Cheshire, Roger Burnston, of Churton, esq.

Cumberland, Sir J. C. Musgrave, of Eden-Hall, bart.

Derbyshire, Eusebius Horton, of Calton, Esq.

Devonshire, Remundo Putt, of Gittesham, esq.

Dorsetshire, R. E. Drax Grosvenor, of Charborough, esq.

Essex, George Lee, of Great Ilford, esq.

Gloucestershire, Charles Hanbury Tracey, of Doddington, esq.

Herefordshire, Thomas Beaby, of Willey, esq.

Hertfordshire, Justinian Casamajor, of Potterelis, esq.

Kent, John Larking, of East Malling, esq.

Leicestershire, Edward Manners, of Goadby, esq.

Lincolnshire, Matthew Bancroft Lyster, of Burwell Park, esq.

Monmouthshire, Benjamin Woddington, of Llanover, esq.

Norfolk, Roger Kerrison, of Brooke, esq.

Northamptonshire, Edw. Bouverie, the younger, of Delapree, esq.

Northumberland, G. Adam Askew, of Pallingsburn, esq.

Nottinghamshire, W. G. Williams, of Rempstone, Esq.

Oxfordshire, Richard Williams, of Nathorp, esq.

Rutlandshire, J. Haycock, of Owton, in the county of Leicester, esq.

Shropshire, W. Chalenor, of Duddlestone, esq.

Somersetshire, T. S. Champneys, of Orchard-Leigh, esq.

Staffordshire, Haughton Okeover, of Okeover, esq.

Southampton, N. Middleton, of Shamblehurst, esq.

Suffolk, W. B. Bush, of Roydon, esq.

Surrey, G. Griffin Stonestreet, of Clapham, esq.

Sussex, Thomas Carr, of Beddingham, esq.

Warwickshire, Sir Theophilus Biddulph, of Burdinbury, bart.

Wiltshire, George Yalden Fort, of Alderbury, esq.

Worcestershire, William Smith, of Meardiston, esq.

Yorkshire, James Milnes, of Thornes-House, esq.

SOUTH WALES

Carmarthen, Gabriel Powell, of Capel Thydis, esq.

Pembroke, John Mear, of Eastington, esq.

Cardigan, Thomas Lloyd, of Kilgwyn, esq.

Brecon, Richard G. Awbrew, of Yniskedwin, esq.

Glamorgan, Robert Jenner, of Wenvoe-Castle, esq.

Radnor, John Brewster, of Cascob, esq.

NORTH WALES.

Carnarvon, Rowland Jones, of Westgloddfawr, esq.

Anglesea, William Harvey, of Park, esq.

Merioneth, Bulkley Hatchett, of Carngadale, esq.

Montgomery, Henry Proctor, of Aberhayes, esq.

Denbighshire, John Wynne, of Coed Coch, esq.

Flintshire, James Mainwaring, of Saltoney, esq.

SHERIFF *appointed by his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, in Council, for the Year* 1800.

County of Cornwall, Matthew Mitchell, of Manger, esq.

APPENDIX

TO THE

CHRONICLE.

London Gazette, January 21, *Admiralty-Office.*

Copy of a Letter from Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, Knt. Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels, at Jamaica, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated in Port Royal Harbour, the 4th of November, 1799.

Sir,

I have the peculiar satisfaction of communicating to you, for the information of my lords commissioners of the admiralty, that his Majesty's late ship Hermione is again restored to his navy, by as daring and gallant an enterprize as is to be found in our naval annals, under the command of captain Hamilton himself, with the boats of the Surprise only.

Captain Hamilton's own letter, with the reports accompanying it, (copies of which are inclosed,) will sufficiently explain to their lordships the detail of this service, and the bravery with which the attack was supported, and leaves me only one observation to make on this very gallant action, which adds infinite honour to captain Hamilton as an officer, for his conception of the service he was about to undertake. This was, Sir, his disposition for the attack; which was, that a number of chosen men, to the amount of fifty, with himself, should board, and the remainder in the boats to cut the cables and take the ship in tow. From this manœuvre he had formed the idea, that while he was disputing for the possession of the ship, she was approaching the Surprise, who was laying close into the harbour, and in case of being beat out of the Hermione, he would have an opportunity of taking up the contest upon more favourable terms.

To the steady execution of these orders was owing the success of this bold and daring undertaking, which must ever have rank among the foremost of the many gallant actions executed by our navy this war.

I find the Hermione has had a thorough repair, and is in complete order; I have, therefore, ordered her to be surveyed and

valued, and shall commissioner her as soon as the reports are made to me from the officers of the yard, by the name of the Retaliation.

I have the honour to be, &c.

H. Parker.

Surprise, Port-Royal Harbour, Jamaica, Nov. 1.

Sir,

The honour of my country and the glory of the British navy were strong inducements for me to make an attempt to cut out, by the boats of his Majesty's ship under my command, his Majesty's late ship Hermione, from the harbour of Porto Cavallo, where there are about two hundred pieces of cannon mounted on the batteries.

Having well observed her situation on the 22d and 23d ult. and the evening of the 24th being favourable, I turned the hands up to acquaint the officers and ship's company of my intention to lead them to the attack, which was handsomely returned with three cheers, and that they would all follow to a man; this greatly increased my hopes, and I had little doubt of succeeding: the boats containing 100 men, including officers, at half-past twelve on the morning of the 25th (after having beat the launch of the ship, which carried a 24-pounder and 20 men, and receiving several guns and small arms from the frigate) boarded; the forecastle was taken possession of without much resistance; the quarter-deck disputed the point a quarter of an hour, where a dreadful carnage took place; the main-deck held out much longer, and with equal slaughter; nor was it before both cables were cut, sail made on the ship, and boats a-head to tow, that the main-deck could be called ours; they last of all retreated to the 'tween decks, and continued firing till their ammunition was all expended; then, and not until then, did they cry for quarter. At two o'clock the Hermione was completely ours, being out of gun-shot from the fort, which had for some time kept up a tolerable good fire. From the captain, Don Romond de Chalas, I am informed she was nearly ready for sea, mounting 44 guns, with a ship's company of 321 officers and sailors, 56 soldiers, and 15 artillery-men on board.

Every officer and man on this expedition behaved with an uncommon degree of valour and exertion; but I consider it particularly my duty to mention the very gallant conduct, as well as the aid and assistance at a particular crisis I received from Mr. John M'Mullen, surgeon and volunteer, and Mr. Maxwell, gunner, even after the latter was dangerously wounded.

As the frigate was the particular object of your order of the 17th Sept., I have thought proper to return into port with her.

Enclosed, I transmit you a list of captures during the cruise, also two lists of killed and wounded.

I have the honour to be, &c.

H. Hamilton.

Sir Hyde Parker, knt. &c. &c.
Jamaica.

Killed and wounded on board the Spanish frigate Hermione (late his Majesty's ship Hermione) when captured by the boats of

his Majesty's ship Surprise, under the command of captain E. Hamilton, in Porto Cavallo, and general statement of the complement on board.

Prisoners landed at Porto Cavallo the same day, out of which there were 97 wounded, mostly dangerously, 228.—Escaped in the launch, which was rowing guard round the ship, with a 24-pounder, 20.—Remain prisoners on board, 3.—On shore on leave, 1 lieutenant, 1 captain of troops, four pilots, and 1 midshipman, seven.—Swam on shore from the ship, 15.—Killed, 119.—Total 392.

Edward Hamilton.

Killed in the boats of his Majesty's ship Surprise, in cutting out a privateer schooner of ten guns, and two sloops, from the harbour of Aruba, on October 25.

Mr. J. Busey, acting lieutenant, killed.

(Signed) E. Hamilton, captain.

Officers and men wounded on board the Hermione, on the attack made by the boats of the Surprise, under the orders of captain Hamilton, in the harbour of Porto Cavallo, October 25.

Edward Hamilton, esq. captain, several contusions, but not dangerously; Mr. John Maxwell, gunner, dangerously wounded in several places; John Lewis Matthews, quarter-master, dangerously; Arthur Reed, quarter-gunner, dangerously; Henry Milne, carpenter's crew, dangerously; Henry Dibleen, gunner's mate, slightly; Charles Livingston, Wm. Pardy, Robert Ball, and Thomas Stevenson, all able seamen, slightly; John Ingram and Joseph Titley, private marine, slightly.

E. Hamilton.

(A true copy) H. Parker.

Vessels captured by his Majesty's ship Surprise, from Sept. 20 to Oct. 30.

The French schooner Nancy, the Spanish schooner La Manuel, and the Spanish frigate Hermione.

E. Hamilton.

Downing-street, Jan. 31.

The following despatch has been received from W. Wickham, esq. by the right hon. lord Grenville.

Augsburg, Dec. 13, 1799.

My Lord,

I am sorry to inform your lordship of the death of the Advoyer Steigner, which happened on the 3d inst. after a lingering illness. He was interred on the 7th, with all possible honours, in the Protestant burying-ground of this city. The Swiss regiment of Rovéréa, and (by direction of field-marshal Italisky) three Russian regiments, together with the British and Russian ministers to the Swiss cantons, several Russian, Austrian, and Prussian staff-officers, and a deputation from this city, attended the corpse to the grave. I passed an hour with him, at his own desire, three days before his death, when he was perfectly sensible; and I had the satisfaction of hearing him, after recommending his country, under God, to his Majesty's special protection, pray most earnestly and devoutly for the blessings of God on his Majesty, and on his subjects. He is an irreparable loss to Switzerland.

W. Wickham.

January 31.

The following despatch has been received from the right honourable lord W. Bentinck, by lord Grenville.

Head Quarters, Bergo, St. Dalmazzo, Dec. 4.

My Lord,

It is with great satisfaction that I announce to your lordships the surrender of Coni. The batteries opened on the 2d, in the morning, and early on the 3d the commandant desired to capitulate. The garrison, consisting of 2844 men, exclusive of 800 wounded, whom the French had not time to remove before the investment of the place, marched out this morning prisoners of war. The loss of the Austrians does not exceed 50 men in killed and wounded. The very short defence that has been made of this very strong and most important fortress is to be attributed to the want both of provisions and of ammunition. This event may be considered the more fortunate, from information having been received that general Championet has been assembling the whole French army in La Rivière de Genes near Ormea, which was to have been assisted in its march by a reinforcement of 15,000 men that is marching from Savoy, and is probably a detachment from the army of Switzerland. So much snow has fallen, that the roads in the mountains are no longer passable; and it will not be possible for the corps, coming from Savoy, to form a junction with Championet. The severity of the weather has obliged the enemy to abandon the Col de Scade, where they left four pieces of cannon, which they could not drag through the snow.

W. Bentinck.

[Here follow the articles of capitulation; the principal of which is, that the garrison shall be marched into the dominions of the emperor, under a sufficient guard to protect them from the country people, and that they shall continue prisoners till exchanged.]

Admiralty Office, Feb. 8.

A letter from admiral sir Hyde Parker introduces the following:

Crescent, Port Royal, Nov. 22.

Sir,

I am exceeding sorry to acquaint you, that on the dawn of the 15th, the S. W. end of Porto Rico bearing N. E. 10 or 12 leagues, we unfortunately fell in with a squadron belonging to the enemy, consisting of a line-of-battle ship, frigate, and corvette. As the two former were directly in our course on the larboard tack, I made the convoy's signal to haul to the wind on the starboard tack; made sail to reconnoitre them; and on joining the Calypso (which had previously chaced,) perfectly coincided with captain Baker that they were enemies, and made signal to the convoys to that effect. The line-of-battle ship and frigate keeping close together, I was in great hopes of drawing them from the convoy by keeping them within random shot to windward, and bore up for that purpose, making the Calypso's signal to chase N.W. the direction the body of the convoy was then in. At nine the enemy tacked, and I was under the necessity of making the signal

to disperse. The Calypso bore up for that part of the convoy that were running to leeward. The corvette which had been seen some time before, was standing for the ships that had kept their wind; I immediately made sail to relieve them, and had the good fortune to capture her. The enemy were previously chasing the ships to leeward; and I was happy to observe them haul their wind, I suppose, on perceiving the situation of the corvette; but this, as well as their other manœuvres during the course of the day, appeared so very undetermined, that that they did not take the necessary steps to prevent our taking possession of her; nor had they brought-to any of the convoy at dark, notwithstanding they had been near them for twelve hours; and their situation was such as to give me sanguine hopes not any have been captured. The squadron proved to be Spanish, from St. Domingo, bound to the Havannah, consisting of the Asia, of 64 guns and 350 men, commodore Don Francisco Montes; Amphitrite, of 44 guns and 260 men, captain Don Diego Villagomez; Glago, of 16 guns and 100 men, captain Don Jose de Arias.

I am, &c.

W. G. Lobb.

Admiralty Office, Feb. 18.

Under the above head the two following letters appear on the subject of the capture of the Pallas frigate.

His Majesty's sloop Fairy, Feb. 5.

Sir,

In compliance with your order of the 3d instant, his majesty's sloop Harpy in company, having weighed from St. Aubin's Bay, at six A.M. I proceeded to reconnoitre St. Maloes; and, at half past eleven, Cape Frebel bearing S.E. five or six miles, I discovered a large ship running down close along shore to the westward, which I very soon made out to be a large frigate, and, as she did not answer the private signal, I concluded she was an enemy, but, being so close in shore, I saw there was no chance of bringing her to action. I therefore judged it necessary to tack, with the hopes of decoying her out from the land; which fully answered my wishes, as she immediately gave chase to us. At one o'clock the Harpy having formed close under my stern, the enemy arrived within pistol shot, when a close action commenced, and continued until a quarter before five, when the enemy made all sail from us. As soon as the damages the Fairy sustained in the rigging and sails (which were very considerable) were repaired, we made all sail in pursuit of her. At four o'clock three strange sail were discovered from the mast-head to the northward, which I judged to be a squadron of English frigates, to whom I made the signal for an enemy, and at nine were joined by his majesty's ships La Loire, Danaë, and Railleur, in the chace.

J. S. Horton.

Prince of Bouillon.

[The loss on board the Fairy was, four seamen killed, captain Horton and seven seamen wounded. On board the Harpy, one seaman killed, and three wounded.]

Copy of a letter from captain Newman, to E. Nepean, esq.

dated La Loire, at sea, the 5th inst.

Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint their lordships of the capture of the French frigate Le Pallas, by his majesty's ship under my command, after a close action of two hours and ten minutes, close in shore under Seven Islands, where she was supported by a battery. I was most gallantly and ably seconded by captain Tarquade, of the Railleur; and to the captains of the Danaë, Fairy, and Harpy sloops, I feel indebted for their every exertion to come up with the chase. I cannot too much applaud the conduct of the officers and crews under my command, as well as lieutenant Krenitzin, of the Russian navy, &c.—The Pallas is a new frigate, mounting 42 guns, 18 nine and 36 pounders, was bound to Brest, victualled for five months, and 350 men on board.

J. N. Newman.

[The Loire had three seamen killed; three midshipmen, 25 seamen, and one marine, wounded. The Railleur, one midshipman, and the gunner's mate, killed; four seamen wounded.]

London Gazette, March 29.

Copy of a Letter from Captain Sir W. S. Smith, Captain of his Majesty's Ship Tigre, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated off Jaffa, the 8th of November, 1799.

Sir,

I have the honour to inclose a copy of my letter to the right hon. lord Nelson (of this date,) for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty.

I have the honour to be, Sir, &c.

W. S. Smith.

Tigre, off Jaffa,
8th November, 1799.

My Lord,

I lament to have to inform your lordship of the melancholy death of Patrona Bey, the Turkish vice-admiral, who was assassinated at Cyprus, in a mutiny of the Janissaries, on the 18th of October; the command devolved on Seid Ali Bey, who had just joined me with the troops from Constantinople, composing the second maritime expedition destined for the recovery of Egypt. As soon as our joint exertions had restored order, we proceeded to the mouth of the Damietta branch of the Nile, to make an attack thereon, as combined with the supreme Vizier, in order to draw the attention of the enemy that way, and leave his highness more at liberty to advance with the grand army, on the side of the desert. The attack began by the Tigre's boats taking possession of a ruined castle situated on the eastern side of the Bogaz, or entrance of the Channel, which the inundation of the Nile had insulated from the main land, leaving a fordable passage. The Turkish flag, displayed on the tower of this castle, was at once the signal for the Turkish gun-boats to advance, and for the enemy to open their fire, in order to dislodge us; their nearest post being a redoubt on the main land with two 32-pounders, and an 8-pounder field-piece mounted thereon, a point-blank shot distant. The fire was returned from

the launch's carronade, mounted in a breach in the castle, and from field-pieces in the small boats, which soon obliged the enemy to discontinue working at an intrenchment they were making to oppose a landing. Lieutenant Stokes was detached with the boats to check a body of cavalry advancing along the neck of land, in which he succeeded; but I am sorry to say with the loss of one man killed and one wounded. This interchange of shot continued, with little intermission, during the 29th, 30th, and 31st, while the Turkish transports were drawing nearer to the landing-place, our shells from the carronade annoying the enemy in his work and communications; at length the magazine blowing up, and one of their 32-pounders being silenced, a favourable moment offered for disembarkation. Orders were given accordingly; but it was not till the morning of the 1st of November, that they could effectuate this operation. This delay gave time for the enemy to collect a force more than double that of the first division landed, and to be ready to attack it before the return of the boats with the remainder. The French advanced to the charge with bayonets. The Turks completely exculpated themselves from the suspicion of cowardice having been the cause of their delay, for when the enemy were within ten yards of them they rushed on, sabre in hand, and in an instant completely routed the first line of the French infantry. The day was ours for the moment; but the impetuosity of Olman Aga, and his troops, occasioned them to quit the station assigned them as a corps of reserve, and to run forward in pursuit of the fugitives; European tactics were, of course, advantageously employed by the French at this critical juncture. Their body of reserve came on in perfect order, while a charge of cavalry, on the left of the Turks, put them completely to the rout in their turn.—Our flanking fire from the castle and boats, which had been hitherto plied with evident effect, was now necessarily suspended, by the impossibility of pointing clear of the Turks in the confusion. The latter turned a random fire on the boats, to make them take them off, and the sea was, in an instant, covered with turbans, while the air was filled with piteous moans, calling to us for assistance; it was (as at Aboukir) a duty of some difficulty to afford it them, without being victims to their impatience, or overwhelmed with numbers; we, however, persevered, and saved all, except those which the French took prisoners, by wading into the water after them; neither did the enemy interrupt us much in so doing. Major Douglas and lieutenant Stokes, who were with me on this service, gave additional proofs of their zeal, ability, and bravery, and the boats crews, as usual, behaved admirably. The loss, in killed, on our side, cannot be ascertained. The French general, in his offer to exchange prisoners on the general account, assures me he has 1100. As to the enemy's loss, we have no means of estimating it, but it must have been sufficient to convince them, that such victories as these, against troops which, though irregular, will fight hand to hand

with them, must cost them dear in the end.

I am, &c.
W. S. Smith.

Copy of a Letter from Lord Nelson to Vice-Admiral Lord Keith.

Foudroyant, at Sea, off Cape di Corro, 8 Leagues W. of Cape Passaro, off Shore about 4 Miles, Feb. 18.

My Lord,

This morning, at day-light, being in company with the ships named in the margin*, I saw the Alexander in chase of a line-of-battle ship, three frigates, and a corvette. At about eight o'clock she fired several shot at one of the enemy's frigates, which struck her colours, and, leaving her to be secured by the ships astern, continued the chase. I directed captain Gould, of the Audacious, and the El Corso brig, to take charge of this prize. At half past one P.M. the frigates and corvette tacked to the westward, but the line-of-battle ship not being able to tack, without coming to action with the Alexander, bore up. The Success being to leeward, captain Peard, with great judgment and gallantry, lay across his hawse, and raked him with several broadsides; in passing the French ship's broadside, several shots struck the Success, by which one man was killed, and the master and eight men wounded. At half past four the Foudroyant and Northumberland coming up, the former fired two shot, when the French ship fired her broadside, and struck her colours. She proved to be the Genereux, of 74 guns, bearing the flag of rear-admiral Perée, commander-in-chief of the French naval force in the Mediterranean, having a number of troops on board from Toulon, bound for the relief of Malta.

I attribute our success this day to be principally owing to the extreme good management of lieutenant William Harrington, who commands the Alexander, in the absence of captain Ball; and I am much pleased with the gallant behaviour of captain Peard, of the Success, as also with the alacrity and good conduct of captain Martin and sir Edward Berry.

I have sent lieutenant Andrew Thompson, first lieutenant of the Foudroyant, to take charge of the Genereux, whom I beg leave to recommend to your lordship for promotion, and have sent her under care of the Northumberland and Alexander to Syracuse, to wait your lordship's orders. I have the honour to be, my lord, &c.

Bronte Nelson.

London Gazette, April 28.
Downing-street.

The following despatch has been received from the right honourable lord Minto, his majesty's envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at Vienna, by lord Grenville.

Vienna, April 17.

My Lord,

I have the satisfaction to acquaint your lordship, that the campaign has opened in Italy by an important success on the side of

* Northumberland, Audacious, and El Corso brig.

the Austrians. On the 6th inst. General Melas attacked the several posts occupied by the French to the northward and westward of Savona and Vado, and drove them from the positions of Torre de la Buona, Monte Notte, and several others. Some of these posts were strongly entrenched, and one of them defended by 3000 men; but they were carried by the courage and conduct of the Austrian troops, who appear to have acquired much honour on this day. The enemy retired with precipitation on Vado and Savona, leaving their cannon and about 300 prisoners, among whom is a chef de brigade, and several officers of distinction. In the night between the 6th and 7th the troops evacuated Vado, having destroyed the stores, and spiked the cannon, and retired by sea towards Nice. Their number is supposed to have been between 7 and 800. The Austrians took possession of the fort of Vado in the morning, and found 17 pieces of heavy artillery. General Melas immediately invested Savona.

Admiralty-Office, April 29.

A letter from vice-admiral Dickson introduces the following:

His Majesty's hired armed lugger, Lark, Yarmouth roads, April 26.

Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you, that I anchored in these roads this day, with his majesty's armed lugger Lark under my command, with a French cutter privateer, her prize. In pursuance of your order I sailed on the 19th inst. and took my station off the Vlie Passage on the 21st, at half past six A.M. At the entrance of that passage I discovered a French cutter privateer in shore of me, which I chased and came up with; and who, after exchanging a few shot, ran on shore. I am sorry to add, I was not able to get near enough to him, totally to destroy him: a neutral vessel that came out of the Vlie Passage the 23d instant, informed me she mounted 10 guns, and had 36 men on board; and that he had, after getting off, proceeded to the Texel road by the inner navigation. On the 25th, at two P.M. I chased and came up with a French cutter privateer, who, after engaging me a little while, ran on shore on the Vlie Island, where he defended himself pretty well for an hour; when I perceived his men were escaping to the shore, under the cover and protection of troops to the amount of about 100. I immediately hoisted out my small boat, and directed my large one to follow; and, under the fire of the musketry from the troops on shore, boarded her, but not until the crew had escaped. In our endeavours to get the cutter off, we were considerably annoyed by the fire from the troops; but, having detached the large boat farther in shore, I succeeded in dislodging them from the sand-bank, behind which they had taken shelter; and I was fortunate enough to get the privateer off. She is called the Impregnable, mounts 14 guns, 12 of which are three-pounders, and two are nine pounders. She had on board, during the engagement, about 60 men, as appears by her log; and it also appears she had been particularly successful during her former cruizes. The Lark has

suffered in her hull and rigging, but fortunately had no man killed or wounded. The enemy, we have reason to suppose, from the state of the vessel, suffered considerably; and several men were killed on the beach. I cannot speak too highly of Mr. Thomas Gettins, the master, as also the good conduct and bravery of the crew of the Lark.

I am, &c.

J. H. Wilson.

London Gazette, May 3, Admiralty-Office.

Copy of a letter from John Thomas Duckworth, esq. rear-admiral of the white, to Evan Nepean, esq. dated on board his majesty's ship Leviathan, at Gibraltar, the 11th ult.

On the 5th instant, in the afternoon, I discovered 12 sail from the mast-head; but, at the close of the day, could ascertain no more than that three or four were men of war; I therefore attempted to anticipate their manœuvres, that I might fall in with them the next morning; and at 3 o'clock we crossed on one, which the Emerald boarded; from her I learnt, that she had sailed the 3d instant, with 13 sail, under convoy of three frigates. At day-break we could only see a brig, which was so nigh, and the weather inclined to be calm, that I sent the boats of the Leviathan and Emerald, under my second lieutenant, Gregory, to capture her; and, after a smart skirmish of 40 minutes, they succeeded; she mounted 14 guns, with 40 men, and bound to Lima. By this time we saw three sail, east, west, and south; in consequence, the Swiftsure being much to leeward, I made her signal to chase south, the Emerald east, and stood westward in the Leviathan, with a very light air; when, at noon, the Emerald made the signal for six sail in the north-east; this induced me to stand directly to the eastward; and, at the close of day, we saw nine sail from the mast-head; it was then nearly calm, and continued so till 11 o'clock P.M. when a fresh breeze sprang up from the S. W. and I steered N. in hopes of crossing them; at midnight we observed three sail; and, as we approached them fast, at two o'clock I plainly saw two of them were frigates, standing to the N.N.W. and close together; I therefore kept on a parallel with them, and proportioned my sail to theirs, that I might commence the attack just before day-break; because I feared the vessels under their convoy (which I judged must be near) would, on our commencing a fire, separate, and we might lose them all: at this time, the Emerald being near, I hailed, and acquainted captain Waller with my intentions. At dawn of day I bore down upon the two frigates, which evidently had taken us for part of their convoy; and, upon hailing one of them, she directly endeavoured to make all possible sail, as did the other close upon her bow; on which I directed a volley of musketry to be fired, concluding they would strike; but this not having the desired effect, I gave a yaw, and dispatched all the guns before the gangway at her yards and masts; but it was not successful in bring-

ing any of them down: at this time, captain Waller very judiciously shot up to the leeward one; and, in a few minutes, we so disabled their sails and rigging, that, on my being in a position to have fired a broadside into them both, they struck their colours: during this, the Spaniards kept up a straggling fire; and I should not do justice to their captains, were I to omit saying, that, from the moment of their discovering us to be enemies, they used the greatest exertions to get off, and displayed a gallantry, in commencing an action with such a superior force, as might be truly termed temerity; for I evidently could have destroyed them. You will find, by their return of killed and wounded, they sacrificed many lives. It was near half-past five when they struck; and I directly made the Emerald's signal to chase the third sail, which appeared to be the other frigate; but, soon after discovering seven more, and it being doubtful whether the Emerald (whose copper is very bad) would come up with the frigate, I made her signal to attack the convoy, which captain Waller, in a very officer-like manner executed, and before night had possession of four of the largest. As soon as I had secured the frigates, and put them in a state to make sail, which took near two hours, I gave chase to the other frigate; but, after four hours, the wind dying away, and not appearing to gain on her so as to expect success, I hauled towards the Emerald, and in the afternoon took a brig; it then becoming quite calm, and continuing so till after dark, I saw no more of the enemy; and, the next day joining the Emerald, I made for this port with the prizes, and arrived safe with them all the 10th, in the morning; when I found the Incendiary had arrived the previous day, with two of the stragglers that she had fortunately picked up in looking for me. In this transaction, I trust their lordships will believe, that nothing in my power was left undone to secure the whole of a convoy so important to the Spaniards. The two captured frigates, which were bound to Lima with quicksilver, are completely stored for such a voyage, and recently coppered. On board of the Carmen the archbishop of Buenos Ayres was a passenger. I herewith send you a list of the prizes, with their force and destination.

Return of the two Spanish frigates.

Carmen, Don Franquin Porcel, commander (commanding the expedition,) of 36 guns, 340 men, and 950 tons, from Cadiz bound to Lima, laden with 1500 quintals of quicksilver, sundries of cards, and four 24 pound guns; stored for foreign service; victualled for four months; newly coppered; weight of metal 12-pounders; passenger on board, El Senor Yllustrissimo Don Pedro Ynscencio Benjarano, archbishop of Buenos Ayres.—Florentia, Don Manuel Norrates, commander, of 36 guns, 314 men, and 950 tons, from Cadiz, bound to Lima, laden with 1500 quintals of quicksilver, sundries of cards, with five 24 pound guns; newly coppered, and copper-fastened; passenger, Don Josef Balcasino, official real.

[Here follows a list, containing the particulars of the 11 merchant-

men taken, one of which mounted 14 guns and six swivels, and carried 46 men;—another had four guns, and 35 men; a third had eight guns, and 70 men;—another 14 guns, and 70 men; and one had 32 guns, and 182 men—all of which safely arrived at Gibraltar.]

London Gazette, May 19, *Downing-street.*

Despatches, of which the following are copies, have been this day received from William Wickham, esq. his majesty's minister plenipotentiary and commissary at the imperial, royal, and allied armies, by lord Grenville.

Riedlingen, on the Danube, Tuesday, May 6.

My Lord,

The army marched from Donaueschingen the 2d instant, and arrived at Engin in the course of the afternoon, before the enemy had reached that place. Notwithstanding the great importance which was attached to the gaining the position of Stockach, yet it was not thought possible to proceed so far that day without exposing to imminent danger the several corps of the archduke Ferdinand (which covered the march on the side of Zolhus,) and those of the generals Ginlay and Kienmayer, which had received orders to retire from Fribourg and Offenburg, and join the main army. On the same day the enemy withdrew the army which had till then occupied the N.E. part of Switzerland, and was opposed to the Austrians on the side of the Grisons and the Voralberg, and brought the whole of it towards Constance and Schauffhausen in the course of the following night, leaving the eastern frontier of Switzerland entirely open. On the 3d, in the morning, this force, united to that which had passed the Rhine at Schaffhausen on the 1st instant, attacked and carried the Austrian position at Stockach, occupied by prince Joseph of Lorraine, with a force under his command quite inadequate to meet that which the enemy had brought against him. On this occasion the Austrians sustained a very considerable loss both in men, cannon, and stores; though fortunately a part of the magazines which had been formed at Stockach had been carried away in the course of the two preceding days. The prince having been obliged to fall back on Pfullendorf and Moskirch, the left flank of general Kray's army was uncovered. In this situation of things, and before the archduke had effected his junction, general Kray was attacked at Engen, about two o'clock in the afternoon, by the main French army, commanded by general Moreau in person. This army had been reinforced by a detachment from the camp at Dijon, and consisted of five entire divisions. A separate force fell, at the same time, upon the archduke, and obliged him to fall back on Dutlingen. The French attacked every where with the utmost impetuosity, bringing up fresh columns in succession, and sacrificing immense numbers of men on every part of the Austrian line where they had hoped to penetrate. They were, however, un-

able to make any impression on any one point, and at nine in the evening they gave up the attempt; at which time the Austrians remained masters of the whole position which they had occupied in the morning, and the archduke had joined the main army, after having defeated the corps opposed to him, and taken several prisoners, and three pieces of cannon. His royal highness, to whose personal exertions this success was chiefly owing, has on this occasion merited and gained the esteem and admiration of the whole army. At this moment, the spirit and confidence of the army was such, that general Kray would, in his turn, have attacked the enemy, but for the loss of Stockach, which rendered his retreat absolutely necessary. He remained, however, on the field of battle all night, and only began his march at day-break. The army arrived at Liptingen at nine in the morning of the 4th, where it halted till three in the afternoon, and then marched forward to Moskirch, where a junction was effected with prince Joseph of Lorraine, at nine in the evening. The archduke covered the march; in the course of which his royal highness was joined by general Ginlay with the corps from Fribourg, and by the first division of the Bavarian subsidiary army from Baylingen. The whole of this march was made, and the junction with general Ginlay, prince Joseph of Lorraine, and the Bavarians, effected without any material interruption from the enemy. In the afternoon of yesterday, the different corps of the enemy being concentrated in one great army, whilst general Kray had still between 30 and 40,000 men detached on different points, general Moreau attacked the Austrian position at Moskirch with his whole force; but, owing to the steady bravery of the Austrian troops, and particularly to the decided superiority of their artillery, he was unable to make any material impression; and at sun-set each army retired to its respective quarters. The loss was very considerable on both sides; but there is every reason to believe, that the enemy has suffered much more considerably than the Austrians. This opinion, which is confirmed by the unanimous report of the prisoners made at the close of the day, is founded, not only on the circumstance of his not renewing the attack in the night of this morning, notwithstanding his very great superiority of numbers, but on the nature of the action itself, which consisted in a succession of impetuous, but unsuccessful attacks made by the French infantry under the fire of the Austrian artillery, and exposed to frequent charges of the cavalry. Unless general Kray should be again attacked in the course of to-day, he will, probably, take a position this afternoon, or to-morrow, behind the Danube, his left at this place, and his right at Sigmaringen. Your lordship will probably have been much alarmed at the first reports of this affair that will have reached England through France; nor, indeed, can it be supposed that the expectation of the enemy should not have been extreme during the whole of the day of the 3d, or that the French officers should not have holden out to

their government the flattering hopes of ultimate and complete success; but the steady valour of the Austrian troops, the order that reigns through every department of the army, and the skill and unshaken courage and coolness of the generals, have, I trust, under the blessing of God, frustrated the great designs of the enemy.—I am, &c.

W. Wickham.

Ulm, May 8.

My lord,

On the 6th instant the Austrians took a position behind the Danube, without any material opposition from the enemy, whose loss, in the battle of the 5th, appears to have been greater than was at first supposed. On the same day the junction was effected with lieutenant-general Kienmayer. The second division of the Bavarians passed through this place yesterday, and marched about a league farther, where they will halt to-day, and their junction with general Kray will be effected either to-morrow, or the day after, according to the necessity that may exist for hastening their march. The first division, consisting of 6000 men, had joined the main army in time to render very essential services, and was closely engaged with the enemy in the battle of the 5th. The Swiss regiment of Roverea, in his majesty's service, under the command of colonel de Watteville, has formed a part of the archduke's corps from the beginning, and has been particularly distinguished by its bravery and good conduct: I am sorry to add, that it has suffered in proportion, and that a number of excellent officers have either been killed or severely wounded. Few prisoners have been made on either side; but the Austrians were obliged to leave some of their wounded at Engen, for want of carriages to carry them away. No one corps of the Austrians has been broken or dispersed by the enemy, nor have they lost a single piece of cannon, in the different actions between the main armies, though several fell into the hands of the enemy at Stockach. The archduke Ferdinand, as I have mentioned in another despatch, took three pieces from the enemy at the time when his royal highness formed his junction with the commander-in-Chief near Engen.

W. Wickham.

London Gazette, May 27, Downing-street.

The following despatches have been this day received from William Wickham, esq. his majesty's minister plenipotentiary and commissary at the imperial, royal, and allied armies, and from lieutenant-colonel Clinton, by the right honourable lord Grenville.

Head-quarters, Memmingen, May 10.

My Lord,

I have the honour to inform your lordship, that the army marched, in the course of the night of the 6th, to Langen Enslingen. The enemy sent only a detachment, to observe the movement of the Austrians on the left of the Danube, and marched, with the main body of his army, in a direction which gave general Kray

an apprehension for his communication with lieutenant-general Prince Reuss in the Voralberg; to preserve which, he hastened by a forced march, re-crossing the Danube at Reidlingen to Biberach; which place he reached in the afternoon of the 8th. The army took a position behind the Riss. The enemy, however, still had the advance, and already occupied Waldsee. On the 9th, the Austrian advanced posts in front of the Riss were vigorously attacked, and driven in. General Kray, wishing to avoid engaging in a general affair, fell back at night to Ochsenhausen. Every report of the enemy stated, that he was still marching by his right. This morning the army crossed the Iller in two columns at Illerdissen; and near this place the troops had scarcely reached their ground, when the enemy began a fresh attack on the left; at the same time a report was received, that a strong column was on its march to Kempton. Every thing announced, on the part of the enemy, the intention of an attack. General Kray, therefore, had determined to proceed to Ulm, where he will be joined by the corps of general Starrai, consisting of ten battalions, and a large proportion of cavalry, besides the second division of the Bavarians. The affair of this day, in which the Bavarians distinguished themselves much to the satisfaction of general Kray, terminated in one of advanced posts.

H. Clinton.

Donauwerth, May 13.

My Lord,

I have much satisfaction in transmitting to your lordship the inclosed extract from the general orders issued by the commander-in-chief of the imperial army on the 11th instant, bearing the most honourable testimony to the conduct of the first division of the Bavarian troops in the service of his majesty, commanded by colonel baron de Wreede, acting as brigadier-general. Too much cannot be said in praise of the exertions that have been made on this occasion by their serene highnesses the elector of Bavaria, and the duke of Wirtemberg, to put the subsidiary troops in a situation to take the field, to hasten their march towards the Austrian army, and, in every respect to fulfil and make good the engagements they had severally contracted with his majesty.

W. Wickham.

Extract from the general orders of the imperial and royal army in Germany.

The Bavarian troops distinguished themselves so much by their bravery and their steadiness in the action of yesterday, that I feel myself bound to give this public assurance to their commander, colonel baron de Wreede, as well as to the officers and the whole corps, not only that I am entirely satisfied with their conduct, but that I owe them my very best thanks, which I beg them to accept.

Donauwerth, May 13.

My Lord,

I have the satisfaction to inform your lordship, that general Kray, having been attacked on the 11th instant, on his march from Memmingen to Ulm, had repulsed the

enemy, and driven him beyond Memmingen; where, in consequence of this success, he left a considerable corps under general Merselde, who is charged to keep open the communication with prince Reuss in the Voralberg. The main army retired to Ulm, where it has effected its junction with the second division of the Bavarian subsidiary army, and with general Starrai.

I am, &c.
W. Wickham.

London Gazette, June 7, Downing-street.

The following despatch has been received from lieutenant-colonel Clinton, by the right honourable lord Grenville.

Head-quarters, Ulm, May 22.

My Lord,

Since the army crossed the Danube at this place on the 12th inst. the enemy has not ventured to undertake any movement of consequence: in the night of the 18th he passed the Danube in considerable force at Erbach, and the following day reconnoitred the position of the Austrians, on the heights above the town, which he found so formidable, that he recrossed the Danube in the course of the night, and resumed his position between that river and the Iller, without attempting any thing. The result of the different affairs of advanced posts since the arrival of the army in its present position has uniformly been to the advantage of the Austrians.

Downing-street, June 8.

The following despatch has been received from the right honourable lord Minto, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at Vienna, by the right honourable lord Grenville.

Vienna, May 28.

I have the pleasure to acquaint your lordship, that the citadel of Savona surrendered on the 15th instant. The garrison are prisoners of war. I have the honour to inclose the extraordinary court gazette published on that occasion.

Extraordinary supplement of the Vienna gazette, May 28.

By captain Salomon, of the regiment of Lattermann who arrived here last night as courier, count Melas, general of cavalry, has sent intelligence from Nizza, dated the 17th instant, that, according to the report of major-general Francis count St. Julien, the enemy's general, Buger, who defended the citadel of Savona, finding himself under the necessity of capitulating, on the 15th a capitulation had immediately been concluded upon the following conditions: the garrison of the enemy was to march out on the 16th at three o'clock in the afternoon, with the usual honours, and, as will be seen by the following articles of capitulation, to be marched as prisoners of war into the states of Upper Austria. The general could not as yet specify the strength of the garrison, nor the amount of the cannon and ammunition and magazines of different forts in the citadel, as major-general count St. Julien had delayed sending an account of them until the enemy shall have evacuated the place. Captain Salomon has on this occasion gained much reputation.

General Melas mentions at the same time, that the enemy's generalissimo had made several attacks on the 13th in considerable force, on field-marshal lieutenant count Hohenzollern, at Durazzo, but had been repulsed by our troops. The enemy's general of division, Soult, a chief of brigade, and many of the enemy, have been made prisoners of war in these attacks; and the general promises to forward, by the first opportunity, the particulars sent him by the field-marshal lieutenant.

[Here follow the articles of capitulation, by which the garrison are allowed the honours of war; the officers to keep their swords and horses, and the privates their knapsacks; and the troops of Liguria are permitted to follow the garrison. The capitulation is signed by Francis count St. Julien, imperial major-general, and the French general Buget.]

London Gazette, July 8, Admiralty-Office.

Copy of a Letter from Sir Charles Hamilton, Captain of His Majesty's Ship Melpomene, to Evan Nepean, Esq.

Goree, April 23.

Sir,

You will be pleased to acquaint the lords commissioners of the admiralty, that having been informed that three French frigates were at anchor, under the forts of Goree, this intelligence, with the force and situation of these frigates, induced me to take his Majesty's ship Ruby, then watering at port Praya, under my command, and, with this additional force, I proceeded immediately in quest of them. In the afternoon of the 4th instant, I reconnoitred the roadstead of Goree, but not finding the frigates there, and conceiving our appearance sufficient to alarm the garrison, I despatched lieutenant Tidy, with a verbal message, summoning the island to surrender (the inclosed letters having passed between me and the governor:) at midnight, lieutenant Tidy made me the signal agreed on, that my terms were complied with; the marines of the squadron were instantly landed, under the command of Captain Mac Cleverty, and the garrison in our possession before day. Their lordships will be well aware of the strength and consequence of this acquisition, which, I am happy to state, has been obtained so easily: Mr. Davis, of the Magnanime, being the only person wounded before our flag of truce was observed from the forts. On the 13th instant, I despatched Mr. Palmer, with two boats and 30 men, to Jool, a factory dependant on Goree; he returned on the 22d, having executed his orders most perfectly to my satisfaction, and bringing with him from thence a French brigantine and sloop loaded with rice.

I have the honour to be, Sir, &c.

C. Hamilton.

Goree, 1st Germinal, 8th Year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

Liberty. Equality.

The Commander of Goree to the Commander of the English Squadron off the Island.

Sir,

I have received the verbal sum-

*

mons which you have sent to me by two officers of your squadron. Anxious to defend the place which has been intrusted to me, I am likewise so to spare bloodshed. I expect, therefore, to receive from you, to-morrow morning, the conditions for the surrender of the place, to which I shall agree, if they are admissible.

The commander of Goree,

Guillemin.

Melpomene, off the Island of Goree, April 4.

Sir,

I have received your answer to my verbal message to surrender the island of Goree, and have to inform you, that the only conditions I can accept of are, to be put in possession of the forts and island of Goree before twelve o'clock to-morrow noon, I allow to you, Sir, and your garrison, to march out with all the honours of war; and these conditions only will be accepted.

I have authorized the bearer, lieutenant Tidy, to fulfil my intentions; and have the honour to remain, &c.

H. Hamilton.

To his excellency the governor of Goree.

N. B. All private property will be respected.

London Gazette, July 12, Admiralty Office.

Copy of a Letter from Captain Inman, of his Majesty's Ship Andromeda, to Evan Nepean, Esq. Off Dunkirk, July 8.

Sir,

I beg you will be pleased to inform their lordships that, agreeable to their orders to me of the 17th of June, to take under my command the fire vessels and others named in the margin*, and endeavour to take and destroy the enemy's frigates in Dunkirk Roads, we joined at the appointed rendezvous the 27th following; but, from contrary winds, and the tide not answering, could not make the attempt before last night, when I fear the enemy had been apprized of my intention, as we were much annoyed by gun-vessels and others lying advanced some distance, which afforded the frigates an opportunity to cut their cables, and avoid our fire-ships. I had directed captain Campbell, of the Dart, to get in, if he could, to the easternmost, and lay her on-board, at the time I hoped the first fire-ship would have been entangled with the westernmost. The handsome and intrepid manner of his completely carrying her in less than a quarter of an hour, and bringing her out, must convince their lordships of his unparalleled bravery, and the very gallant conduct of his officers and ship's company, as the enemy's frigate was so much superior in force; and had it not been so instantly done, the ship could not have been got over the banks, as the water had begun to fall. By

* Wasp, capt. Edwards; Falcon, capt. Butt; Dart, capt. Campbell; Comet, capt. Leef; Rosario, capt. Carthew; Selby, capt. Williams; Boxer, lieut. Gilbert; Teaser, lieut. Robins; Biter, lieut. Norman; Stag cutter, lieut. Humphry's; Nile lugger, lieut. Whitehead; Ann cutter, lieut. Young; Kent, lieut. Cooban; and Vigilant lugger, lieut. Dean.

captain Campbell's report to me, great praise is due to lieutenant M'Dermeit, who, I am sorry to say, is badly wounded. I inclose captain Campbell's letter to me, giving an account of this transaction; and have the pleasure to observe, that one spirit seemed to actuate the whole; but am sorry that, notwithstanding the steady conduct of captains Edwards, Butt, Leef, and Carthew, of the several fire-vessels, in remaining on board till completely in flames, the three enemy's ships, from cutting their cables, escaped before the wind, and ran out of Dunkirk Roads some little distance down the inner channel, within the Braak Sand: one of them got on shore for a short time, but at daylight we had the mortification to observe her working back on the ebb tide, and, with the other two, regained their anchorage, though not without considerable damage, having received the fire of the Dart, Biter, and Boxer gun-brigs, within pistol shot, before they cut. I kept the Selby in the rear to act, had any remained long enough on shore, to have destroyed them by firing carcases, and have now to regret I reserved her for that purpose, as I am confident, had captain Williams been directed to lay one of the enemy's ships on board, he would have been successful in bringing her out. I put Mr. Scott, first lieutenant of the Andromeda, in the command of the boats in a gig, and Mr. Cochran, third lieutenant, in another boat; and as I had all the cutters to attend on the fire-vesssels except the Kent, directed the lieutenants in gigs to put themselves under his command, and by which means not any lives were lost; the Kent, lieutenant Coobau, I directed to attack the gun-vessels, who trimmed them pretty handsomely, and prevented any boats from annoying our's that were employed to take out the crews of the fire ships. I feel particularly indebted to captains Mainwaring, Baker, and Seater, as also to lieutenant King, second lieutenant, who was left in command of the Andromeda, for their perseverance in getting over the banks, to render us every assistance by boats, and to be in readiness to meet the enemy, had they ventured over the Braak Sand; which position they maintained for that purpose in spite of fresh gales, and direct opposition to the established pilots, who gave up the charge of each ship on their hands while in this situation; and before, when I first made the proposition, positively refused taking charge of any vessels of the lightest draught of water intended for this service; but with the assistance of Mr. Moor, master (who I put on board the Dart, to lead in,) and Mr. Wheatland, mate of the Ann hired cutter, who very handsomely volunteered their services to take any of the ships in, on my suggesting it to them, and some men which I got out of smugglers, I was enabled to put one on board each of the gun vessels and fire brigs: I feel an inward satisfaction at bringing the whole of the squadron through the roads without the least difficulty. I cannot omit mentioning that Mr. Butcher, master of the Nile, and Mr. Dean, master of the Vigilant (luggers,) at my request, would have laid as a leading mark at Gravelines

Hook; the former performed this service, and I embarked with 30 volunteers from the Andromeda in the latter; and through the whole of this service I feel particularly indebted to the commanders of the several vessels and cutters for their very steady conduct. I inclose a list of the killed and wounded, and am sorry to say, captain Leef, of the Comet, is among the latter, having been blown up. I have also to acquaint you, for their lordships' information, that, from the mangled and unhappy state of many of the prisoners, I was induced to send a flag of truce with them into Dunkirk.

I have the honour to be, &c.

H. Inman.

Dart, off Dunkirk, July 8.

Sir,

Agreeable to the directions you honoured me with, to board the easternmost of the enemy's frigates in Dunkirk Roads, should it be practicable, I have complete satisfaction in acquainting you, that about one, A.M., I succeeding in carrying La Desirée national frigate, mounting 40 guns, long 24-pounders on the main deck, with a complement of 330 men, some of whom were on shore. From your being so nearly situated to me during the attack, I have only to anticipate your approbation of the Dart's conduct; but as individual merit could not be distinguished but by those present, I trust I may be permitted to speak in terms the most gratifying of lieutenant M'Dermeit, who gallantly led the boarders on this occasion, and who, I fear, will lose his arm by a severe wound he received; indeed I cannot say enough in praise of his gallantry in this unequal contest, having every reason to believe the enemy were fully apprized of your intentions, from the resistance they made, and the preparations that were found on board. Lieutenant M'Dermeit, with much presence of mind, on being wounded, called to me he had possession of the ship, but feared they would rally, and requested an officer might be sent to take charge. Lieutenant Pierce gallantly anticipated my wishes by jumping on board, completely repulsed the enemy, who were rallying at the after-hatchway, instantly cut her cables, got her under sail, and over banks, which could not have been effected half an hour later. I also beg to state Mr. Ingledon, the master's conduct, as highly meritorious, in placing the Dart so completely on board the Desirée, and who nearly lost his life supporting the boarders, by falling between the ships; indeed all the officers whom I had the honour to command, behaved in a manner that will ever merit my warmest acknowledgments; and when I think of the support given me by my brave crew, I feel confident I shall never forget their loyalty and merit. Enclosed I send you a list of killed and wounded, and am Sir,

Your very humble servant,

P. Campbell.

To Captain Inman.

A List of the French Squadron in Dunkirk Roads, on the Evening of the 7th of July.

La Poursivante, of 40 guns, 24-pounders on the main deck, wears a broad pendant, commo-

dore's name Castagnie, chief of division.—La Desirée, of 40 guns, 24-pounders on the main deck, commanded by citizen Deplancy, taken by his Majesty's sloop Dart.—L'Incorruptible, of 40 guns, 24-pounders on the main deck.—La Carmagnole, of 50 guns, 18-pounders on the main deck.

[*Here followed the list of killed and wounded.*]

London Gazette, August 9. Admiralty-Office.

Copy of a Letter from the Earl of St. Vincent, K.B. Admiral of the White, to Evan Napean, Esq. dated on board his Majesty's Ship Royal George, at sea, the 4th instant.

Sir,

I did not think the enterprise of sir Edward Hamilton, or of captain Campbell, could have been rivalled, until I read the enclosed letter from sir Edward Pellew, relating the desperate service performed by acting lieutenant Coghlan, of the Viper cutter, on the 29th July, which has filled me with pride and admiration; and although the circumstance of his not having completed his time in his Majesty's navy operates at present against his receiving the reward he is most ambitious of obtaining, I am persuaded the lords commissioners of the admiralty will do all in their power to console him under his severe wounds, and grant him promotion the moment he is in a capacity to receive it.

I am, Sir, &c. &c. &c.

St. Vincent.

Impetueux, Palais Road, 1st August.

My Lord,

I have true pleasure in stating to your lordship, the good conduct of lieutenant Jeremiah Coghlan, to whom, for former gallant behaviour, you had given an acting commission to command the Viper cutter from this ship.

This gallant young man, when watching Port Louis, thought he could succeed in boarding some of the cutters or gun-vessels, which have been moving about the entrance of that harbour, and, for this purpose, he entreated a ten-oared cutter from me, with twelve volunteers: and on Tuesday night, the 29th instant, he took this boat, with Mr. Silas, H. Paddon, midshipman, and six of his men, making, with himself, twenty; and accompanied by his own boat, and one from the Amethyst, he determined upon boarding a gun-brig, mounting three long 24 pounders, and four six pounders, full of men, moored with springs on her cables, in a naval port of difficult access, within pistol shot of three batteries, surrounded by several armed craft, and not a mile from a seventy-four and two frigates, bearing an admiral's flag. Undismayed by such formidable appearances, the early discovery of his approach (for they were at quarters,) and the lost aid of the other boats, he bravely determined to attack alone, and boarded her on the quarter; but unhappily, in the dark, jumping into a trawl-net hung up to dry, he was pierced through the thigh by a pike, and several of his men hurt, and all knocked back into the boat.

Unchecked in ardour, they

hauled the boat further a-head, and again boarded, and maintained, against 87 men, 16 of whom were soldiers, an obstinate conflict, killing 6 and wounding 20, among whom was every officer belonging to her. His own loss 1 killed and 8 wounded; himself in two places, Mr. Paddon in six. I feel particularly happy in the expected safety of all the wounded. He speaks in the highest terms of Mr. Paddon, and the whole of his party, many of whom were knocked overboard, and twice beat into the boat, but returned to the charge with unabated courage. I trust I shall stand excused by your lordship for so minute a description, produced by my admiration of that courage which, hand to hand, gave victory to a handful of brave fellows over four times their number; and of that skill which formed, conducted, and effected so daring an enterprise.

Le Cerbere, commanded by a lieutenant de Vaisseau, and towed out under a very heavy fire, is given up as a prize by the squadron, to mark their admiration, and will not, I know, be the only reward of such bravery; they will receive that protection your lordship so liberally accords to all the young men in the service, who happily distinguish themselves under your command.

I enclose lieutenant Coghlan's letter, and have the honour, &c.

(Signed) Edward Pellew.

Admiral the earl of St. Vincent, K.B. &c.

His Majesty's Cutter Viper, Tuesday Morning, eight o'clock.

Dear Sir,

I have succeeded in bringing out the gun-brig Le Cerbere, of 3 guns, 24-pounders, and four six pounders, and 87 men, commanded by a lieutenaat de Vaisseau—pray forgive me when I say from under the batteries of Port Louis, and after a most desperate resistance being made, first by her and afterwards by the batteries at both sides, and a fire from some small vessels which lay round her; but nothing that I should expect from a vessel lying in that inactive situation, was equal to the few brave men belonging to your ship, whom I so justly confided in, assisted by 6 men from the cutter, and Mr. Paddon, midshipman, who, I am sorry to say, was wounded in several places, though I hope not mortally. I am sorry to state the loss of one man belonging to the cutter, who was shot through the head, and four of your brave men, with myself, wounded in different parts of the body: the principal one I received was with a pike, which penetrated my left thigh. Mr. Patteshall, in the cutter's small boat, assisted with two midshipmen from the Amethyst in one of their boats. The loss of the enemy is not yet ascertained, owing to the confusion.

I remain, &c.

J. Coghlan.

N. B. There are 5 killed and 21 wounded; some very badly.

A Return of killed and wounded in a ten-oared Cutter belonging to His Majesty's ship Impetueux, under the Command of Lieutenant Jeremiah Coghlan, on the Night of the 29th July, in boarding

the National Gun-brig, Le Cerbere, commanded by Lieutenant de Vaisseau Menage.

Viper cutter—1 seaman killed; lieutenant Jeremiah Coghlan, Mr. Silas, H. Paddon, midshipman, 2 seamen wounded. Impetueux—4 seamen wounded.—Total, 1 killed, 8 wounded.

London Gazette, Sept. 6. Downing-street.

The following Despatch has been this day received at the Office of the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, from Lieutenant-general Sir James Pulteney, bart. dated on board his Majesty's Ship Renown, at Sea, August 27.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you, that the fleet, on board of which the troops under my command were embarked, arrived before the harbour of Ferrol on the 25th instant. I determined immediately to make a landing, with a view, if practicable, to attempt the town of Ferrol; being certain, if I found either the strength of the place or the force of the enemy too great to justify an attack, that in the landing there was no considerable risk. The disembarkation was effected, without opposition, in a small bay near Cape Prior; the reserve, followed by the other troops as they landed, immediately ascended a ridge of hills adjoining the bay: just as they had gained the summit, the rifle corps fell in with a party of the enemy, which they drove back. I have to regret that lieutenant-colonel Stewart, who commanded this corps, was wounded on the occasion. At day-break the following morning, a considerable body of the enemy was driven back by major-general the earl of Cavan's brigade, supported by some other troops, so that we remained in complete possession of the heights which overlooked the town and harbour of Ferrol; but from the nature of the ground, which is steep and rocky, unfortunately this service could not be performed without loss: the 1st battalion of the 52d regiment had the principal share in this action. The enemy lost about 100 men killed and wounded, and 30 or 40 prisoners. I had now an opportunity of observing minutely the situation of the place, and of forming, from the reports of prisoners, an idea of the strength of the enemy; when, comparing the difficulties which presented themselves, and the risk attendant on failure on one hand, with the prospect of success, and the advantages to be derived from it, on the other, I came to the determination of re-embarking the troops, in order to proceed, without delay, on my farther destination. The embarkation was effected, the same evening, in perfect order, and without loss of any kind. The spirit and alacrity shown by the troops merit every commendation; and, if circumstances had admitted of their being led against the enemy, I should have had every reason to expect success. I am under the greatest obligations to the admiral sir John Borlase Warren, and the officers of the navy, for the judicious arrangements made for the landing and re-embarkation of the troops,

and the activity with which they were put in execution. The immediate direction of this service was intrusted to sir Edward Pellew, who performed it in a manner highly creditable to himself, and advantageous to the service.

James Pulteney.

Return of killed and wounded of the troops landed at Ellaya de Dominos, Aug. 25, under the command of lieutenant-general sir James Pulteney, bart. off Ferrol, August 27.

Royals, 2d battalion, one rank and file killed; one rank and file wounded.—23d regiment, three rank and file wounded.—27th ditto, 2d battalion, two rank and file wounded.—54th ditto, 2d battalion, one rank and file wounded.—52d ditto, 1st battalion, nine rank and file killed; one captain, one serjeant, one drummer, 37 rank and file, wounded.—52d ditto, 2d battalion, two rank and file killed; three rank and file wounded.—63d ditto, four rank and file killed; two rank and file wounded.—Rifle corps, one lieutenant-colonel, two captains, one subaltern, eight rank and file, wounded.—79th regiment, two serjeants, two rank and file, wounded.—Total, 16 rank and file killed; one lieutenant-colonel, three captains, one subaltern, three serjeants, one drummer, 59 rank and file, wounded.—Captain Torrens, of the 1st battalion, 52d regiment, dead of his wounds.—Hon. lieutenant-colonel Stewart of the 67th regiment, captain Hamilton of the 27th regiment, captain Trevors of the 79th regiment, lieutenant Edmonston of the 2d battalion Royals (attached to the rifle corps,) wounded.

J. Pulteney, lieutenant-general.
L. Z. Vassall, dep.-adj.-general.

London Gazette, Sept 13.
Admiralty Office.

Copies of Inclosures from Rear-admiral Sir John Borlase Warren to Earl St. Vincent, and by him despatched to Evan Nepean, Esq.

Renown, Vigo-Bay, Sept. 2.

My Lord,

I beg leave to inform you, that, on having ordered captain Hood, of the Courageux, to lead into this bay, I received a letter from him on the same evening, and immediately ordered two boats from this ship, the Impetueux and London; and refer your lordship to a letter which accompanies this, for the account of a gallant action performed by the boats of captain Hood's detachment, under lieutenant Burke's orders, whose merit upon this as well as former occasions will, I trust, induce your lordship to recommend him to the favour of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, more especially as he has been severely wounded in the service.

I am, &c.
J. B. Warren.

Courageux, Vigo-Bay, Aug. 30.

Sir,

Perceiving yesterday afternoon the French privateer in the harbour had removed, for security, near the narrows of Rendonella, close to the batteries, where I thought

there was a probability of her being attacked with success, I ordered two boats from each of his Majesty's ships Amethyst, Stag, Amelia, Brilliant, and Cynthia, with those of the Renown, Impetueux, and London, you sent me, and four from the Courageux, commanded by lieutenants volunteering their services, to be ready at nine o'clock; and placed them under the direction of lieutenant Burke, of the Renown, whose gallant conduct has so often merited your commendation. About 40 minutes past twelve they attacked her with the greatest bravery, meeting with desperate resistance, her commander having laid the hatches over to prevent her people giving way, and cheered as the boats advanced; but notwithstanding this determined opposition, she was carried in 15 minutes. I am sorry to add, lieutenant Burke has received a severe wound, but I hope not dangerous. Our loss has been as per inclosed list, the greater part occasioned by the desperate conduct of her commander, who was mortally wounded. Too much praise cannot be given to these deserving officers and men, who so gallantly supported lieutenant Burke, and towed her out with so much coolness through the fire of the enemy's batteries. I need not, sir, comment on the ability and courage of the commanding lieutenant, his former services having gained your esteem; and I have no doubt the sufferings of his wound will be alleviated by that well-known attention shown to officers who have so gallantly distinguished themselves, for which I beg leave to offer my strongest recommendation. The privateer is a very fine ship, named La Guipe, of Bourdeaux, with a flush-deck, 300 tons, pierced for 22 guns, carrying 18 nine pounders, and 161 men, commanded by Citoyen Dupan, stored and provisioned in the completest manner for four months.—She had 25 men killed, and 40 wounded.

I am, &c.
Samuel Hood.

Killed, wounded, and missing.

Lieutenant Henry Burke, of the Renown, wounded; lieutenants John Henry Holmes and James Nourse, of the Courageux, slightly wounded; three seamen and one marine killed; three officers, 12 seamen, five marines, wounded; one seaman missing.

Samuel Hood.

London Gazette, Oct. 11.

Downing-street.

The following Despatch has been this day received by the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, from Major-general Pigot, commanding his Majesty's Troops in the Island of Malta.

Malta, Sept. 6.

Sir,

Conceiving that it may be of the utmost consequence that his majesty's ministers should be acquainted, as soon as possible, with the surrender of the important fortress of La Valette, I have desired Mr. Paget to despatch a messenger to England, with a copy of my letter to general sir Ralph Abercromby on the subject, and the

articles of capitulation which are herewith sent you. We yesterday took possession of some of the works, and our ships entered the harbour, and I am in hopes the whole will be evacuated by the enemy to-morrow, except the island of Mannel, where, agreeable to the capitulation, such are to remain as cannot immediately be sent to France for want of ships to take them.

I am, &c.

H. Pigot, Major-general.

Malta, Sept. 5.

Sir,

I have great satisfaction in acquainting you with the surrender of the fortress of La Valette, with all its dependencies, after sustaining a blockade of two years. The capitulation has been signed this day. I had every reason to suppose that this most formidable fortress was likely soon to fall, from the circumstance of the two French frigates, La Justice and La Diane, going out of the harbour a few nights ago; one of which, La Diane, by the vigilance of the blockading squadron, was soon captured, and there are still some hopes that the other may have shared the same fate. Judging of how much consequence it may be, that you should have the earliest intimation of this important capture, I have delayed, till another opportunity, sending returns of the stores, &c. found in the place, which could not yet be made up. During the short time you were here, you must have been sensible of the great exertions which brigadier-general Graham must have made with the limited force he had, previous to my arrival with a reinforcement: he has ever since continued these exertions; and I consider that the surrender of the place has been accelerated by the decision of his conduct, in preventing any more inhabitants from coming out of the fortress a short time before I came here. He was sent to negociate the terms of capitulation with general Vaubois, and I am much indebted to him for his assistance in that business. I am happy to say, that I have experienced every support from brigadier-general Moncrieff, and the officers of the British and allied troops, whose conduct in every respect has been most exemplary. The service of the engineer department, under captain Gordon, has been carried on with great zeal and perseverance. I think it right to mention to you, that lieutenant Vivion, of the royal artillery, the assistant quarter-master-general, has been of considerable service. He was landed here, with his party, from the Strombolo bomb, at the commencement of the blockade; and for a long time did duty with these few men, without any other British or regular troops of any description. I have great pleasure in acknowledging the constant and ready assistance and co-operation I have received from captain Ball, of his majesty's ship the Alexander, who has been employed on shore during the greater part of the blockade: his name and services are already well known to his majesty's ministers; and I am sure I need not say more than that those he has performed here do credit to his former character. I herewith transmit you the terms of the capitulation.—I have derived

great assistance from my aid-de-camp captain Dalrymple, who has for some time been doing duty as assistant adjutant-general.

H. Pigot, Major-general.

General Sir R. Abercromby, K.B. &c.

[Here follow the articles of capitulation.]

London Gazette, Nov. 29. Admiralty Office.

Copy of a Letter from Captain Frederick Watkins, Commander of his Majesty's Ship Nereide, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated in Curaçao, 15th October.

Sir,

Be pleased to inform my lords commissioners of the admiralty that I have thought it indispensably necessary to send these despatches to England by my first officer, lieutenant Paul, to acquaint their lordships of the surrender of the valuable island of Curaçao to his majesty's frigate under my command, I beg leave to transmit duplicates of all my letters to the right honourable lord Hugh Seymour, and the articles of capitulation agreed between his excellency Johan Rudolph Lauffer and myself; as also inventories of warlike stores, shipping, &c. I hope their lordships will sanction my conduct in taking possession of this centrical and valuable island in his majesty's name.

Lieutenant Paul I cannot recommend in too strong language to their lordships, for his zealous exertions during the whole of the siege; and for any farther information he is perfectly able to describe every thing their lordships may be desirous of knowing respecting Curaçao.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Frederick Watkins.

His Majesty's Ship Nereide, off Amsterdam, Island of Curaçao, 11th of September.

My Lord,

I wish not to lose a moment in sending a fast-sailing vessel to inform your lordship, that the island of Curaçao has claimed the protection of his Britannic majesty. I have in consequence felt it my duty to take possession of it in his name.

I am now running for the harbour, as it is absolutely necessary to lose no time to save the island from the enemy, who threaten to storm the principal fort to-night; but I trust the Nereide's assistance will be the means of frustrating the enemy's views, and saving a most valuable colony for his majesty.

I compute the force of the French to be about fifteen hundred now in possession of the west part of the island, but no strong post of any consequence to prevent my holding the forts commanding Amsterdam, until I am honoured with an answer from your lordship.

There is great property afloat belonging to the Spaniards.

Lieutenant Paul will have the honour of delivering this despatch to your lordship, of whose exertions and zeal for the service I cannot speak in too strong terms.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed) F. Watkins.

The Right Hon. Lord Hugh Seymour, &c. &c. &c.

His Majesty's Ship Nereide, off Amsterdam, September 14.

My Lord,

Since sending my last despatch of the 11th instant, governor Johan Rudolph Lauffer has finally surrendered the island of Curaçao and its dependencies to his majesty's arms.

Enclosed I have the honour of transmitting to your lordship a copy of the terms of capitulation.

I have the honour to be, &c.

F. Watkins.

The Right Hon. Lord Hugh Seymour, &c. &c. &c.

Articles of Capitulation agreed between Frederick Watkins, Esq. Captain of his Britannic Majesty's Ship Nereide, now lying off the Harbour of Curaçao, and Johan Rudolph Laffer, Governor (interim) of the said Island, and its Dependencies, and Commander-in-Chief of all the armed Force of the said Island; namely, that the said Island of Curaçao, and its Dependencies shall surrender, and be placed under the immediate Protection of his Britannic Majesty, in conformity to the following Articles, viz.

Art. I. The island of Curaçao and its dependencies shall be placed under the protection of his Britannic Majesty, and shall peaceably and quietly submit to the government of his said Majesty.

Answer.—Agreed to.

Art. II. The inhabitants of this island and its dependencies shall enjoy perfect security in their persons and properties, and the full exercise of their religion, except such as shall appear to belong to the subjects of the powers now actually at war with Great Britain; such property only excepted as was on board the vessels in the harbour of the 10th instant.

Answer.—Agreed to.

Art. III. All ships and vessels of war that may be in the harbour, and all artillery, warlike stores, ammunition, &c. that may be found in the forts and public magazines, and all property, of whatsoever nature it may be, belonging to the Batavian republic, shall be delivered up to his Britannic Majesty in the state in which they now are, and officers shall be appointed on each side by the joint parties to take inventories thereof.

Answer.—Agreed to.

Art. IV. All debts due by the government of this island shall be punctually paid out of the revenue of the said island.

Answer.—Agreed to.

Art. V. No alteration shall be made in the established laws of the said island, except such as in future may be found necessary for mutual benefit or safety, and which must be regulated by the concurrence of both parties.

Answer.—Agreed to.

Art. VI. During the time this island may remain under the protection of his Britannic Majesty, or, in case this island and its dependencies should, at the conclusion of the war, remain in the possession of Great Britain, the inhabitants of the said island and its dependencies shall enjoy the same rights and privileges as his Majesty's subjects in the West Indies.

Answer.—Agreed to.

Art. VII. The laws heretofore observed, respecting property, shall remain in full force.

Private.—As it is impossible for the inhabitants of the said island and its dependencies to subsist without a free intercourse with the Spanish main, the ports of Curaçao and its dependencies shall be open to all Spanish vessels.

Answer.—Agreed to be allowed the same free trade as the island of Jamaica.

Signed, sealed, and ratified, in the presence of Cornelius Spencer and E. A. Van Eck, on the part of Johan Rudolph Lauffer; and in the presence of John Lewis March, on the part of Frederick Watkins; at the port of Amsterdam, in the island of Curaçao, this 13th of September, 1800.

(Signed) Joh. Rud. Lauffer.
Fred. Watkins.
W. Ridley, sec.

Here follows also a list of the existing guns, ammunition, &c. delivered in some months ago, and which were really existing before the present siege, viz. two brass 24-pounders and two brass 18 pounders, with four defective, five iron 24-pounders, ninety-eight iron 18-pounders, forty-six 12-pounders, forty-four 8-pounders, twenty-four 6-pounders, two 4-pounders, twenty 3-pounders, and two 2-pounders, besides thirty-eight of different calibre defective. On the batteries, not including Fort Piscadera, Fort St. Michael, the Hill St. Michael, and False Bay, five 24-pounders, sixty-three 18-pounders, many of their ships' guns, twenty-eight 12-pounders, twenty-six 8-pounders, and twenty-seven of less calibre; upwards of 26,000lbs. of powder, besides a powder magazine at the Creek-Battery, and a variety of other stores.

His Majesty's Ship Nereide, Curaçao Harbour, 23d September.

My Lord,

I have now the satisfaction to inform your lordship that the English colours are flying in this island, and that I have entered this harbour in consequence of the total evacution of the French forces last night. I am now arranging affairs in such a manner as to tranquillize the minds of the inhabitants, and restore perfect peace in the name of his majesty in this valuable island. I have been received with great faith, and will do my utmost in establishing the security of the principal fortress till I receive your lordship's answer for my farther conduct. Enclosed I have the honour of transmitting to you an inventory of warlike stores, ammunition, &c. in the garrison, except those lately in possession of the enemy, which I have not yet received the regular returns of, but have given the necessary orders. It was my intention to have sent any farther despatch to your lordship by the remaining lieutenant, Mr. James Hodgson; but, as I do not exactly conceive myself in a perfect state of safety, without having perfect possession of the principal fortress which commands the town, I have appointed him, with a party of my own men, to that command; his zeal, bravery, and universal steady conduct in any service he

is ordered on, makes my mind perfectly easy in doing so; he has been of the utmost service in a new-erected battery in annoying the enemy, and indeed may be considered the principal cause of their retreat. Lieutenant Fitton, commanding the Active tender, I have much pleasure in recommending to your lordship's notice, from his active and spirited conduct since he has joined me. From him, my lord, you will receive material information, as to all situations of the island and its valuable harbour.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed) F. Watkins.

The Right Hon. Lord Hugh Seymour, &c. &c.

Here follows a list of the vessels lying in the harbour of Curaçao, 44 in number; consisting of 8 Dutch, 8 Danes, 7 American, 11 French, 7 Spanish, and 3 English prize ships.

Articles of Capitulation agreed upon between General Vaubois, Commander-in-Chief of the Isles of Malta and of Goza, and Rear-Admiral Villeneuve, commanding the Navy at Malta, on the one part, and Major-General Pigot, Commander of the Troops of his Britannic Majesty and his Allies, and Captain Martin, commanding the Ships of his Britannic Majesty, and his Allies, before Malta, of the other part.

Art. I. The garrison of Malta, and of the forts depending upon it, shall march out to be embarked and carried to Marseilles, at the day and time agreed upon, with all the honours of war; that is to say, drums beating, colours flying, matches lighted, and two four-pounders before them, with their covered waggon, and a covered waggon of infantry. The civil and military officers of the navy, and every thing relative to that department, shall be also carried to the port of Toulon.

Answer.—The garrison shall receive the honours of war required; but as it is impossible that they should all be embarked immediately, the following arrangement shall be resorted to instead. As soon as the capitulation shall be signed, the forts Ricasoli and Tigni shall be delivered up to the troops of his Britannic Majesty, and the ships shall be suffered to enter the port. The national gate shall be occupied by a guard composed of French and English in equal numbers, until the ships shall be ready to receive the first embarkation: the whole garrison shall then march out with the honours of war, to the ships, where they shall lay down their arms.—Those who cannot form part of the first embarkation, shall occupy the isle and the fort Manuel, having an armed guard over them, to prevent them from escaping into the adjoining country. The garrison shall be considered as prisoners of war, and are not to serve against his Britannic Majesty until they shall be exchanged, for which the officers respectively shall give their parole. All the artillery, the ammunition, and public magazines, of whatever kind, shall be given up to officers appointed for that purpose, as well as public papers.

II. The general of brigade Chanez, commander of the place and the forts, the general of brigade d'Hennezel, commander of artillery and engineers; the officers, inferior officers, and soldiers, by land; the officers, crews, and men, employed in the navy; citizen Pierre Alphonso Guys, commissary-general of commercial connections with the French republic in Syria and Palestine, now at Malta by accident, the civil and military agents, ordinaries, and commissaries of war and navy, civil administrators, members of any of the constituted authorities, shall carry off their arms, their personal property, and their other effects of every kind.

Answer.—Granted, with the exception of the arms laid down by the soldiers, in conformity with what is provided by the first article.

III. All persons of every country, who have borne arms for the republic, during the siege, shall be considered as part of the garrison.

Answer.—Granted.

IV. The division shall be embarked at the expense of his Britannic Majesty. Every officer or person employed shall in the passage receive the same rations as are by the laws and regulations of the French allotted to them. The officers who are members of the civil administrations shall be put on the same footing, both with respect to themselves and family, as military men of correspondent rank.

Answer.—Granted, in conformity with the customs of the English navy, which allot the same ration to all ranks and conditions whatever.

V. The necessary number of waggons and sloops shall be provided, in order to transport and to remove on board ship the private property of the generals, their aide-de-camps, the ordinaries and commissaries, chiefs of corps, officers civil and military, &c. Their property and their papers shall not be subject to any search or inspection, upon the promise of the generals stipulating that there shall be no public property among them.

Answer.—Granted.

VI. Some vessels belonging to the republic, able to keep the sea, shall depart at the same time with the division, to go to a part of France, after being provided with the necessary provisions.

Answer —Refused.

VII. The sick who are able to be transported shall be embarked with the division, and provided with provisions, medicines, surgeon's chests, and officers of health necessary for their care during the passage. Those who are not able to be transported shall be treated with the necessary care; the general-in-chief leaving at Malta a physician and a surgeon in the service of France, who shall attend to them. They shall be furnished with lodgings gratis, if they come out of the hospital, and they shall be sent to France as soon as their situation will permit, with all that belongs to them; and in the same manner as the garrison. The generals-in-chief of the sea and land forces evacuating Malta, intrust then, to the honour and humanity of the English general.

Answer.—Granted.

VIII. Every individual, of whatever nation, inhabiting the island of Malta, or the others, shall

neither be troubled, nor disturbed, nor molested, on account of their political opinions, nor for any part of their conduct during the time that Malta has been in the power of the French government.—This article applies principally, and in its full extent, to those who have taken arms, or have filled civil, administrative, or military employments. They shall not be called to an account for any thing, much less prosecuted for acts of their commission.

Answer.—This article does not appear capable of being made the object of a military capitulation; but all the inhabitants who shall desire to remain, may be assured of being treated with justice and humanity, and shall enjoy the full protection of the laws.

IX. The French who inhabit Malta, and all the Maltese, of whatever state they may be, who wish to follow the French army, and to go into France with their property, shall be at liberty to do so. Those who have moveables or immoveables, which cannot be immediately sold, and who may have the intention of going to reside in France, shall be allowed six months from the date of the signing of the present capitulation, to sell their landed or moveable property. These proprietors shall be respected. They shall act for themselves, if they remain, or by their authorized agent, if they follow the division. When they shall have finished their affairs in the time agreed on, they shall be furnished with transports to go to France, transporting, or causing to be transported, the moveables which may remain to them, as well as their capitals in money or bills of exchange, according as it may so happen.

Answer.—Granted, in the sense of the reply to the preceding article.

X. As soon as the capitulation is signed, the English general shall leave entirely to the disposition of the general commanding the French troops, to cause a felucca to depart, with the necessary equipage, and an officer charged to carry the capitulation to the French government. The necessary safe conduct shall be granted to him.

Answer.—Granted.

XI. The articles of the capitulation being signed, there shall be given up to the English general the forts called *des Bombes*, which shall be occupied by an equal guard of English and French troops. It shall be consigned to this guard not to suffer to pass into the city, either any soldiers of the besieging troops, or any inhabitants of the islands, till the French troops shall be embarked, and out of sight of the port. In proportion as the embarkation goes on, the English troops shall occupy the posts by which the places may be entered. The English general will perceive that these precautions are indispensable, that no dispute may arise on the subject, and that the articles of the capitulation may be religiously observed.

Answer.—Granted, conformably to what is provided by the reply to the first article; and all precautions shall be taken to prevent the Maltese troops from approaching the posts occupied by the French troops.

XII. All alienations or sales of

moveables or immoveables by the French government, during the time it has remained in possession of Malta, and all transactions between individuals, shall remain inviolable.

Answer.—Granted, so far as they shall be just and lawful.

XIII. The agents of the allied powers, who shall be in Valetta after the surrender of the place, shall not be disturbed in any thing, and their persons and property shall be secured by the present capitulation.

Answer.—Granted.

XIV. All ships coming from France, whether of war or of commerce, which shall enter this port, shall not be considered as prizes, nor the crews made prisoners, for the first twenty days after the date of this capitulation, but they shall be sent back to France.

Answer.—Refused.

XV. The commander-in-chief and the other generals, shall be embarked with their aides-de-camp, and the officers attached to their suite, without being separated.

Answer.—Granted.

XVI. The prisoners made during the siege, including the crews of the William Tell and the Diana, shall be considered as part of the garrison; and the same regulation to extend to the crew of la Justice, if she should be taken before she reaches any of the ports of the republic.

Answer.—The crew of the William Tell is already exchanged, and that of the Diana will be taken to Minorca, in order to be exchanged immediately.

XVII. All the property which belongs to the republic shall not be subject to reprisal of any sort, under any pretext whatsoever.

Answer.—Granted.

XVIII. If any difficulty shall arise upon the conditions of this capitulation, they shall be interpreted in the most favourable manner for the garrison.

Answer.—Granted, according to justice.

Executed at Malta on the 5th September, 1800.

(Signed)

Vaubois, general of division.
Rear-admiral Villeneuve.
Pigot, Major-general.
Captain Martin, commander of the ships of his Britannic Majesty and those of his Allies, before Malta.

Trial of James Hadfield for High Treason, Court of King's Bench, June 26, 1800.

Present,—Lord Kenyon, Chief Justice; Mr. Justice Grose, Mr. Justice Lawrence, Mr. Justice Le Blanc.

Counsel for the Crown. The Attorney and Solicitor General, Mr. Law, Mr. Garrow, Mr. Wood, and Mr. Abbott.

Counsel for the Prisoner. The Hon. Thomas Erskine, Mr. Serjeant Best, and Mr. Knapp.

The Jury were charged with the prisoner in the usual form, the Indictment was opened by Mr. Abbott, and the Jury were afterwards addressed by the Attorney-General.

Evidence for the Crown.

Mr. Joseph Calkin deposed, that he belonged to the musical

band at Drury Lane Theatre, and was there on the evening of the 13th of May. He was seated at the lower end of the orchestra, with his back to the stage, and his face towards the audience. At the moment when his Majesty entered his box, Mr. Calkin saw the prisoner above the rest of the audience, with a pistol in his hand, pointed towards his Majesty's box, the pistol was at the same instant discharged and dropped. Every body in the pit rushed forward to secure the prisoner. Mr. Calkin assisted in pulling him over the orchestra, and saw him taken into the musicians' room under the stage, whither the Duke of York and Mr. Sheridan came down to examine him. Heard the prisoner say to the Duke, "God bless your Royal Highness, I like you very well, you are a good fellow; but this is not the worst that is brewing, you need not be surprised at this, it is not the worst;" or words to that effect.

Mr. John Holroyd deposed, that he was in the pit of Drury Lane Theatre on the 13th of May, he was seated next to the prisoner, but did not observe any peculiarity in his manner or conduct, prior to the appearance of his Majesty. At that moment the witness's attention was directed towards the Royal box, he was startled by seeing a pistol presented and discharged immediately before his face, pointed towards the King. He instantly turned and struck the prisoner, who had dropped the pistol, and assisted in securing him, and dragging him over the orchestra.

Mr. Jeremiah Parkinson, Major Wright, Miss Elizabeth Ormiston, David Moses Dyte, and Mr. John Francis Wood, severally made depositions almost exactly resembling those already detailed.

The Duke of York was then called. When his Royal Highness appeared on the Judge's bench, the prisoner, who had previously shewn not the least emotion, but surveyed with a sort of a vacant stare the objects around him, started up and said, "God Almighty bless his good soul, I love him dearly."

Duke of York. I was at Drury Lane Theatre on the evening of Thursday, the 13th of May. I cannot speak positively to having seen the prisoner in the House, but I followed him out, and saw him in the music-room immediately after the discharge of the pistol; the moment I came in, he said, "Ah God bless your Royal Highness, you are the Duke of York. I served under you." I remarked to the gentleman who was with me, "I am sure I know that man's face." I then said to the prisoner, "Have not you been one of my orderlies?" He answered in the affirmative, and stated, that he had attended me the day after the battle of Freymar. His answers were given with perfect collection and presence of mind; once or twice he remarked, that he knew that his life was forfeited, that he was tired of life, and regretted nothing but the fate of his wife, who would be a wife but a few days longer; more than once he repeated, "this is not the worst," or "the worst has not happened yet." I conversed with him nearly three quarters of an hour, during which time he appeared perfectly calm and

collected, and there was not the slightest indication of derangement either in his language or manner. After his Majesty was gone, I remained to see the House searched. A hole was found at the corner of the Box, about fourteen inches above his Majesty's head, and a slug was found in the orchestra, which appeared to have been recently fired; there was a smell of powder about it.

His Royal Highness was cross-examined by Mr. Erskine, but only repeated his former deposition To a question from Mr. Law, as to whether the prisoner betrayed any disturbance of mind during his conversation with his Royal Highness, the Duke answered "No, that he was to all outward appearance perfectly cool and collected."

Mr. Joseph Richardson was then examined. His deposition differed in no material respect from those of the preceding witnesses, but he seemed to have a more accurate recollection of the words made use of by the prisoner in the Theatre after the attempt. He stated, that when the Duke of York, Mr. Sheridan, himself, and some other gentlemen, had seated themselves with pen, ink and paper, and all the formalities of such business, to question the prisoner, he addressed them in the following manner:—"Gentlemen, do not give yourselves all this trouble; use me well, and I will tell you the whole truth. I am a man tired of life; my plan is not to take away my own life, I sought, therefore, to get rid of it by other means; I did not mean to take away the life of the King, but I thought this attempt would answer my purpose as well."

Several persons, acquainted with the prisoner, were now examined, but their depositions contained nothing remarkable.

Mr. Law then stated that the case for the prosecution was closed, and Mr. Erskine rose for the Defence.

He began by stating to the Jury, that the transaction, on the merits of which they were now assembled to decide, as it stood in the evidence already recorded before them placed our country, its government, and its inhabitants, upon the highest pinnacle of human elevation.

"It appears," he continued, "that upon the 13th day of May last, his Majesty, after a reign of forty years, not merely in sovereign *power*, but spontaneously in the very hearts of his people, was openly shot at in a public Theatre, in the very centre of his Capital, and amidst the loyal plaudits of his subjects, YET NOT A HAIR OF THE HEAD OF THE SUPPOSED ASSASSIN WAS TOUCHED. In this unparalleled scene of calm forbearance, the King himself, though he stood first in personal interest and feeling, as well as in command, was a singular and fortunate example. The least appearance of emotion on the part of that august personage, must unavoidably have produced a scene quite different, and far less honourable than that which the Court is now witnessing; but his Majesty remained unmoved, and the offending person was only secured, without injury or reproach from the business of this day. Had the same pistol been mali-

ciously fired by the prisoner in the same Theatre, at the meanest man within its walls, he would have been brought to *immediate* trial, and if guilty, to immediate execution. He would have heard the charge against him, for the first time, when the indictment was read upon his arraignment. He would have been a stranger to the names, and even to the existence of those who were to sit in judgment upon him, and of those who were to bear witness against him; but upon the charge of even this *murderous* attack upon the King himself, he is covered all over with the armour of the law. He has been provided with counsel by the King's own judges, and not of *their* choosing, but his own. He has had a copy of the indictment ten days before his trial. He has had the names, descriptions and abodes, of all the Jurors returned to the Court; and the highest privilege of peremptory challenges derived from, and safely directed by that indulgence. He has had the same description of every witness who could be received to accuse him; and there must at this hour, be *twice* the testimony against him as would be legally competent to establish his guilt, on a similar prosecution by the meanest and most helpless of mankind.

Gentlemen, when this melancholy catastrophe happened, and the prisoner was arraigned for trial, I remember to have said to some now present, that it was, at first view, difficult to bring those indulgent exceptions to the general rules of trial, within the principle which dictated them to our humane ancestors in cases of Treason against the political Government, or of *rebellious* conspiracy against the person of the King. In *these* cases, the passions and interests of great bodies of powerful men being engaged and agitated, a counterpoise became necessary to give composure and impartiality to criminal tribunals; but a *mere murderous* attack upon the King's person, not at all connected with his political character, seemed a case to be ranged and dealt with like a similar attack upon any private man.

But the wisdom of the law is greater than *any* man's wisdom; how much more, therefore, than mine. An attack upon the King is considered to be parricide against the State, and the Jury and the witnesses, and even the Judges, are the children. It is fit on that account, that there should be a solemn pause before we rush to judgment: and what can be a more sublime spectacle of justice, than to see a statutable disqualification of a whole nation for a limited period,—a fifteen days *quarantine* before trial, lest the mind should be subject to the contagion of partial affections! *

From a prisoner so protected by the benevolence of our institutions, the utmost good faith would on his part be due to the public, if he had consciousness and reason to reflect upon the obligation. The duty, therefore, devolves on *me*, and, *upon my honour*, it shall be fulfilled. I will employ no artifices of speech, I claim only the

* In cases of High Treason, there must be an interval of fifteen days between arraignment and trial.

strictest protection of the law for the unhappy man before you. I should, indeed, be ashamed, if I were to say any thing of the rule *in the abstract* by which he is to be judged, which I did not honestly feel; and I am sorry, therefore, that the subject is so difficult to handle with brevity and precision. Indeed, if it could be brought to a clear and simple criterion, which would admit of a dry admission or contradiction, there might be very little difference, *perhaps none at all*, between the Attorney General and myself, upon the principles which ought to govern your verdict; but this is not possible, and I am, therefore, under the necessity of submitting to you, and to the Judges for their direction, (and at greater length than I wish,) how I understand this difficult and momentous subject.

The learned gentleman then commenced an elaborate and highly interesting disquisition upon the nature of insanity itself, its various modifications and degrees, and the application of the law to the disorders which it may produce. He quoted the authorities of Sir Joseph Jekyll, Lord Coke, and Lord Hale, and argued at great length on the cases of Mr. Greenwood, Lord Ferrers, Arnold who shot at Lord Onslow, Oliver the murderer of Mr. Wood, of Staffordshire, and the unhappy woman who was tried for the murder of Mr. Errington, who had seduced and abandoned her and the children she had borne to him. In speaking of the apparent coherence and intelligence to the prisoner's answers when examined immediately after the treasonous attempt, and in his conversation with the Duke of York, Mr. Erskine took occasion to remark upon the impossibility of detecting madness in some instances, without a previous knowledge of the particular points relative to which the mind is under delusion, in illustration of which, he related the two following curious circumstances: "I well remember," said he, "indeed I never can forget it, that since this noble and learned Judge has presided in this Court, I examined, for the greater part of a day, in this very place, an unfortunate gentleman, who had indicted a most affectionate brother, together with the keeper of a madhouse at Hoxton, for having imprisoned him as a lunatic; whilst, according to his evidence, he was in his perfect senses. I was unluckily not instructed in what his lunacy consisted, although my instructions left me no doubt of the fact; but not having the clue, he completely foiled me in every attempt to expose his infirmity. You may believe that I left no means untried which long experience suggested, but without the smallest effect. The day was wasted, and the prosecutor, by the most affecting history of unmerited suffering, appeared to the Judge and Jury, and to a humane English audience, as the victim of the most wanton and barbarous oppression. At last Dr. Sims came into Court, and from him I soon learned that the man whom I had been for hours examining, and with every possible effort which Counsel are in the habit of exerting, believed himself to be *the Lord and Saviour of mankind*, not merely *at the time of his confinement*, which was alone

necessary for my defence; *but during the whole time that he had been triumphing over every attempt to surprise him in the concealment of his disease.* I then affected to lament the indecency of my ignorant examination, when he expressed his forgiveness, and said with the utmost emphasis and gravity, in the face of the whole Court, 'I AM THE CHRIST,' and so the cause ended." A similar case which occurred to Lord Mansfield, and was related to me by that great man himself, is too remarkable to be omitted. "A man of the name of Wood," said Lord Mansfield, "had indicted Dr. Monro, for keeping him as a prisoner when he was sane. He underwent the most severe examination by the defendant's counsel without exposing his complaint; but Dr. Battye having come upon the Bench by me, and having desired me to ask him what was become of the PRINCESS with whom he had corresponded in cherry-juice, he showed in a moment what he was, and answered, that there was no occasion to ask that question, as every one knew that she came in a boat to the foot of the high Tower in which he was imprisoned, round which flowed a river, and that being debarred the use of ink, he corresponded with her by means of cherry-juice, and threw his letters into the river, whence she collected them in her boat. "I immediately," continued Lord Mansfield, "directed Dr. Monro to be acquitted; but this man Wood, being a merchant in Philpot Lane, and having been carried through the City in his way to the madhouse, he indicted Dr. Monro over again for the trespass and imprisonment *in London,* knowing that he had lost the cause at Westminster by speaking of the Princess; and such, said Lord Mansfield, is the extraordinary subtlety and cunning of madmen, all the ingenuity of the bar, and all the authority of the Court, could not make him say a single syllable upon that topic, which had put an end to the indictment before, although he had the same indelible impression on his mind, as he signified to those who were near him, but conscious that the delusion had occasioned his defeat at Westminster, he obstinately persisted in holding it back."

Mr. Erskine then proceeded to found several arguments upon the above cases, and then commenced a circumstantial statement of the insanity of the prisoner, and of the injuries by which it was occasioned. "About five miles from Lisle," he continued, "upon the attack made on the British army, this unfortunate soldier was in the 15th Light Dragoons, in the thickest of the engagement, exposing his life for his Prince, whom he is supposed to day to have sought to murder: the first wound which he received is most materially connected with the subject we are now discussing: you may see the effects of it now.* The point of a sword was impelled against him with all the force of a man urging his horse in battle. The second stroke also speaks for itself, you

* Mr. Erskine here pointed to the scars on the head and face of the prisoner, who stood by him at the Bar of the Court.

may now observe its effects. He was cut across all the nerves which give sensibility and animation to the human body, and his head hung down almost dissevered, until by an act of surgery, it was placed in the position in which you see it now: yet he still kept his place, when by another sword he was cut into the very brain, his helmet having been thrown off by the blow, which I secondly described. You may now see the membrane of the brain uncovered. But this is not all. Another blow was still aimed at him, which he held up his arm to avoid, when his hand was cut through to the bone, and to end all farther description, he was then thrust almost through and through the body with a bayonet, and left in a ditch among the slain, whence he was carried to an hospital. He was affected from the beginning, with that species of madness which fills the mind with the wildest and most inconceivable imaginations, and upon his return to England was discharged from the army upon this very account. The learned gentleman then went on to comment upon the evidence adduced against the prisoner, and also on that which would be given to prove the fact of his insanity, and concluded his speech, which was of extraordinary length, replete with acute reasoning and logical argument, and abounding in passages of the most impressive eloquence, with an address to the Jury.

The evidence for the Defence was then called.

Major Edward Michael Ryan, of the 15th Light Dragoons, deposed to the circumstances of the action near Lisle, the wounds of the prisoner and his consequent derangement.

Hector Macgill, a comrade of the prisoner's, made a deposition to the same effect as that of Major Ryan; but he spoke more particularly as to the derangement of the prisoner, having narrowly escaped losing his own life during a paroxysm of his insane fury.

Mr. Cline, the celebrated surgeon, deposed, as to the nature of the wounds received by the prisoner which, at the request of Mr. Erskine, he had examined since his attempt upon the life of his Majesty. He gave it as his opinion, that one of the two cuts upon the head must have penetrated to the brain, the certain consequence of which would be either permanent or occasional insanity.

Dr. Creighton, who had conversed with the prisoner, with a view to ascertain whether his derangement was real or assumed, deposed, that this conversation produced conviction upon his mind that the prisoner was mad, although, until he talked with him upon religious subjects, his answers were perfectly rational, clear and collected.

Captain Wilson, of the 15th Light Dragoons, gave the prisoner a most excellent character, and expressly stated, that previous to his wounds, if a man had been to be selected from the regiment for bravery, loyalty and zeal, Hadfield would have been one of the first fixed upon.

David Hadfield, brother to the prisoner, was then examined. His evidence proved his insanity upon religious subjects, and although

most strictly and acutely cross-examined by Mr. Garrow, nothing contradictory to this fact was drawn from him.

Mary Gore, sister to Hadfield's wife, was examined at great length, and her evidence was completely conclusive as to the deranged state of mind of the prisoner at the time he made the treasonable attempt. The attack commenced on the preceding Sunday, when he spoke in the most blasphemous and horrible manner of the Almighty, our Saviour, and the Virgin Mary. On the following Tuesday he became still more outrageous, and between one and two o'clock on the Wednesday morning, he jumped suddenly out of bed, with the avowed intention of murdering his own child, an infant to whom he had always shewn the greatest affection; but its mother, the witness and her husband, succeeded in preventing the execution of this intention. All Wednesday he continued talking in the same incoherent and blasphemous manner. Upon the Thursday morning, he said he had seen God in the night, and had been to dinner with the King; between three and four in the afternoon he had tea, and dressed himself and went out.

Catherine Harrison, another sister to Hadfield's wife, confirmed the evidence of the above witness in every particular. Several other witnesses were then called, when Lord Kenyon inquired of Mr. Erskine if his evidence was nearly finished, Mr. Erskine replied, that there were twenty more witnesses to examine. His Lordship then asked the Attorney-General if he had any evidence to produce which would tend to invalidate that for the defence.

Lord Kenyon professed his own entire conviction of the insanity of the prisoner at the time the offence was committed, and he threw it out for the discretion of the Attorney-General, and that of the gentleman who assisted him, whether it was necessary to proceed farther, if they had no hopes of proving the evidence for the defence to be so coloured and managed as to give a false complexion to the real transaction.

The Attorney-General confessed that he had no reason for such a suspicion, on the contrary, he had admitted that the prisoner was discharged from the army on account of insanity. The evidence which had proved the continuance of that insanity was wholly new to him, and he perfectly agreed with his Lordship as to the propriety of stopping the present proceeding.

It was then agreed upon by Lord Kenyon, Mr. Justice Grose, and the Counsel on both sides, that the unfortunate man should be remanded to confinement until some proper Asylum should be provided for him; and the Jury were directed to give their verdict accordingly, which was done in the following terms:—

Foreman of the Jury.—We find the Prisoner is Not Guilty, he being under the influence of insanity at the time the act was committed.

This case gave rise to the two statutes of 40 Geo. III. chapters 93 and 94, by virtue of the latter of which (for the safe custody of insane persons charged with offences,) Hadfield was continued in custody.

Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Expense of and Mode of obtaining Bills of Enclosure.

The select Committee appointed to consider of the most effectual means of facilitating, under the authority of Parliament, the enclosure and improvement of the waste, unenclosed, and unproductive lands, commons, common arable fields, common meadows, and common of pasture in this kingdom, and to report the same, with their opinion thereupon, to the House;—have, pursuant to the order of the House, considered the matter to them referred, and agreed upon the following report:

Your Committee in considering the subject referred to them, have principally had in view the impediments to enclosures under the authority of Parliament, arising from the expenses incurred in such procedure; and have consequently endeavoured to trace the nature and amount of those expenses, as far as the various and complicated circumstances attending them would admit, through the several stages of the transaction; the result of which they shall, in the first place, proceed to lay before the House.

Your Committee find that a meeting is frequently convened, by public advertisement, for the purpose of considering the propriety of applying to Parliament for an intended enclosure, at which it sometimes happens, that persons not interested in the business attend; and that the expenses of such meetings, usually held at some Inn, as well as that of the advertisement, are often charged in the solicitor's bill.

A petition to Parliament is then prepared, the expense attending which rarely exceeds the sum of two guineas.

Notices of the intended application are then, in pursuance of the standing orders of this House, to be affixed to the church-door of each parish in which the lands to be enclosed are situated, for three Sundays in the months of August or September, the expense of which naturally varies according to the number of parishes, and the distance of the churches from the residence of the solicitor or agent concerned; it being usual for only one person, if possible, to be employed for this purpose, in consequence of the necessity of his attending afterwards in town, to prove the fact before the Committee on the petition. The charge in general appears to be from one to three guineas for each parish.

The draft of the bill itself is either copied by the solicitor in the country from some former act, as far as circumstances will admit, or prepared originally by the Parliamentary solicitor; in both which cases it is obvious that a number of similar clauses, either required by the orders of the House, or authorized by general practice, are constantly inserted. The proportion of these general clauses to the provisions of a local and peculiar nature cannot be precisely ascertained; but your Committee have reason to suppose that they may, in some instances, amount to two-thirds, and in others not to more than two-fifths of the whole. The expense of preparing and copying this draft, being charged by the sheet, must depend upon the length of it, which must in all

cases be increased by these general clauses.

The practice of the legislature requiring proof of the consent of a certain number of the parties interested, by their actually signing the bill, it is necessary to employ a proper person, and sometimes more than one, to procure this, and afterwards to attend in London to prove it before the Committees of both Houses. As it is occasionally necessary to travel to a considerable distance, and into different parts of the kingdom, for this purpose, the expense attending it is in such cases considerable; and in one instance it appears to have amounted to between seventy and eighty pounds, to procure the consent of one individual. It is also stated to your Committee, that the great number of consents supposed to be necessary, according to the present practice of Parliament, whether three-fourths, according to the idea of some, or four-fifths, according to those of others (for there is no fixed rule,) is a great bar to enclosure. Your Committee are thence led to submit it to the wisdom of the House, whether it may not be expedient in future to allow the proof of a less number of consents, provided they amount to a decided preponderance, to be sufficient for obtaining a bill.

The bill having been brought in, read a first and second time, and committed, it is necessary to bring witnesses to town, to prove that the orders of the House have been complied with in the foregoing particulars, and to verify the allegations in the preamble. All this is attended with different degrees of expense, according to the number of persons employed, the distance of their residence from the metropolis, and the accidental delays which may retard the progress of the bill to the House of Peers; when the same persons must again attend to be sworn at the bar of the House, and afterwards examined before the Committee. In cases where the bill meets with opposition, this must necessarily be considerable; and in all it is sufficient to deserve attention.

The subsequent progress of the bill through Parliament is subject to the payment of the several fees, particularly specified in the table annexed to this report. The amount of these, it is evident, must vary according to the size of the bill, the number of interests affected by it, and the opposition it may happen to meet with. The length of the bill chiefly operates as an increase to the expense in this stage of the proceeding, by the additional charge of engrossing and printing. The only other incidental expense, not yet noticed in this part of the transaction, is that of a town or parliamentary solicitor, usually some person whose experience in such business, and acquaintance with the forms of Parliament, render his assistance particularly desirable; and that of a country solicitor, whose local knowledge, and immediate connection with the parties interested, in many cases make his attendance also material. The charge of the former, for his whole service, is usually twenty guineas; but in controverted, or any complicated cases, considerably more; that of the latter is subject to necessary variations, according to the length of attendance and other circum-

stances, but must in most cases be considerable.

When the bill has received the sanction of the legislature, the usual mode of carrying it into effect, through the intervention of commissioners, gives rise to charges and expenses of a different nature. The necessity of peculiar qualifications, as well as a reputation for experience and integrity, in persons employed for this purpose, has usually confined the choice of them within no very enlarged limits; and the expediency of despatch, without the additional expense of multiplied litigation, has suggested the necessity of investing them with a summary, and in most cases uncontrollable jurisdiction; unless where any flagrant instance of misbehaviour, of which no instance has been stated to your Committee, might subject them to the animadversion of a criminal court. This latitude of confidence, however necessary for some of their functions, may in some cases lead to abuse, particularly in the charges which may be occasioned by neglect in not proceeding regularly, and with as little interruption as possible, in the despatch of the business intrusted to them.

Your Committee find that it is usual to appoint three commissioners, the attendance of two of whom is requisite to give effect to their acts; and that the sum allowed to each for his trouble and expense is generally about two guineas for each day of necessary attendance, exclusive of charges for his journey, in some cases not only from their residence to the place of meeting, but from considerable distances, to which their other avocations may have carried them.

It appears to have been the practice of late years for the commissioners to appoint a clerk to draw up the minutes of their proceedings, which he may thus be prepared to authenticate in case of litigation, to which the commissioners themselves are a party, and to assist them with his advice in legal questions. The county solicitor employed to prepare the bill is generally appointed the clerk, which seems now to be recognized by the late standing orders of the House, requiring books of account in all cases to be left at his office. It appears to your Committee, that the clerk receives, in general, emoluments equal to the commissioners, besides his legal perquisites for business done as a solicitor, for which his charges are separately made. The expenses incurred, both on his account, and that of the commissioners, for attending at the regular meetings, necessarily depend on the number of such meetings: but it has been stated to your Committee, that these are sometimes rendered more frequent than is necessary by the practice of the same commissions transacting the business of two enclosures on the same day, which must necessarily interfere with the dispatch of one or both of them; that meetings are sometimes held, at which little or nothing is done, and that charges are sometimes made for the attendance of all the commissioners where one or more may not actually have been present, though they may afterwards have signed the minutes of the proceedings.

Acts of enclosure commonly require a survey to be made either by the commissioners, or by some persons employed by them, and a map to be prepared from it: both which are generally done by a surveyor specially appointed for the purpose, who also frequently makes all the calculations for the commissioners, and stakes out the several allotments; for all which the charge made is one shilling and sixpence per acre, besides a guinea and a half per day for attending the commissioners, and an allowance for making a reduced plan. It also appears to your Committee, that the clause in the act above-mentioned, is usually construed so literally, that a fresh survey and map are often ordered, though there may have been one of each in existence fully or nearly adequate to the purpose; and that in some counties a practice has prevailed of employing two surveyors, one to take a general, the other a particular survey. In some instances another description of persons is appointed by the act, called quality men, whose business it is to value the land.

Other expenses incidental to an enclosure are the setting out, forming, and putting in repair the necessary roads, and fencing the several allotments, according to the direction of the commissioners. The former being kept for a certain time under their particular control, are often, in consequence, the occasion of delaying the execution of the award to a much later period than would otherwise be necessary. The expenses of the latter, particularly the public fencing, have in some instances been very considerable.

The last procedure of the commissioners is the making and enrolling their award, which is required by the several acts to be written on parchment, and of which one copy is sometimes required to be deposited in the parish church. This being subject to considerable stamp duties, and often of great length, is consequently attended with a proportionable expense. Your Committee find, however, that it has been the practice of late years to reduce the size of the award as much as possible, by omitting the recital of the principal clauses of the act, and the proceedings of the commissioners, formerly inserted, and by referring to schedules annexed. Yet, even under these restrictions, it has been stated to your Committee, that they have sometimes extended to the length of sixty-seven skins of parchment.

The last possible proceeding provided by the act, is the appeal given to the quarter sessions against such acts of the commissioners as are not thereby declared to be final and conclusive, and particularly against the rates they are empowered to make for the payment of the expenses. The delay and expenses attending this part of the proceeding must of course be casual and uncertain.

Your Committee having thus laid before the House the several charges incidental to the present mode of procuring and carrying into effect bills of enclosure, proceed, in the next place, to state such observations as have occurred to them in the course of the inquiry; and to suggest such alterations as may, in their opinion, by diminishing those charges, tend to

facilitate the enclosure and improvement of the wastes, commons, common fields, and other unproductive lands of the kingdom.

The first head of expenses which appears to them capable of retrenchment, is that which arises from the practice of proving by parole evidence the requisite notices, the consents to the bill, and the allegations of the preamble. If the wisdom of Parliament should see fit, for the sake of facilitating the means of general improvement, to depart in this respect from their accustomed usages, your Committee conceive that it might be provided by an act to be passed for that purpose, that affidavits of the truth of these facts might be taken, under the penalties of perjury, before one or more neighbouring justices of the peace; which being properly authenticated by them, might be admitted as sufficient *prima facie* evidence before both Houses, without precluding either, if circumstances should appear to require it, from adopting the present mode of investigation by *viva voce* testimony. Your Committee apprehend that forms of such affidavits, adapted to the several objects which they might be designed to prove, may be annexed to the act, so as to enable not only the agents to substantiate the facts within their knowledge, but distant proprietors, at the same time that they signify their assent, to authenticate their having done so.

The form of the bill itself necessarily comprising, as before stated, many provisions of a general nature, has next attracted the attention of your Committee; and they are of opinion that it would tend much to reduce the expense both of drawing and copying the bill, and of printing and engrossing it, if all such clauses as should appear from the general practice to be necessary and usual in all bills of enclosure were to be incorporated in one general act, and be thereby declared to be applicable (*mutatis mutandis*) to all future enclosures to be made under the authority of Parliament, as to all such matters as should not be otherwise specially provided for by the particular bill.

The next general object that has occurred to your Committee is the charges of the solicitor, whether acting as such, in the necessary conduct of the bill through Parliament, or, after it has passed, in the additional capacity of clerk to the commissioners. Should the alterations before suggested, as to the mode of proof before the two Houses, be adopted, your Committee are led to hope that these charges would necessarily be considerably reduced; and that, in many cases where the measure met with no opposition, the attendance of the solicitor or any other person from the country might be dispensed with: but while the existing charges, whatever they may be, are undefined in their nature, and subject to no control but through the medium of an expensive litigation, abuses will in many instances exist. Your Committee see no remedy for these, unless it should be found practicable to ascertain the nature of such charges with some degree of precision, and then to subject them to taxation in the same manner as costs in the courts below, either by some officers of those courts, or by

officers of the two Houses of Parliament, or others specially appointed for that purpose. The particular duty and charges of the clerk to the commissioners might, as appears to your Committee, be prescribed by the general or particular act, and like that of the commissioners and surveyor, controlled by the sanction of an oath of office.

With respect to the commissioners themselves, upon whose ability and integrity so much depend, it might not perhaps be expedient to subject them to similar control, lest men of respectability should be deterred from engaging in so laborious and useful an employment; but the abuses above noticed might perhaps be remedied by defining, in some degree, the number of hours which ought actually and *bona fide* to be devoted to each meeting, and requiring that it should not be occupied by attention to any other business; and also by regulating, according to the place of residence of each commissioner, the charges to be allowed for travelling expenses. With a view to ascertain how far the former of these regulations had been complied with, it might be desirable that the clerk should be required to keep a register of all the days and times employed in the business of the enclosure; which, as well as the books of account, should be open to the inspection of all persons concerned.

On a full consideration of the subject of parliamentary fees, properly so called, which has occupied much of the attention of your Committee, they see no ground to recommend to the House any general regulations on that head. As a suitable recompense for the time, attention, and abilities of the several persons to whom they are payable, they find no reason to object to their usual amount: and from a comparison of it to that of the other expenses necessarily incidental to this procedure, they are not inclined to think it can in general operate as a discouragement to this mode of improvement. In particular instances, however, which are not unfrequent, of small wastes and commons, it is obvious that the whole expense of conducting an enclosure, under the authority of Parliament, must always bear so large a proportion to the value of the land to be divided, as to preclude the possibility of improvement in that mode. It seems to your Committee worthy the consideration of the House, how far it might be advisable, in certain cases of such a description, to be ascertained either by the number of acres, or value of the land (in addition to the general regulations above suggested,) to remove such part of the impediment as is more immediately under its control, by providing that such bills should only be considered, in the payment of fees, as single bills, and be entitled to any other indulgence which Parliament in its wisdom should see fit. Your Committee ground this recommendation on the supposition that such portions of land could by no possibility be brought into cultivation in the ordinary mode, and that therefore the reduction proposed is not so much to be considered as a diminution of probable and accustomed perquisites to the officers of the two Houses, as the means of making that productive

of emolument to a certain amount which would otherwise never be at all available to that effect.

On the whole, your Committee have thought they should best fulfil the intentions of the House in referring to them to consider of the most effectual means of facilitating, under the authority of Parliament, the enclosure and improvement of the waste and other unproductive lands of the kingdom, by confining the regulations they might suggest to such points as appeared to them simple and of easy attainment: by which the expense attending enclosure, under the present system, would be considerably diminished, and the plan would in other respects be improved. And if the suggestions they have ventured to recommend should have the good fortune of meeting with the approbation of Parliament, they flatter themselves that such expenses, instead of being great and undefined, would be so moderate, and in general so capable of being estimated, that, in so far as regards large enclosures, the principal objection to the present system would be done away, and a great encouragement would be given to improvement.

For the farther information of the House, upon the several matters before suggested, your Committee have thought proper to annex to their Report, by way of Appendix, the evidence taken by them, in so far as respects the particular points above alluded to.

Table of Fees payable in the Two Houses on Bills of Enclosure.

	Fees paid on a single bill.			Fees paid on a double bill.			Fees paid on a 3-single bill.			Fees paid on a 2-double bill.			Fees paid on a 5-single bill.			Fees paid on a 3-double bill.			Fees paid on a 4-double bill.		
House of Commons.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Bill fee and small fees.....	15	2	0	28	15	4	43	6	0	58	17	4	82	13	4	86	6	0	125	14	8
Committee fees	8	3	8	9	19	2	7	11	10	16	7	4	25	9	6	39	12	10	60	11	2
Messengers' fees.....	2	8	6	2	16	0	3	11	0	4	6	0	7	8	6	6	12	0	10	6	0
Engrossing fees	7	2	0	48	3	0	24	16	0	42	14	6	41	13	3	55	8	6	44	3	6
Total fees in the Commons	32	16	2	89	13	6	79	4	10	122	5	2	157	4	10	187	19	4	240	15	4
House of Lords.																					
Bill fees	27	0	0	54	0	0	81	0	0	108	0	0	135	0	0	162	0	0	216	0	0
Yeoman usher&door-keepers	5	5	0	5	5	0	8	8	0	8	8	0	11	11	0	12	12	0	14	14	0
Order of Committee	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0
Committee fees	4	4	0	4	4	0	6	6	0	6	6	0	8	8	0	8	8	0	10	10	0
Total fees in the Lords..	37	10	0	64	10	0	96	15	0	123	15	0	156	0	0	184	1	0	242	5	0
Total fees in the two Houses	70	6	2	154	3	6	176	19	10	246	0	2	313	4	10	372	0	4	483	0	4

Account of Fees received in the House of Commons on Bills of Enclosure, for fourteen Years, ending 1799.

Year.	Number of Bills.	Bill fee and small fees.	Committee fees.	Housekeepers' and Messengers' fees.	Engrossing fees.	Total fees.
		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1786	25	761 4 4	368 6 4	90 0 0	745 0 0	1964 10 8
1787	21	631 6 0	306 7 8	70 12 0	665 7 6	1673 13 2
1788	32	941 5 8	476 17 10	110 8 6	1055 12 6	2584 4 6
1789	36	1083 17 4	430 12 2	147 18 0	1101 5 0	2763 12 6
1790	26	753 4 0	322 17 6	76 16 0	841 5 0	1994 2 6
1791	40	1321 16 0	567 6 4	123 10 0	1306 17 6	3319 9 10
1792	41	1240 17 4	781 11 6	202 9 0	1470 0 0	3694 17 10
1793	60	1784 15 0	988 1 6	210 4 0	2249 7 6	5232 8 0
1794	74	2167 13 8	905 6 10	237 11 6	2476 17 6	5787 3 6
1795	77	2402 9 4	1077 5 8	311 2 0	2985 0 0	6775 17 0
1796	72	2282 5 4	1175 6 2	222 5 0	2853 15 0	6533 11 6
1797	87	2810 8 8	1317 16 2	278 8 0	3272 10 0	7679 2 10
1798	49	1487 4 0	711 16 8	157 14 0	1832 10 0	4189 4 8
1799	67	2100 13 0	1039 8 10	197 3 6	2338 2 6	5675 7 10
Total	707	21,768 19 8	10,468 15 2	2436 1 6	25,193 10 0	59,867 6 4

An Estimate of the Expenses of Housekeeping, between 1773 *and* 1800, *By an Inhabitant of Bury St. Edmund's.*

	1773			1793			1799			1800		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Comb of malt	0	12	0	1	3	0	1	3	0	2	0	0
Chaldron of coals	1	1	6	2	0	6	2	6	0	2	11	0
Comb of oats	0	5	0	0	13	0	0	16	0	1	1	0
Load of hay	2	2	0	4	10	0	5	5	0	7	0	0
Meat	0	0	4	0	0	5	0	0	7	0	0	9
Butter	0	0	6	0	0	11	0	0	11	0	1	4
Sugar (loaf)	0	0	8	0	1	0	0	1	3	0	1	4
Soap	0	0	6	0	0	8	0	0	9½	0	0	10
Window lights, 30 windows	3	10	0	7	10	0	12	12	0	12	12	0
Candles	0	0	6	0	0	8	0	0	9½	0	0	10½
Poor rates per qr.	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	3	0	0	5	0
Income tax on 200l.	0	0	0	0	0	0	20	0	0	20	0	0
Total	8	4	0	16	2	8	42	9	4	45	14	1½

Report of the Committee of the House of Commons respecting Bread, Corn, &c. &c.

The Committee appointed to consider of means for rendering more effectual the provisions of an Act, made in the thirteenth year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, "An Act for better regulating the Assize and making of Bread;" and who were instructed to consider of the most effectual means of remedying any inconveniences which may arise from the deficiency of the last crop of grain; and empowered to report their proceedings, from time to time, to the House:

Have proceeded, in pursuance of the orders of the House, to consider of the provisions of the said Act; and are decidedly of opinion, that the Act in its present state, is completely ineffectual for the purposes for which it was intended; that the regulations contained in it are in many respects defective; and that the execution of it would be totally incompatible with the present mode of setting the assize of bread by law, and would answer no object, unless at the time when bakers are prohibited from making according to the demand of their customers, different kinds of bread, millers should be prohibited from manufacturing different sorts of flour.

Your Committee proceeded next to consider, how far it might be proper to recommend to the House to adopt such farther regulations and restrictions; and as they understood a prejudice existed in some parts of the country against any coarser sort of bread than that which is at present known by the name of the "Fine Household Bread," on the ground that the former was less wholesome and nutritious than the latter, they

thought it important to obtain the opinions of some eminent and respectable physicians on this point. The result of their evidence appears to be, that although a change of any sort of food, which forms so great a part of the sustenance of man, might, for a time, affect some constitutions, that as soon as persons were habituated to it, the standard wheaten bread, or even bread of a coarser sort, would be equally wholesome with the fine wheaten bread which is now generally used in the metropolis; but that in their opinion, the fine wheaten bread would go farther with persons who have no other food, than the same quantity of bread of a coarser sort.

Your Committee were next desirous of ascertaining, whether a standard bread was likely to be acceptable to the people of this metropolis: they have examined for this purpose several considerable bakers, who agree in stating, that scarcely any bread is consumed in the metropolis but that which is made from the fine wheaten flour; that attempts have been formerly made in times of scarcity to introduce a coarser species of bread into use, but without success; and that in their opinion, the high price of bread would be considered, by the lower classes of people, as a small evil, when compared with any measures which would have the effect of compelling them to consume a bread to which they have not been accustomed.

Your Committee then proceeded to inquire, whether a measure, which compelled the millers to manufacture only one sort of flour, would be likely to increase the quantity of sustenance for man. It has been stated to your Committee, that, according to the mode of manufacturing flour for London and its neighbourhood, a bushel of wheat weighing sixty pounds, produced forty-seven pounds of flour, of all descriptions, which were applied in various ways directly to the sustenance of man; that about one pound was the waste in grinding, and the remaining twelve pounds consisted of bran and pollards, which were made use of for feeding poultry, swine, and cattle. It has, however, been suggested, that if only one sort of flour was permitted to be made, and a different mode of dressing it was adopted, so as to leave in it the finer pollards, fifty-two pounds of flour might be extracted from a bushel of wheat, of the beforementioned weight, instead of forty-seven pounds; that this proportion of the wheat would afford a wholesome and nutritious food, and would add to the quantity for the sustenance of man, in places where the fine household bread is now used, five pounds on every bushel, or somewhat more than one ninth. But as this saving is computed on a finer wheat, and of greater weight per bushel than the average of the last crop may produce, and can only apply to those places which have been stated, and as a coarser bread is actually in use in many parts of the country, the saving on the whole consumption would, according to this calculation, be very considerably reduced.

Your Committee have considered how far other circumstances might operate, or the saving likely to be made of flour by adopting this proposition: they beg leave in the first place to observe, that if

the physicians are well founded in their opinion, that bread of a coarser quality will not go equally far with the fine wheaten bread, an increased consumption of bread would be the consequence of the measure, and this increased consumption might in a considerable degree make up for any saving which might result from the use of the finer pollards: in the second place, if the millers were permitted to make only one sort of flour, it is to be apprehended, that sieves would be introduced into many private families, for the purpose of sifting the flour to different degrees of fineness: such a practice might, in times of scarcity, increase the evils which it would be the intention of Parliament to remedy. The quantity of flour extracted from a bushel of wheat, depends very much on the skill of the miller, and the perfection of his machinery. The extent of his concern, and his interest in his trade, is a security that he will endeavour to draw from the grain whatever it will produce; but the comparative want of skill, and want of attention to the nicer parts of the operation, in private families, might lead upon the whole to a very great and unnecessary expenditure and waste of flour.

Your Committee are of opinion, that to change by law the food of a large part of the community, is a measure of the greatest delicacy, and on the face of it highly objectionable. If a considerable benefit could be proved to arise from it to the community at large, your Committee might be induced to recommend it, notwithstanding any inconveniences which might for a time result from it; but from all the consideration your Committee have been able to give to this subject, and from the evidence which has appeared before them, they are not satisfied that any saving would arise proportionate to the disadvantages that would, in the first instance, necessarily attend upon it.

Your Committee have hitherto confined their observations to the idea of compelling the people, by law, to consume a particular sort of bread. They are sorry, however, to be under the necessity of stating, that, in consequence of the last wet and unfavourable season, crops have been unusually deficient; and although a considerable importation of wheat from foreign countries has already taken place, and more may be expected, yet they feel that they should not discharge their duty unless they strongly recommended to all individuals to use every means in their power to reduce the consumption of wheaten flour in their families, and encourage in the district in which they live, by their example, influence, and authority, every possible economy of this article.

Impressed with the idea of the importance of such economy at the present moment, your Committee earnestly recommend the adoption of a measure, which, from the unanimous opinion of those who have appeared in evidence before them, would lead to a very considerable saving of wheat flour. The evidence of the bakers who have been examined before your Committee, cannot fail to convince the House, that in families where bread which has been baked for some hours is used, the consumption is far less considerable, than in those where it is the custom to eat it new.

They differ in the proportion of this saving, some have stated it as amounting to one-third, some as amounting to one-fifth, and others only to one-eighth; but when it is considered, that one-half of the bread in London is consumed the day on which it is baked, there can be no doubt that a great saving would ensue (perhaps one-tenth or twelfth part of the whole consumption in London) if the bakers were prohibited from selling it until twenty-four hours after it was baked. Your Committee are strongly induced to recommend this measure, from the consideration that a very respectable physician has given it as his decided opinion, that new bread is far less wholesome than that which has been baked a certain number of hours; and they think it important to add, that in the opinion of the bakers in the metropolis, no material inconvenience or detriment to their trade would arise from adopting this regulation.

Your Committee have heard, with very great concern, that from the mistaken application of the charity of individuals, in some parts of the country, flour and bread have been delivered to the poor at a reduced price; a practice which may contribute very considerably to increase the inconveniences arising from the deficiency of the last crop: and they recommend that all charity and parochial relief should be given as far as is practicable, in any other articles except bread, flour, and money, and that the part of it which is necessary for the subsistence of the poor, should be distributed in soups, rice, potatoes, or other substitutes. Your Committee are of opinion, that if this regulation was generally adopted, it would not only, in a very great degree, contribute to economize at this time the consumption of flour, but that it might have the effect of gradually introducing into use, a more wholesome and nutritious species of food than that to which the poor are at present accustomed.

Your Committee think it important to state, before they conclude, that Government, in conformity to the declaration of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the last session of Parliament, have abstained from all interference in the purchases of corn in the foreign markets; and, as they conceive the speculations of individuals are more likely to produce an adequate supply of foreign wheat at this crisis, than any other measures that could be adopted, the policy of Government in this respect meets with the decided approbation of your Committee.

Second Report of the Committee of the House of Commons, respecting Bread, Corn, &c.

The Committee appointed to consider of means for rendering more effectual the provisions of an Act, made in the thirteenth year of the reign of his present Majesty, entitled, "An Act for better regulating the assize and making of bread;" and who were instructed to consider of the most effectual means of remedying any inconveniences which may arise from the deficiency of the last crop of grain; and empowered to report their proceedings from time to time to the House;

Have, since their last report, re-

ceived additional information respecting the deficiency of the late crops in many parts of the country, particularly in Scotland; the result of which has impressed your Committee with the propriety of suggesting such methods as appear to them most likely to be effectual for diminishing the consumption of corn, for encouraging the importation from abroad, and for bringing into extensive use such substitutes as may supply the place of it; and for this purpose they are desirous of calling the attention of the House to the following points:

First.—The expediency of giving a bounty to encourage the importation of corn from the Mediterranean and from America.

Second.—The propriety of individuals reducing the consumption of flour in their families.

Third.—The propriety of subjecting millers to some new regulations.

Fourth.—The adoption of a new table of assize.

Fifth.—The encouragement of the use of rice and Indian corn.

Sixth.—The encouragement of the growth of potatoes and other nutritive vegetables.

Seventh.—The expediency of procuring a considerable supply of food from the fisheries.

Eighth.—The expediency of stopping the distilleries.

1. Your Committee have received information that considerable supplies of wheat may probably be obtained from the countries in the Mediterranean, and from America; which, at the present prices, would be imported to very great profit: but as several months would elapse before such supplies could be brought to this country, and as it is possible that during that period the prices of all sorts of grain may fall considerably, particularly if there should be a prospect of a very abundant harvest; and as such a fall of prices might occasion great loss to the importers, such as took place in the year 1796, your Committee are apprehensive that merchants will not be induced to speculate unless they receive some encouragement from Parliament; they therefore suggest how far it may be proper to offer such a conditional bounty as may be likely to secure the merchants against any probable losses they might incur in importing wheat or flour from the Mediterranean or from America before the month of October. The prices of wheat in the Mediterranean are stated to be from about 50s. to 60s. per quarter, the prices of flour in America are about 60s. the English sack; the insurance, freight, and other mercantile charges, may, in either case, amount to about 33*s.* per quarter, or 30*s.* per sack. If Parliament should therefore think proper to provide, that in case the average price of wheat throughout the kingdom, as stated in the Gazette, should fall below 30*s.* per quarter, and the average price of flour should fall below 90*s.* per sack, the difference between the market price and 90*s.* should be made by a bounty to the importer, it might afford a very considerable encouragement to foreign supply, consistent with the reduction of the prices in the home market.

2. Your Committee have great satisfaction in being able to state, that many individuals, in different

classes of life, have already effectually reduced the consumption of bread and flour in their families; and that the saving which has been made in consequenae is very considerable, in many instances amounting to one-fourth, and in some even to one-third of their usual consumption. If such a practice should become general, it would produce the most beneficial effects. Your Committee recommend, therefore, to every housekeeper, to reduce the quantity of bread used in his family to one quartern loaf per week for each person, which has been found, by experiment, to be sufficient; and likewise to abstain, as far as possible, from the use of flour for all other purposes.

3. Your Committee have been informed that considerable inconvenience has been felt from millers refusing to grind the sorts of flour necessary for making the brown bread; and they are of opinion, that, to remedy this inconvenience, it may be expedient to subject millers to some new regulations.

4. For reasons given in their former report, your Committee cannot recommend any compulsory law for the use of only one sort of bread, or the grinding of only one sort of flour; but, strongly impressed with the advantage that might result from the use and consumption of bread made of the whole meal, or of a great proportion thereof, they think proper to observe, that by the manner in which the assize is now set, the profit of the baker is far more considerable on the fine wheaten bread than on that of a coarser quality; and your Committee recommend, therefore, that a new table of assize should be framed to remedy this inconvenience, and to promote the use of coarser meal.

5. Your Committee have great satisfaction in stating, that a considerable supply of rice and Indian corn may be obtained from America; that, mixed in a certain proportion with wheat, they make a most wholesome and nutritious bread; and that the most damaged wheat may not only be used, but rendered palatable by a mixture of rice, which, by repeated experiments, has been found to correct the defects of it. This consideration, that much damaged wheat and grain, otherwise unserviceable, may be made into wholesome and palatable bread, by being mixed with rice, suggests the importance of extending to this latter article the same economy as that which is recommended in the use of wheat, and of reserving it as much as possible for the above important purpose.

Your Committee, sensible of the important use of rice at the present moment, are induced to recommend, upon a comparative view of the prices of that article in this country and the other countries in Europe, that a bounty should be given, on the same principle as that with respect to corn, on the importation of rice, which should secure to the importer the price of 1*l.* 15*s.* per cwt. if the market price should fall below that sum. And your committee likewise submit, whether it may not be expedient that some bounty should also be given, on the same principle, on the importation of Indian corn.

6. Your Committee are of opinion, that it is probable that considerable relief may be afforded, if proper encouragement is given to the growth of potatoes and other nutritive vegetables; and they recommend therefore to landlords, to permit and encourage their tenants to break up a limited quantity of land, according to the circumstances of the estate, for the cultivation of potatoes and pease. And your Committee suggest, that it may be expedient that provision should be made by law, for a given time, to enable lords of manors or individuals, or parish officers on behalf of the parish, with the consent of the lord of the manor, to break up a quantity of common land, and to cultivate it with potatoes.

7. It has appeared in evidence before your Committee, that in some parts of Scotland and in Cornwall the lower orders of people are consuming at this time great quantities of fish, which make no inconsiderable part of their sustenance; and your Committee understand that a large quantity of Swedish herrings may be obtained from Gottenburgh and the neighbouring ports, at a very reasonable price; they recommend, therefore, that the Swedish herrings should, for a limited time, be imported duty free. And as an encouragement to our own fisheries, and to increase the supply at the present moment, they suggest the propriety of giving a bounty equivalent to *2s. 8d.* per barrel, (if proper regulations can be adopted to provide against fraud) on the cure of mackerel, or of other fish caught in the mackerel fishery, for home consumption; and your Committee, under the present circumstances, strongly recommend the distribution of fish as an article of parochial relief, which may be obtained in many parts of the country, in great quantities, at a very moderate price.

8. An opinion being prevalent in many parts of the country, and particularly in Scotland and Wales, that a great increase of food for man might be obtained from stopping the distilleries in England, your Committee thought it their duty thoroughly to investigate this subject. The quantity of barley consumed in the distilleries has been stated by several persons engaged in the trade, whose evidence is completely corroborated by that of one of the commissioners of excise, who has delivered into your Committee calculations on the subject so nearly agreeing with the accounts given by the distillers, as to satisfy your Committee that they are sufficiently accurate for the purpose of forming their opinion.

It appears that the whole quantity of barley consumed in English distilleries amounts only to between two hundred and twenty, and two hundred and fifty thousand quarters annually; that in consequence of the distillers having been allowed the use of sugar at the low duties, the consumption of grain has been very much diminished; that the distillers continue working from the month of November until the middle or end of May; that all that can be wanting to complete their works in the present year cannot exceed fifty-three or fifty-five thousand quarters; that the distillers were prohibited the use of wheat, the only grain used in the English distilleries besides bar-

ley, by an Act passed in the month of October last; and that in consequence of the deficiency of the crops in the last harvest, and to remove all dissatisfaction on account of their trade, they entered into an agreement to make use of no barley in their distilleries but what was damaged, or of inferior quality; to which agreement, by the evidence before your Committee, they appear to have strictly adhered. It appears, likewise, that very large numbers of swine and cattle are actually fed from the refuse of the distilleries; and that if they were prohibited from working, the supply of meat would be diminished, or the feeders of cattle and distillers in the neighbourhood of the metropolis would be under the necessity of using, at a great expense, a quantity of grain in feeding their swine and cattle, which, perhaps, would not fall very far short of that which would, in the first instance, be consumed in the distilleries; and your Committee cannot avoid observing, that in either of these cases the price of meat must be expected to rise considerably, so as very materially to affect the lower orders of the people, who are now deriving extensive relief in the metropolis, and in many parts of the country, from the establishment of soup-shops, and to bear with still greater pressure upon those classes of the community which are immediately above them.

Your Committee have purposely avoided stating the effect which the stopping of the distillery might produce on the revenue, being anxious that no consideration of revenue should interfere, provided the expected relief could really be obtained; but when they consider how small would be the quantity, and how inferior the quality of the barley that could be saved, and the effect likely to be produced on the prices of other articles, and the course of other trades, they cannot see any advantage that would result from it sufficient to justify your Committee in recommending it to the House.

Your Committee have omitted to subjoin any proposal for prohibiting the use of wheat in the manufacture of starch, conceiving it to be a very inconsiderable object; and being farther informed, that measures have been taken to procure a supply of this article by importation from abroad, and that the principal manufacturers have voluntarily relinquished the use of it. They, however, think, that, in justice to them, the disuse should be made general by a prohibition.

Your Committee have great satisfaction in stating, that the measure adopted by the Legislature, for prohibiting the sale of any bread which had not been baked twenty-four hours, has already produced the most beneficial effects. By the declaration of the master, wardens, and court of assistants of the company of bakers, annexed to this report, it appears that the consumption of bread in the metropolis is reduced, in consequence of it, at least one-sixth part.

First Report of the Committee of the House of Commons, on the present Scarcity of Corn.

The Committee appointed to consider of the present high price of provisions, and to whom so much

of his Majesty's most gracious speech from the throne, to both houses of Parliament, as relates thereto, and also the several petitions presented to the House, complaining of the high price of provisions, were referred;

Have, in proceeding to the consideration of the important and extensive subject referred to them, thought it their duty to direct their attention, in the first instance, to such measures as might be proposed, for alleviating, as speedily as possible, the present pressure; without entering at this moment into a detailed inquiry respecting the various causes which may have concurred in producing it. Your Committee conceive that, by so doing, they shall best execute the intentions of the House, which has already shewn, by its proceeding, that it considers the deficiency of the stock of grain at the commencement of the late harvest, and the high price which now prevails, as sufficient inducements for adopting, without loss of time, the most obvious remedies. With this view, laws have already been brought forward for encouraging the importation of grain; for empowering his majesty to prohibit the exportation of every article of provision; for permitting the importation thereof free from duty; for prohibiting all distillation from grain, and the use of wheat in starch; for permitting the barley, which was damaged by wet, to be made into malt, without being steeped during the time now required by law; for allowing sugar to be used, instead of malt, in the brewery; and for lowering the duty upon the importation of hops.

Your Committee were confirmed in their opinion of the propriety of this order of proceeding, by considering that no minute inquiry into the state of the crop, or the stock now in hand, could be made without great delay, even supposing that any mode had been suggested for conducting such an inquiry, which afforded a reasonable prospect of sufficient accuracy in the result, and which would not be attended with great, if not insurmountable objections in the execution. Your Committee, also, see no ground for believing that any result, attainable by the most detailed inquiry, could lead to any practical conclusion, applicable to the present emergency. At the same time, having many documents before them which could be examined without much delay, and which, checked by the very extensive information of members from different parts of the country, appeared likely to enable them to form a general estimate of the crop, your Committee have thought it right to avail themselves of those materials for that purpose.

These documents consist of very numerous returns to those inquiries which different departments of Government have directed to be made by the receivers of the land-tax; by various officers under the boards of taxes, stamps, and excise; and by those amongst the clergy to whom circular letters for that purpose had been addressed by the bishops in each diocese. Though the returns are not complete from every county, yet the omissions on the whole, are neither numerous nor important.

Your Committee are sensible, that upon the accuracy of accounts of this nature, taken separately,

no positive reliance can be placed; or, at least, that the weight to be given to them must vary in each instance, according to the opinion entertained of the diligence and information of the persons by whom they are made. Your Committee observe, however, that the general result of the returns made by each description of persons is nearly the same; that result is strongly confirmed, upon the whole, by the information of members from almost every part of England, founded upon their local inquiries, observation, and correspondence. Whether the average is struck from the statements of the crop in the several counties, without regard to their size, population, and productiveness, or by throwing them into different classes with a view to those important points, still the general conclusion is not materially effected. Your Committee have not had the same means of inquiry respecting the produce of Scotland: but their information, as far as it reaches, is by no means less favourable. Your Committee, therefore, think themselves justified in taking this general result as a sufficient ground for those opinions and measures which they propose to submit, without delay, to the judgment of the House.

There appears, upon the whole of this information, reason to believe, that the general deficiency of the crop of wheat, in England and Wales, below an average crop, does not amount to quite so much as one-fourth: and that the crops of barley and oats (though by no means uniformly good) have been very productive in many of those counties from which the principal supply is ordinarily furnished; and therefore that the produce of the kingdom, in those articles, cannot, upon the whole, be considered as materially inferior to an average crop. It is also probable, that in forming an average under such circumstances as the present, where the harvest has been so uncommonly various in different districts, and even in different parts of the same district, greater weight may have been given to instances of deficiency than to those of abundance, and that the produce is more likely to be stated below than above the truth. It is also very material to observe, that by all the accounts there is reason to think, that the quality of every description of grain is, upon the whole, greatly superior to that of the last year; and that, therefore, the increased quantity, and superior quality of flour to be derived from a given quantity of grain, may be expected to compensate, in some degree, for the deficiency of the produce below the average, estimated by the acre. The accounts of the stock in hand, furnished by these returns, are necessarily more uncertain; they are in some degree various; but they do not, upon the whole, furnish any ground for doubting the prevailing opinion, confirmed by the general information of the members who have attended your Committee, that the stock of British corn, at the harvest, was reduced far below its usual amount, and was in most places nearly, in many absolutely exhausted.

In addition to what has been stated, respecting the produce of the crop and the stock in hand, it is to be observed, with a view to the state of the markets, in the

time which has elapsed since the harvest, that the farmers during that period have had a double demand to supply out of the new crop for consumption and seed, and this at a season when most of their hands were employed in the ordinary labours of the field. The quantity of grain used for seed corn is generally estimated at about six weeks' consumption; and the increase of this quantity in the present year, from much more land being sown with wheat than usual, during a season particularly favourable (though it gives an encouraging prospect of future plenty) must have added for the time, to the difficulty of furnishing sufficient supplies for the market, and thereby have contributed to increase the temporary distress. This unusual demand for wheat, and other circumstances also peculiar to the season, have contributed, in many places, to delay the thrashing out barley and oats, and may have had a similar temporary effect on the price of these articles.

It appears to your Committee, that these circumstances might be expected to have produced a very high price at this season, even if the late harvest had been abundant; that the degree in which it has been deficient must naturally have added to such price, whether with or without the concurrence of any other causes, the existence and effects of which your Committee propose to investigate in a farther stage of their proceedings. Your Committee, therefore, think it may reasonably be expected, that the price, produced in some degree by temporary circumstances, will, when those circumstances have ceased to operate, experience a reduction; especially when it is generally known, that, on the result of all the information that has been collected from every part of the kingdom, there is no ground to suppose that the deficiency in the crop, below the usual average, is greater than what your Committee have already stated; and when it is also seen to how considerable an extent we may confidently expect that deficiency to be remedied by the double operation of importation and economy.

With respect to the former of these objections, your Committee observe, that within twelve months, from September 26, 1799, to September 27, 1800, there have been imported into Great Britain no less than

1,261,932 qrs. of wheat and flour,
67,988 barley,
479,320 oats,
300,693 cwt. rice.

This happened under the unfavourable circumstances of a harvest abroad uncommonly deficient in quality, and not abundant in quantity, and of the late period of the season when the bounty was granted by Parliament.

It has been stated to your Committee by several of the principal importers of corn, that the wheat of the present year, in the north of Europe, is, by all accounts, far superior in quality to that of last year: in Germany, it is represented as abundant; and though some less favourable accounts of later dates have been received from other parts, yet it is stated, that little reliance is to be placed upon them, as they have only become less favourable

since the deficiency of the crop in this country has been the subject of speculation abroad. All other grain (except rice) has been uncommonly abundant on most parts of the continent of Europe. The harvest in America, both of wheat and rice, has been unusually plentiful. The indemnifying bounty, now proposed to be given, is considered, by those importers whom your Committee have examined, as much more satisfactory than what was granted in the last session, and as likely to afford still more effectual encouragement.

There seems therefore no reason to doubt, as far as depends upon the state of the harvest abroad, and the probable exertions of foreign and British importers, that the supply may be fully equal to that of last year in wheat and flour, and in oats and rice will considerably exceed it; and that in other articles to which encouragement may now be extended, particularly in barley and Indian corn, a large additional supply may be expected. Amongst these, your Committee wish particularly to direct the attention of the House, and the country, to the article of rice. The quantity of food to be derived from equal quantities of rice and wheat is, in a very great proportion, in favour of the former; the quality of this species of grain is undoubtedly excellent; and wherever it has been introduced it appears to have been highly acceptable; the encouragement now held out to the importation of it will probably bring into Great Britain all that can be spared from every part of America: and considerable supplies may be expected from our East India possessions, in consequence of orders sent over land, in August and September, and of the liberal terms which Parliament, with the concurrence of the East India Company, appears disposed to grant to adventurers now fitting out ships from hence.

Of the remaining stock of the preceding harvest of rice in America, some will arrive before Christmas, in consequence of orders already given; and the produce of the last crop may begin to reach this country in January, and the succeeding months. The supply from the East Indies will undoubtedly be later, but may be expected in part at a period of the summer when it must be eminently useful, and the remainder previous to the time when the harvest of 1801, according to the ordinary course of things, can be brought into general use.

There are also other articles of wholesome food, to which the attention of your Committee has been directed; and they entertain considerable hopes that arrangements may be made, by which large quantities of fish and other salted provisions may be added to the supply of the market, at such reasonable rates as may afford a material source of relief. Your Committee mean to proceed immediately in this part of their inquiry, and will as early as possible state the result to the House.

The stoppage of the distilleries in England, at this early season, will prove equivalent to the importation of at least two hundred and fifty thousand quarters of

barley. In Scotland, it is stated as likely to be productive of a saving of the same article to a still greater amount; and the prohibition of the use of wheat in starch may save about forty thousand quarters. By these measures large quantities of grain are left applicable to the food of man which have not in other years been so employed; and your Committee have therefore thought proper to class them under the same head with importation.

Your Committee think themselves authorized to place a considerable reliance upon the effect of the various measures above referred to, in increasing the general supply. Of these, the encouragement offered by Parliament for the importation of foreign grain is undoubtedly the most important: but whatever expectations may be reasonably formed of the great extent to which that encouragement, combined with the high price in this country, may carry it, your Committee think it their duty to state the decided opinion, and to endeavour to impress that opinion in the strongest manner upon the House, that it would be unwise and unsafe to place their sole reliance upon resources of this description. Allowing for the probability that the accounts before stated respecting the produce of the last harvest may be rather below than above the truth; yet the exhausted state of the old stock, and the unusually early period at which the late crop came into consumption, make it not only highly advisable, but indispensably necessary, as the most effectual means of securing an adequate supply at a reasonable rate, to have recourse to the greatest economy, in every part of the country, in the use of those articles of grain upon which the subsistence of each respective district principally depends.

Your Committee entertain the strongest expectation, that a recommendation from the highest authority, pointing out the advantages which would be derived, under the present circumstances, from the general practice of economy and frugality in these articles, could not fail to produce extensive and beneficial effects. In order to give the greatest weight and solemnity to such a recommendation, your Committee submit to the House whether it may not be proper to desire the concurrence of the other house of Parliament in an humble address to his Majesty, requesting that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to issue a proclamation for this purpose. The effect of such a proclamation might undoubtedly be extended by the universal circulation which might be given to it, through the magistracy and clergy, in every district and in every parish; and associations might be entered into by every description of persons to whom it might be addressed for carrying it into execution in their respective neighbourhoods. The general adoption of such a measure, by diminishing the consumption of grain, and particularly of wheat, amongst those who are able to procure other articles of food, would leave for the use of those who are unable to procure them a larger propor-

tion of what is necessary for their support, by decreasing the demand the price would probably be reduced, and it may well be expected from the past conduct of the more opulent classes, that much of what might be saved by the reduction of their own consumption, would be applied to the relief of their indigent neighbours.

Your Committee having thus suggested the means by which they conceive that a great reduction in the consumption of corn, and particularly of wheat, may be produced by the practice of economy among a large proportion of the community, proceed to call the attention of the House to another measure, by which a similar effect may be produced, to a great extent, among the laborious classes, without in any degree diminishing their necessary subsistence; for which, on the contrary, it is the great object of the plans proposed effectually to provide. It is evident that, under the present high price, a very large proportion of the poorer classes derive, from parish relief, a considerable part of the subsistence necessary for their families; extraordinary relief, under such circumstances, to a great amount, is indispensable: and it is hoped that it has been generally extended through most parts of the kingdom, on the most liberal principle, in due proportion to the extra cost of food, to the number of a family, the quantity necessary for their subsistence, and the fair amount of their earnings. But it is evident that if the whole of this relief be given in money, it will be applied to the purchase of bread to the usual amount, and will thereby counteract that economy which it is so essential, for the interest of the poor particularly, to introduce. It seems, therefore, of the utmost importance to provide, that as large a portion as possible of this relief should be given neither in money, nor in the sort of bread usually consumed in each parish, but in some other wholesome substitutes, such as your Committee have before enumerated. They have, indeed, the satisfaction of knowing, that this practice, through the voluntary attention of magistrates, has already prevailed in many instances; and that, wherever it has been adopted, its consequences have been most beneficial: but partly from want of sufficient authority in the magistrates for this particular purpose, partly from the use of the substitutes being less generally known than at present, and from the supply of them not being as abundant as may now be expected, the practice has been less general than the interest of the country requires. Your Committee, however, are aware that these measures may not even now be indiscriminately applicable to every parish; from local circumstances it may be at first difficult to procure the necessary articles in sufficient quantity, or it may require some time to introduce them into general use. Your Committee, therefore, do not wish that a peremptory rule should be laid down without exception, for the conduct of the magistrates in all cases, in carrying into effect the general principle here stated, but

they conceive that wherever the exception is made, the grounds of it should be specially stated and allowed; and that in all other cases the rule should be enforced. For this purpose they would recommend that an Act should be passed, requiring the magistrates in each district, within a certain time, to take into consideration the circumstances of each parish, and, at the application of the overseer, or at their own discretion, to make an order for giving a certain portion of relief in articles to be fixed, and to direct the application of so much of the rates as may be necessary for providing such articles; or, if they shall be satisfied that circumstances will not then admit of such articles being provided, that they shall state their reasons, and report them to a special sessions to be directed by the Act to meet for that purpose.

That the magistrates assembled at such sessions shall make such order thereupon as they shall think fit, either authorizing farther delay in the execution of the measure, if they shall be satisfied that the circumstances justify and require it; or, if not, directing it to be enforced in such a manner as they shall judge expedient. The first advantage to be procured by this measure, evidently is that of rendering the supply more equal to the necessary demand; but this advantage, though the greatest, is not the only one: the labourer, by receiving the proportion of relief in some other article than bread corn, will receive the benefit of the reduction of price, which the diminished consumption must tend to produce, in purchasing cheaper what he provides out of his own earnings, and will be less dependant on the parish for his subsistence. Every description of persons paying to the poor-rates (particularly the least opulent house-keepers, who feel the most heavily the increased burden of that rate, and the addition to their own necessary expences, from the present high price of provisions), will be materially benefited in three ways: first, in the diminution of the rate, from a large proportion of the relief being given in articles cheaper than bread, on the price of which the relief, if given wholly in money, must be calculated.—Secondly, in a diminution in the amount of that part of the relief which may still be given in money, corresponding to the reduction which, as before stated, the measure has a tendency to produce in the article of bread.—Thirdly, in the immediate effect of such reduction of price (as far as it may take place) in diminishing the expence of the necessary consumption of their own families.

On all these grounds your committee venture earnestly to recommend this measure to the early and favourable consideration of the House.

Your Committee have thus submitted to the wisdom of the House those measures which appear to them to claim the most immediate attention with a view to relief. They have, upon the whole, the satisfaction of being persuaded, after a deliberate review of the deficiency in the supply (arising both from the exhausted state of the stock of the former harvest, and the partial failure of

the last crop) compared with the various resources which have been already pointed out, that if the measures of economy which they have so strongly recommended are generally adopted, the saving thereby produced, together with the extensive supply expected from abroad, will be fully sufficient to compensate for such deficiency, and to provide for the necessary demand of the year.

Amongst the subjects which press upon the consideration of your Committee, is the state of the law respecting the commerce of grain. It is evidently a matter of the greatest delicacy and difficulty; and your Committee think they cannot better discharge their duty than by taking it up in the temper recommended to Parliament by that part of his Majesty's speech which has been referred to them by the House.

In their farther proceedings your Committee will give their most earnest attention to the discussion of every proposal which has for its object the relief of the present pressure, or the prevention (as far as possible) of its recurrence; and will submit, from time to time, to the judgment of the House, whatever appears to them most likely to attain those desirable ends.

Second Report of the Committee of the House of Commons on the present Scarcity of Corn.

The Committee appointed to consider of the present high price of provisions, and to whom so much of his Majesty's most gracious speech from the throne to both Houses of Parliament as relates thereto; and also the several petitions presented to the House complaining of the high price of provisions; were referred:

Have, in conformity with the principles stated in their former report, continued to employ themselves in the investigation of such farther measure as may tend to produce either an increase in quantity or an economy in the consumption of food.

Among measures of this nature the supply to be derived from the fisheries on the coast of Great Britain, and especially the herring fishery, appeared the most considerable in point of extent, and the most pressing in point of time; which reasons have induced your Committee to make it the subject of a separate report.

The attention which has been paid to the herring fishery by several committees appointed in former sessions of Parliament has collected a very considerable mass of information on the subject; in addition to which your Committee have called for such evidence as appeared to them necessary.

Their first inquiry was directed to ascertain the places from whence a supply may be obtained during the present season, and the extent to which it may be carried.

With respect to the first point, it appears, both from the evidence given to former committees, and from recent information, that the herring fishery carried on during the winter on the north-western coasts of Scotland is neither considerable in its present

extent, nor capable of any very immediate addition, being nearly concluded for the present year, except in Loch Roag, in the isle of Lewis, a remote and thinly-peopled district, to which the navigation in winter is difficult and dangerous. With respect to the herring fisheries on the English coast, it also appears that the season is nearly terminated, and the high price at which their produce has been sold may reasonably be supposed to have encouraged the adventurers to give them the greatest extension of which they were capable; but, for the last six or seven years, a great and increasing winter fishery has been carried on in the Frith of Forth, which in the present season has commenced with very considerable success. This fishery, which begins at the end of October, and continues in full season till February, produces such an abundant supply, that, in the opinion of every person who has been examined, it may be considered as inexhaustible.

It is stated to your Committee, that in each of the two last seasons not less than one thousand two hundred boats were employed in the fishery; and the total quantity taken has, by the best judges, been supposed equal to five hundred thousand barrels, each containing about one thousand herrings. On a supposition that, by any exertion, this quantity could be doubled in the present season, an additional supply of animal food would be obtained nearly equal to the consumption of two millions of persons in three months, allowing three herrings daily to each person; and none of the witnesses examined, either before former committees or recently, appear to entertain any doubt of the possibility of an extension as great, or even greater, than is supposed, except what arises from the difficulty of suddenly collecting a great additional number of fishermen, provided with proper boats, nets, salt, and other materials for taking and curing the fish. On this point it is material to observe, that the Frith of Forth running into the richest and most populous part of Scotland, and being accessible by an easy navigation, both by the eastern and (by means of the great canal) from the western coasts of the kingdom, there is no spot where the advantage of a high price would more readily attract numerous adventurers, or where any unusual encouragement held out by the Legislature, in case of particular emergency, might be expected to operate with greater effect. Accordingly, it is stated, that in the three last seasons the Frith of Forth was frequented by vessels from Ireland, from the western coast of England, and from the whole eastern coast of the kingdom, as well as from the ports in its immediate vicinity. Your Committee being informed that the resort of purchasers to the Forth is, in this present season, great beyond example, and that there is every appearance of as large a supply of fish as ever has been known, think there is reason to hope that the quantity taken will much exceed that in any former season, especially if the Legislature should think it expedient to adopt extraordinary measures to

encourage and facilitate the efforts of the adventurers.

With respect to the duration of the supply, it must be observed, that herrings sprinkled (or, as it is termed, "roused or corned,") with a moderate quantity of salt, will continue perfectly good at least two months, and are much superior in flavour and nutritive qualities to those which are prepared for exportation to distant countries with a greater quantity of salt. If, therefore, the herrings in the Forth continue in full season till towards the middle of February, (beyond which time it is represented, by the best judges, as injurious to the fishery to permit them to be taken) they will be preserved till the middle of April, by the ordinary method of curing in bulk; but it requires only a small addition of salt, and somewhat greater attention, to make them fit for keeping a much more considerable length of time.

The ordinary price of herrings in the Forth, when fresh out of the water, has not, in former years, exceeded 5*s.* or 6*s.* per cran, a measure containing about two gallons more than a barrel, (i. e. about thirty-four gallons); but in the beginning of this season an unusual competition among the buyers raised the price to 12*s.* and even to 15*s.* and 16*s.* per cran. This extraordinary price was not expected to continue after the principal shoals set into the Forth, which appears to have taken place towards the end of November; and it has, in the mean time, an obvious tendency, both to attract the greatest possible number of fishers, and to excite them to the utmost industry; and it should be farther observed, that, at the very highest price, it has been found that the Forth herrings could be retailed in London (in the state of roused or sprinkled herrings), with a moderate allowance to the persons employed in retailing them, at the rate of two for one penny, a price greatly below what fish of much inferior quality have usually been sold for.

Your Committee are persuaded that the circumstances which they have stated will point out the essential importance of insuring the full benefit of a supply so well calculated to afford the most immediate and most extensive relief under the present temporary pressure, as well as to prevent the danger of its recurrence; and they derive great additional satisfaction from reflecting that these advantages will be combined with many other national objects of the greatest magnitude. They, therefore, proceed to recommend those measures which, in their judgment, appear best adapted to produce an immediate extension of the fishery, and to provide for the supply being generally distributed, as expeditiously as possible, over different parts of the kingdom.

A very material advantage will be secured to the adventurers, by allowing them the use of duty-free salt, for curing herrings in bulk as well as in barrel, in such limited quantities as not to occasion the danger of considerable fraud on the revenue.

With respect to the quantity proper to be allowed, your Committee have examined some of the officers of revenue most con-

versant with the subject, and from their testimony, supported by the evidence given to former committees, it results, that sixty-five pounds of salt are sufficient to preserve a cran of herrings during the voyage from the Forth to any part of the coast of England, and for some weeks after their arrival, and to allow, in ordinary cases, for such waste as is unavoidable. This allowance your Committee, therefore, recommend as proper to be granted by the express provisions of an Act of Parliament.

An additional encouragement will be given, by relieving persons disposed to engage in this adventure from the apprehension of being pressed into his Majesty's naval service.

Your Committee, therefore, think it highly expedient, that persons willing to proceed to the Frith of Forth should be protected against the impress during their passage to the Forth, their employment in the fishery, and their return, if effected within a reasonable time. An order to this effect has been already given by the Board of Admiralty, but your Committee think it may be advisable to establish this protection by Act of Parliament. In order to encourage the greatest number of adventurers to repair to the Forth, directions have been given by the Treasury to the officers of the customs on the eastern coast of the island, to give notice to all fishers, or other persons owning boats capable of being so employed, of the great profit to be derived from that fishery, and of the indulgences proposed to be granted to them, and to procure conveyance to Leith for such as are willing to engage in it; and two officers in the revenue, particularly conversant in this business, have been dispatched to those parts of the coast for the same purposes, with directions to purchase and send to Leith the nets of such fishermen as they may not be able to induce to repair there.

But the obtaining from the sea as large a stock of fish as can by any means be procured, though an essential, is by no means the only object requiring the attention of Parliament in this branch of the inquiries of your Committee. The most abundant supply may, to a great degree, be rendered useless, so far as the internal provision of the country is concerned, unless proper means are employed to regulate its distribution and arrangement, and to remove the prejudices which, at first, usually oppose the introduction of a new article of food.

This your Committee think will be best effected by the activity of voluntary associations of individuals, who may provide a supply suited to the wants of their respective districts, and procure its consumption by their persuasion and example. In all considerable towns a weekly supply may be provided and retailed to the inhabitants in general, as well as distributed to the poor by the overseers, in a certain proportion to their parochial relief. It is more peculiarly desirable that such societies should be formed in the metropolis, and such other places as are situated at the mouths of great rivers, and form the centres of extensive inland

navigations, such as Liverpool, Bristol, Hull, and Lynn.

By forming considerable stores in each of those places, and such others as may be found most convenient for general communication, and by a correspondence established between the societies at each of those central places, and those of the surrounding district, the demands of every part of the country may be regularly supplied. And your Committee have the satisfaction to find, that, even previous to their inquiries into this subject, an association formed for other useful purposes, the "Society for bettering the Condition of the Poor," had undertaken in London the execution of a plan similar to what is here recommended; and that, as far as their operations have yet extended, they have met with all the success which could be reasonably hoped for, and have obtained a degree of public countenance and approbation which strongly marks a general disposition to forward designs of this nature, as well as others of active benevolence. But, as the execution of such plans, on the extensive scale here pointed out, will necessarily, in the first instance, require an advance of capital beyond what can reasonably be expected from the voluntary efforts of individuals, even where they have a fair prospect of being ultimately repaid, your Committee think it essential, in order that the public may reap from them all the advantages which they appear capable of affording, that public aid, by a temporary advance of money, should be furnished in such places as are most convenient for the formation of large deposits.

There is also a fishery carried on in the western parts of the kingdom, from which some supply of pilchards may be expected to a limited extent. The season for this fishery is at present over; and your Committee are informed that about ten thousand barrels of this fish are now cured, and ready for exportation. As they have been prepared in expectation of the bounties granted by former acts of Parliament, your Committee do not think it would be just to the adventurers to deprive them of this bounty, by prohibiting the exportation; but, in order to remove the temptation of carrying to a foreign market such proportion of the fish so cured as may find any demand at home, they beg leave to recommend to the House, that the bounty to which the adventurers are now entitled, upon the exportation of the pilchards actually prepared for that purpose, should be paid to them, notwithstanding such pilchards should not be exported. This measure will bring no additional charge upon the public, as the money is already due; but it may operate in retaining for the subsistence of those parts of the kingdom which are farthest removed from the herring fishery, a supply of cheap and wholesome food of the same nature.

Your Committee have received information, that at the period when the herring fishery must be expected to end, the mackerel fishery begins on the western and southern coasts of England; and they have every reason to believe that a very considerable supply

of mackerel may be obtained in succession to the herrings.

Your Committee will proceed to investigate the subject more particularly; and if their present expectation shall appear to be well founded, they will suggest to the House the expediency of affording the same encouragement and advantage to this fishery as they propose to the House now to give to the herring fishery.

Third Report of the Committee appointed to consider of the present high Price of Provisions.

They have farther proceeded in the matters to them referred, and have come to the following resolutions:

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, that an Act made in the 36th year of his present Majesty, entitled, "An Act to permit Bakers to make and sell certain Sorts of Bread," should be repealed.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, that, in order to make more effectual provision for that purpose, it is expedient to allow mixed bread, and every species of wheaten bread, except the bread made of fine household flour, to be made and sold without assize.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, that the provisions of an Act made in the last session of Parliament, entitled, "An Act to prohibit, until the expiration of six Weeks after the Commencement of the next Session of Parliament, any Person or Persons from selling any Bread which shall not have been baked a certain Time," should be continued with such amendments as may make the same more effectual.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, that it is expedient to allow the use of salt duty-free, for the purpose of preserving pilchards, mackerel, and every other kind and species of wholesome fish, either in bulk or in barrels, for a limited time.

Fourth Report of the same Committee.

They have farther proceeded in the matters to them referred, and have agreed upon the following report, viz.

One of the most important objects which has engaged the attention of your Committee, has been the consideration of the different modes of dressing wheat, with a view to ascertain whether, by any alteration in the same, any considerable addition could be made to that proportion of the produce which is now applied to the immediate subsistence of the people. This subject has been at various times under the consideration of Committees of this House, and of the Legislature.

An Act was passed in the 13th year of his Majesty's reign, by which magistrates were empowered, at their discretion, to set the assize upon standard wheaten bread alone, and thereby to prohibit the making of all other sorts of bread; but as the assize tables contained in that Act were so drawn that the profit to the baker was far more considerable

upon the fine wheaten bread than upon that of a coarser sort, the Act has proved ineffectual. The use of bread made of wheat, from which only 5lbs. of the bran had been excluded, was one of the means of reducing the consumption of wheat specified in the engagement which was entered into by the House in December, 1795, for that purpose; and an Act was then passed for allowing bakers to make such bread (as well as bread made of different species of grain) without being subject to the regulations of assize. The Committee, which sat in the beginning of the present year, employed much time and labour in the investigation of this matter. But although the result of their deliberations, as stated in their first Report, was, that they were not satisfied that any saving would arise proportionate to the disadvantages which would in the first instance attend prohibiting the millers from making any sort of flour, except one, which contained a larger proportion of the grain than is now in use; yet they state, in a subsequent Report, that they are strongly impressed with the advantage which might result from the consumption of bread made of the whole meal, and recommend that an assize should be framed so as to promote the use thereof. A bill was brought in for that and other purposes in the last session; but as the subject required great length of examination, and as many difficulties occurred in parts of it, the Bill was at that time relinquished.

From the failure of the measures of permission and recommendation which have been adopted upon former occasions, in order to introduce the consumption of a more economical species of bread, it appears evident to your Committee, that no sufficient reliance can be placed upon the repetition of similar measures as adequate to afford material relief in the present emergency; and they are deeply impressed with the persuasion, that a degree of advantage which was not thought upon these occasions a sufficient inducement to adopt any particular measure, may become so upon the present; and that difficulties, which then deserved to have considerable weight, are now entitled to much less attention. This observation applies still more forcibly to the species of bread which your Committee now propose to recommend; as the degree of advantage to be derived from it, is much greater than could be expected from adopting that species of bread, of which the last-mentioned Committee declined to recommend that the consumption should be enforced by any positive law.

Your Committee, under these circumstances, have thought it their duty both to refer to the evidence collected by former Committees, and to institute such farther inquiries as the time would allow, and as appeared necessary to enable them to form such an opinion as they could presume to submit to the judgment of the House.

The advantage to be procured by dressing wheat in a manner different from that which is practised for the supply of London,

and of other places where the fine household bread is consumed, appears to be of two kinds. It arises from the production of a greater quantity of materials for bread from a given measure of wheat, and of a greater quantity of bread from a given weight of materials.

Both these causes operate most powerfully in the coarsest of all wheaten bread, that which is made of the whole produce of the grain without any separation. Specimens of this bread have been produced to your Committee, and appeared palatable, wholesome, and nutritious. But though bread of this sort may be introduced with great advantage, where the wheat is well harvested and of good quality, and in such cases the saving may be computed at not less than one-third, yet your Committee are induced, by several considerations, not to recommend this as the only mode of preparing that species of grain. They are informed, that in some cases where wheat has been very ill harvested, or is much damaged, it can only be made fit for use by a separation of the outward coat or husk; the coarse bran which is retained in this kind of bread, contains less nutriment than the other parts of the grain, and may render the food not only less palatable, but less likely to agree for a time with persons unaccustomed to it, than the bread now recommended, from which the coarse bran is excluded. It may also be apprehended, that if no flour or meal of a finer sort than the whole meal were allowed to be made, it would prove a considerable discouragement to one of the most useful methods of economy, the use of bread made of other kinds of grain mixed in different proportions with wheat; such mixtures, though capable of producing excellent bread when the grain has been so dressed as to exclude the broad bran only, are rendered less palatable by the introduction of that article. It is, however, of the greatest importance, that as large a portion of the grain should be introduced into food as is consistent with the use of wheat of different qualities, and with the mixture of wheat with other grain. This appears to be effected by the use of what is called an 8*s.* 6*d.* seamed cloth, or a patent cloth No. 2, which excludes only the broad bran, weighing about 5lbs. or 6lbs. in a bushel of wheat. Bread of this description includes all the finer parts of the wheat, and excludes the outward husk. It is little inferior, except in colour, to the white bread, and is far superior in every respect to the bread containing none of the finer parts, which forms the food of those countries from whence London is supplied with flour. In point of economy, this species of bread comes nearest to that which is made of the whole meal, producing an addition of somewhat more than one-fifth to the bread which would be made in the ordinary mode from an equal quantity of wheat. This calculation is made on a supposition, that, in the ordinary mode of dividing the grain, the whole of what is called weighing stuff, comprising the seconds, thirds, and middlings, as well as the fine flour, is made into bread or biscuit. Supposing the quan-

tity of various kinds of grain consumed in bread in England to amount to nine millions of quarters, and that one-third of this quantity is made into fine bread, the saving which will be made in nine months, by the use of the kind of bread here proposed, will be no less than 450,000 quarters, or about three weeks consumption of that part of the kingdom. When the reality as well as the necessity of this saving is made apparent to the people, it may be expected that their good sense will easily reconcile them to the use of a species of bread, which long experience, in a great part of the country, has proved to be wholesome and nutritious, especially when they understand how great a reduction must be produced by this regulation in the price of the quartern loaf. By a general prohibition of the use of finer flour unmixed, all ranks and orders of society will be called upon to sacrifice to the public good any reluctance or prejudice, and to make an united effort to relieve the general pressure: and it will be in the power of individuals, or associations of the community, to facilitate the execution of this measure, as well as to anticipate its benefits in some degree, by adopting, as soon as it can be procured, the use of such bread as is here recommended in their own families, and introducing it, by their example and influence, into their respective neighbourhoods.

Your Committee have not thought it necessary to state the saving which might arise from the use of the standard wheaten or any other species of bread, finer than that which is here recommended, because they consider the necessity of the case to be such as calls for strong and effectual remedies, and because they think the introduction of the other sorts into general use would be in no respect easier than that of the bread here recommended, and would not be attended with the same degree of advantage.

Your Committee are of opinion, that, under the present circumstances, it is necessary that an assize table should be formed for this species of bread, previous to requiring its introduction, and the exclusion of all bread made of a finer meal. The shortness of the time for which this session of Parliament can continue would not admit of completing such a table with perfect accuracy. But although farther experiments may be necessary for ultimately attaining that object, your Committee are satisfied, from the evidence they have received, that no considerable difficulty will attend the forming immediately a table sufficiently correct to prevent any material inconvenience. They are desirous that such table should be so constructed as to ensure at least as large a profit to the baker, for the manufacture of each sack of meal into bread, as he now receives. Your Committee have also the satisfaction of finding, from the evidence of several respectable millers, that this alteration will be productive of no inconvenience to their trade, but will tend to make their process easier and cheaper; that the wires or cloths necessary for the proposed mode of dressing wheat and other grain are either now in use,

or may be readily prepared; and that the period necessary for enabling the millers to dispose of their present stock, and to arrange their machinery for the new mode of working, will not require a notice of many weeks previous to the proposed measure being enforced.

Your Committee are strongly of opinion, that it will be expedient, without delay, to prohibit, from a day to be fixed, the manufacture of flour or meal from wheat or any other grain finer than that which is dressed through an 8*s.* 6*d.* seamed cloth, or a patent cloth, No. 2, or such wire machine as produces the same effect; and to prohibit also, from a day to be fixed, the use of any bread finer than what is made of such meal; and that in the mean time it is expedient, as your Committee have already represented to the House, to permit all kinds of bread, except such fine bread as that upon which the assize is at present set, to be made and sold without being subject to the regulation of assize.

It also appears expedient, that when the new assize shall be established, and the use of fine bread prohibited, permission should still be given to make any bread of inferior price, either from the whole meal of wheat, or with a mixture of wheat and rye, barley, oats, rice, or any other wholesome grain, without assize. By this means a still farther economy of wheat may be produced in such parts of the country as may adopt the use of such mixed bread; and from different specimens produced to your Committee, it appears, as before stated, that wheaten meal, of the same quality as is here recommended, will make excellent bread, with a mixture of other species of grain. The use of such mixed bread will also afford the means of bringing into consumption such fine flour as may be obtained by importation, as well as any small quantities which may be left in the hands of the millers, subsequent to the time when the use of fine bread will be prohibited.

Fifth Report of the same Committee.

They have, in proceeding in the matters to them referred, received, from certain parishes in the immediate neighbourhood of the city of London, representations of the extreme difficulties under which they at this time labour, through the very great number of poor, who are induced to reside in those parishes by the cheapness of lodging, occasioned by the general smallness of the tenements, and by the impossibility of finding suitable accommodations in the richer and more central parts of the metropolis. The parishes from which these representations have come to your Committee, are those of St. Matthew, Bethnal-Green, Mile End New Town, and Christ Church, Spital-fields, which are contiguous to each other.

The poor rates in this district, which stand now subject to abatements as to some of the smaller houses, at between four and six shillings in the pound, appear to be not materially higher than those of several other parishes;

but though the rates are not higher, it is evident to your Committee, from the fact laid before them, that the pressure on the inhabitants must be much more than commonly severe, since they consist very generally of persons in either low or very moderate circumstances, a great proportion of whom, if residing in other parts of the town, would be wholly excused.

It is stated to your Committee, that in Mile End New Town, out of 630 houses which are assessed to the poor rate, no less than 529 are supposed to pay a yearly rent of only 11*l.* and under, and 73 others to pay a rent of only 19*l.* and under: it is also stated, that of the remaining 28 houses in that parish, 20 pay a rent of less than 28*l.* five of 35*l.* and under, two (of which the Spital-fields workhouse is one) a rent of about 70*l.* and one only, being a warehouse, a rent of 280*l.* The whole annual rental of this parish, charged to the poor-rates, amounts to no more than 6167*l.*; among these houses, nevertheless, are included many which pay a rent of less than 3*l.* per annum.

The proportion of small houses, or of houses divided into small lodgings, in the two other parishes, is represented as also great; and the deficiencies in the collection of the present poor-rates of all the three are large and increasing, and the debt of each is considerable.

The point however to which your Committee would more particularly call the immediate attention of the House, is the very great distress to which the poor of these parishes, who are obliged to make application for parochial relief, are necessarily reduced, through the inadequacy of the funds provided for them. The officers have given in statements to your Committee, by which it appears that they are not able to grant pecuniary aid to so much as one-tenth part of those persons, who would be likely now to receive it, if they resided in other parishes; and also that to the few whom they relieve, on account of their being entirely out of work, they give only about one-fifth or one-sixth part of the sum commonly granted in London to persons in like circumstances. It is also stated, that the workhouses are at this time exceedingly crowded.

The rental of all these parishes charged to the poor-rates, which it is usual to do according to the rack rent, is about 60,000*l.*; the rental of the metropolis (if by the term is understood the district lying within the bills of mortality, together with the parishes of St. Pancras and St. Mary-le-Bonne) may be estimated at about fifty times that sum, or at about three millions. The number of persons in the three parishes, who are of the poorer class, and are not now relieved, are computed at between 16 and 17,000, forming unquestionably a large portion of the poorer labourers and manufacturers of various descriptions, who work both for the city and for other parts of the town.

In order to relieve the peculiar pressure on this body of persons, arising from the circumstances which have been represented, it is obvious that a considerable sum will be necessary: and it is also

certain, that this necessary sum cannot be obtained by additional burdens on the parishes themselves, since it has been lately found that every advancement of the rates causes an almost proportionate deficiency in the receipts, by producing in a short time an absolute necessity for allowing a very material increase in the exemptions.

Your Committee, in proceeding to consider the remedy for the evil which they have stated, have adverted to a clause in the Act of the 43d year of the reign of queen Elizabeth, entitled, "An Act for the Relief of the Poor;" by which it is enacted, that "if the justices charged with the execution of that act shall perceive that the inhabitants of any parish are not able to levy among themselves sufficient sums of money for the purposes of the Act, that then two justices may tax, rate, and assess, as aforesaid, any other of other parishes, or out of any parish within the hundred where the said parish is, to pay such sum and sums of money to the churchwardens and overseers of the said poor parish, for the said purposes, as the said justices shall think fit: and if the said hundred shall not be thought by the said justices able and fit to relieve the said several parishes not able to provide for themselves as aforesaid, then the justices of peace, at their general quarter sessions, or the greater number of them, shall rate and assess as aforesaid, any other of other parishes, or out of any parish within the said county, for the purposes aforesaid, as in their discretion shall seem fit."

This clause, when acted upon as it has been in some instances, is understood to have led to great litigation between parishes, and to have failed of much of its intended effect; and the mode of carrying it into execution appears to your Committee to be particularly ill calculated to provide a remedy for the evil which they have described. Though it affords a clear proof of the general intention of the Legislature in this respect, it shews, that it was not the purpose of Parliament, that parishes burdened in a particular manner with poor, should be so far insulated from all others, as never to call upon them for relief; and that even whole counties were considered as liable, if necessary, to be charged with additional poor rates, in order to ease contiguous parishes which were alike burdened. But in respect to the manner of appointing the new burden, it gives much more discretion to the magistrates than they can be supposed desirous of exercising, while also (leaving evidently out of its contemplation the case of a few adjacent parishes, all equally disabled from supporting their poor, through their contiguity to the metropolis,) it directs the levying of the auxiliary rate only in a part of that particular hundred which comprehends the parish or parishes in distress; except indeed that when such whole hundred shall have been rendered in the same degree incapable of affording farther support to the poor, direction is then given to raise the whole sum that is necessary, arbitrarily, in any part of the same county. But however defective this clause in the Act of Elizabeth

may be, the general principle of it is so equitable in itself, and is so easily rendered applicable to the case of over-burdened parishes adjoining to London, that your Committee are induced to express their very clear opinion of the expediency of so far following it, as to authorize the raising of some local fund for the purpose of easing the three parishes of whose distress complaints have been made. The sum wanted, in order both to discharge a chief part of their present very oppressive debts, to relieve some of the more indigent housekeepers now charged to the rates, and to provide, until the season of the next harvest, a fund for the support of the poor, that shall bear some proportion to the funds for that purpose, which are within the power of other parishes, will probably be between 20,000*l.* and 30,000*l.* a sum so light when levied on the whole metropolis, and so evidently called for by the necessity of the case, that your Committee trust the propriety of such a measure as they now propose will be generally felt. Whether this sum may best be raised by a small adtion to the present poor-rates, subject possibly to some general as well as particular exemptions, or by a per centage calculated on certain of the assessed taxes paid by persons in the metropolis, or by any other local fund, must be a subject for the consideration of the House.

Your Committee, in the mean time, from the pressing exigency of the case, think it necessary to recommend, that, with a view to the immediate ease of the parishes in question, the House should address his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to advance, for their use, out of the civil list, such sum as may be deemed necessary, assuring his Majesty that the House will proceed to make good the same; and your Committee beg leave to express their opinion, that it ought to be made good out of such local fund as shall be provided by Parliament for that purpose.

Your Committee have only farther to observe, that they trust the levying of a local tax through the metropolis, with the view which has been stated, will not be considered as opening the way to any invasion of that general principle of the poor laws, by which parishes, which have sufficient means of maintaining their poor, are exclusively charged with their support; a principle which they deem highly conducive to the good management of the poor, and respecting the preservation of which the House can scarcely be too jealous.

Your Committee conceive that the measure now proposed, being founded on the principle laid down in one of the clauses of that Act from which the poor laws of this country took their rise; and being also called for by the singular circumstances of the district which they have described, as well as by the extraordinary pressure of the present time, will form no precedent that can be pleaded, except in some case of similar emergency, and in a like period of dearness of provisions and consequent distress.

Sixth Report of the same Committee.

They have proceeded farther in the matters to them referred; and have agreed upon the following report:—

Your Committee having stated, in their first report, the reasons which induced them to direct their attention, in the first instance, to such measures as appeared best calculated to alleviate the present pressure, and as were capable of being carried into execution during the existence of this Parliament, have submitted to the wisdom of the House, in that and their subsequent reports, such suggestions as have appeared to them to fall within that description. They have been anxious to discharge with diligence the task which was imposed upon them, and had continued their sittings without intermission from day to day, from the period of their appointment to the present moment, when their proceedings are interrupted by the necessary termination of this session, in consequence of the union with Ireland. Notwithstanding their best exertions, so much time has been unavoidably occupied by the consideration and discussion of matters connected with the different measures above alluded to, which appeared to your Committee, in every point of view, the most important as well as the most urgent, that they have found it impossible to enter, so fully as they could wish, upon other parts of the extensive and complicated subject which the House has thought proper to refer to them.

The manner in which the commerce of grain is carried on, has however engaged no small proportion of their attention; but even upon this branch of the subject, the information which they have hitherto obtained, is far from being sufficient to enable your Committee to lay before the House any correct statement of facts, much less any well-considered opinion resulting from them. To form such an opinion, requires the attentive consideration of a great body of existing laws, and a minute acquaintance with an extensive system of trade, together with all the variations which have taken place, either by the authority of the legislature, or by changes of practice arising from an alteration in the habits of the people, or from the growth of commerce, and the increase of wealth. The subject is also of a nature which requires peculiar caution, from the danger which might attend an erroneous judgment, misled on the one hand by popular prejudice, or on the other by plausible theories, formed without sufficient examination of facts.

Your Committee have also considered that the interval will be very short between the conclusion of the present session and the meeting of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, when the inquiry into this, and other parts of the subject, may, and (as they humbly conceive) ought to be immediately resumed. They think it therefore more consistent with their duty, to leave whatever information they have collected as the groundwork of future and more complete investigation, rather than to hazard any hasty suggestions or statements upon a

matter of so much delicacy and difficulty; and they are persuaded, that the delay which may be thus occasioned, will be amply compensated by more mature discussion, and a more deliberate decision.

Your Committee, upon reviewing the different measures which have been adopted during the present session, have thought that it might be satisfactory to the House, if, before they conclude, they were to take some general view of the probable amount of the supply or saving which may be obtained from the various sources which they have pointed out, compared with the deficiency of the crop of wheat. It is unnecessary to observe, that such a statement must be in many respects conjectural, and deficient in precision; but it may perhaps furnish a general estimate, capable in some degree of guiding the expectations, and of relieving the anxiety of the public.

The quantity of wheat consumed in an ordinary year cannot be ascertained with any accuracy; but your Committee conceive, that, after allowing for the proportion of the population commonly subsisting upon other grain, the usual consumption of wheat cannot be supposed to exceed 7,000,000 quarters annually. Upon an average of ten years, including the very deficient harvests of 1795 and 1799, about 125,000 quarters of this quantity have been furnished by importation from foreign parts. The produce of an average crop may, therefore, have amounted to about 6,700,000 quarters; and the produce of the late harvest would, upon this supposition, have been about 5,000,000 quarters. The deficiency to be covered, in order to ensure the supply of the country for twelve months, from the 1st of October, 1800, to the 1st of October, 1801, may be about 2,000,000 quarters; of which, according to the average importation above stated, about 300,000 quarters might be expected to be drawn from abroad. It is also to be observed, that, in this mode of stating the account, whatever part of the last harvest, may have been consumed before the beginning of October, is supposed to be compensated by the proportion of the next harvest which may come into use before the corresponding period of the ensuing year, and that the estimate is formed upon the consumption of twelve months only.

A considerable proportion of the grain imported some time previous to the 1st of October, must undoubtedly have contributed to the subsistence of the country since that period: but, in the point of view in which your Committee have considered the subject, credit is taken only for the subsequent importation. The accounts are complete to the 20th of December; but adding thereto what has been since received in London and Hull, up to the 31st of December inclusive, the amount of wheat imported, exclusive of flour, is near 170,000 quarters, besides 60,000 quarters of barley, and 126,000 quarters of oats, 4400 cwt. of rice, and between 14 and 15,000 quarters of other grain and pulse.

Setting aside, for the present, the consideration of the farther supply of grain which may be re-

ceived from Europe, the first object to which your Committee will advert is, the importation from the United States of America. There is a peculiar advantage attending the supply from this quarter, that some part of it may be expected to arrive during the next month, and will continue during that period of the year when the importation from Europe is usually interrupted by the frost. According to the latest information, the crop in the United States has been uncommonly productive, and has been nearly free from the ravages occasioned in former years by the Hessian fly. The greatest quantity ever exported from that country (except in 1793, when it is said to have amounted to near 1,500,000 barrels) is stated to be between 1,200,000 and 1,300,000 barrels of flour, each weighing 196lbs. and considered as equal to about five bushels of wheat. This exportation took place during the time when that insect continued to do considerable mischief: it may, therefore, reasonable be expected that the surplus of American produce may now be greater than it was at that period; and that the high price of flour in England, together with the encouragement held out by Parliament, may bring to this country much the greatest proportion of that surplus. Supposing, however, the surplus to be no greater than the quantity before stated, and that only three-fourths of it should be sent to the British market, the supply derived from this quarter would be about 940,000 barrels, which, according to the usual estimate, is equal to about 580,000 quarters.

The harvest in Canada is stated to have been abundant, and an importation may be expected from that country amounting at least to 30,000 quarters.

In addition to this supply of wheat and flour, a considerable quantity of rice may be drawn from different parts of the world.

From the southern states of north America your Committee are informed, that a supply may be obtained of 70,000 barrels, (each weighing 5 cwt.) of which a part will probably arrive in January, and the remainder successively in the ensuing months.

From India a much larger quantity may ultimately be expected; but, as little, if any, of what may be obtained from thence, by the means of ships which have sailed from this country, can arrive before the beginning of October, 1801, your Committee have confined their estimate, in this view of the subject, to that part which may be sent from India in country or neutral ships, in consequence of orders dispatched from hence in September last: this has been stated at from 7000 to 10,000 tons, (equal to from 28,000 to 40,000 barrels of 5 cwt. each.)—The latter quantity is represented as the most probable of the two; and if sufficient shipping should be disengaged in India, it may arise to a much greater amount. It seems, therefore, not unreasonable to expect from that quarter, in the months of August and September, about 35,000 barrels; which, added to the importation from America, will amount to

105,000 barrels. Each barrel may be considered as more than equal, in point of weight, to the flour of all descriptions extracted from 12 bushels of wheat, but in point of nutriment, to a much larger quantity. On this subject your Committee have already submitted to the House the result of various experiments. From the experience of five years, at the Foundling Hospital, it appears, that when applied to the food of children in the manner in which it has been there prepared, one pound of rice will go as far as eight pounds of flour. Many other instances have been stated to your Committee, where this article has been extensively used, and where the increase has been nearly in as large a proportion; and even when mixed with flour in making bread, the produce of rice appears to be more than three times the produce of an equal quantity of flour. Your Committee, therefore, think themselves fully justified in stating, that the quantity of rice above-mentioned will (by adopting proper modes of preparation, which are now very generally known and practised,) afford more food, especially for children of all ages, than four times the same quantity of wheat; and may, therefore, be considered as fully equivalent to a supply of 630,000 quarters of wheat.

The importation of Indian corn has also been encouraged by the prospect of a liberal bounty.—The excellence of that grain, as the food of man, cannot be doubted, as it forms the chief subsistence of the southern part of the united states of America. The use of it here has, however, been hitherto so little known, that it is difficult to estimate either what quantity may be expected, or in what proportion it may be introduced into the consumption of this country; but as it is also applicable, with the greatest advantage, to the food of cattle, hogs, and poultry, it cannot fail to operate, either directly or indirectly, as a valuable addition to the general stock of grain.

The quantity of wheat which will be saved for food, by the prohibition of the manufacture of starch from that grain, will be about 40,000 quarters.

In consequence of the stoppage of the distilleries, at least 500,000 quarters of barley, which would have been consumed in that manufacture, will remain applicable to the subsistence of the people: but as it may be supposed that 11 bushels of barley are not more than equivalent to one quarter of wheat, this can only be stated at about 360,000 quarters.

Having stated to the House the best estimate they have been able to form of the direct supply which may be derived from the sources to which they have here adverted, (of which the supply from past importation, and from the stoppage of the manufactures of spirits and starch, may be considered as actually realized,) your Committee will proceed to take some view of that important and extensive resource which may be furnished by the most economical use and application of the produce of the country.

The saving to be derived from

the introduction of a larger proportion of the produce of grain into bread than is at present used, was stated by your Committee, in a former report, as equal to an addition of 450,000 quarters.—This was calculated upon a consumption of nine months in that part of the country which at present consumes either bread made of the fine flour, or of the remaining produce of the grain after the fine flour has been extracted. As this measure will not take full effect till the beginning of February, the saving must now be calculated upon eight months only. Your Committee have not thought the experiments, which it was possible in so short a time to make upon that subject, sufficiently exact to justify an alteration in the table of assize, and were desirous, for obvious reasons, to afford, in the first instance, an encouragement to the bakers, at least equal, if not superior to the profit they could make in manufacturing bread from fine flour: yet they see no reason for departing from their former opinion, that a larger quantity of bread will be produced from coarse meal than from fine flour: and they have, therefore, continued to estimate the saving upon that principle. By this mode of dressing, a larger quantity of materials for bread will be produced from all other species of grain as well as wheat; and it is also probable, that in many parts of the country where the wheat has been of good quality and well harvested, the whole meal, including the bran, will be made into bread. Your Committee will not, however, attempt to estimate the additional saving which may be produced by these circumstances, and will only state the increased supply of food which may be derived from the adoption of the measure above referred to, as equal to about 400,000 quarters.

It is still more difficult to estimate the advantages to be expected from the economy introduced into the consumption of private families, in consequence of the high price of grain, and of his Majesty's proclamation. Your Committee have seen with satisfaction the zeal and activity with which the execution of the salutary system therein recommended appears to have been undertaken by various classes of the community. Even if the operation of this measure should extend only to persons in some degree of affluence, the diminished consumption of their families could not fail to produce considerable effect. Supposing this reduction to take place only in 120,000 families, containing 10 persons in each family, and supposing that each person consumed, in ordinary times, the large allowance of a quarter of wheat annually, the saving, by the reduction of one-third of their consumption, (which has been practised with the greatest facility by families where other food is used) would, in nine months, amount to 300,000 quarters.

The prohibition of the use of new bread, which Parliament has thought proper to enforce by additional regulations, must also be productive of some farther economy. Although it cannot be expected to make any difference in the consumption of those fami-

lies whose means of obtaining other food may enable them to stint their allowance of bread; yet amongst those numerous classes of the community, whose principal subsistence is derived from this article, and who can, therefore, make no direct retrenchment, its effects must still be considerable.

The saving to be expected in the consumption of oats, is equally conjectural: but it may reasonably be hoped, that the same motives which will induce his Majesty's subjects to restrict the consumption of wheat in their families, will operate still more forcibly in reducing the expenditure of oats for the subsistence of horses; and that no small quantity of this species of grain will, in consequence, be applicable to more useful purposes. It has been farther stated to your Committee, that, by bruising oats, a greater quantity of food for horses, in the proportion of at least 4 to 3, may be produced from a given quantity of grain. By this and by other economical expedients, such as mixing oats with chaff and bran, beans, or chopped straw, the consumption of that article may be much diminished.

It should be farther observed, that the crop of barley this year has been, upon the whole, good, and that more of it than usual may, from the excellence of its quality, be applicable to bread; some proportion of that grain may, therefore, probably be transferred to the use of those parts of the kingdom which usually subsisted upon wheat alone, but which have of late returned to the consumption of barley. Your Committee have no means of estimating the extent to which this resource may be carried; but it must evidently afford, in addition to the quantity above stated, some farther assistance towards supplying the deficiency of wheat.

Your Committee have, in their former reports, directed the attention of the House to the great supply of excellent food which may be derived from the fisheries, and may render practicable a still farther saving in the consumption of grain, as well as of other articles of subsistence. Every encouragement which has been suggested by those best acquainted with the subject, has been granted by the liberality of Parliament, and the most beneficial effects may be expected from the exertions which that encouragement is likely to excite. From the eagerness with which the small supply of herrings which has hitherto reached the metropolis has been sought after, and from the number of orders which have been received from different parts of the country, your Committee entertain no doubt that, as soon as that supply can be increased in quantity and more widely diffused, this species of food will be rapidly introduced into general consumption.

In order to accelerate and facilitate this supply, advances have been made by Government to persons at the different ports of depot, such as Liverpool, Bristol, Hull, Lynn, Southampton, and Exeter, in addition to the amount of private subscriptions at these places; and directions have been given to the respective collectors of the customs to attend to such

applications as they may receive from other places, which may be desirous of procuring consignments of fish.

The extent and importance of the herring fishery has been already fully detailed to the House; and there seems no reason to doubt that it will answer, in a very considerable degree, the expectations which were formed of it.

The fisheries of mackarel and pilchards, which follow in succession, appear capable of almost equal entension; and the cod and haddock fisheries, which continue during the greatest part of the year, may also furnish an additional supply of food, to an extent which cannot be calculated, and (since the use of salt duty free has been permitted) at a price not exceeding, even in London, for some articles one penny, and for others two-pence per pound.

The price of such fish is not only so much lower than that of meat, as to recommend it as an useful substitute for that article; but as three or even five pounds of this wholesome and nutritious food can be afforded at a less rate than one pound of bread at its present price, it can hardly fail to meet with an extensive demand, wherever it can be obtained in sufficient quantity; and it will both cheapen and improve the subsistence of those classes of the community, who, from finding the whole of their earnings not more than adequate to procure the necessary supply of bread, have been reduced to subsist upon that article alone.

Your Committee are sensible that, even if any calculation could be formed of the amount of this resource, it would not be easy to ascertain the proportion which it might be supposed to bear to any given quantity of grain. But whether it is introduced into consumption as a substitute for vegetable or animal food, it is equally an addition of the utmost importance to the means of subsistence.

Your Committee have omitted to take notice of the Act passed for diminishing the consumption of bread, and for making better provision for the poor; because, whatever benefits may result from that measure, the diminution which it may occasion in the use of bread chiefly depends upon the introduction (as substitutes) of other articles, for most of which credit has been already taken.

The amount of those resources to which your Committee have adverted, which appeared in any degree capable of estimate, (subject to the observation with which they were at first introduced as being in many points conjectural, and necessarily deficient in precision,) would stand as follows:

	Quarters.
Importation of wheat since the beginning of October, above	170,000
Importation of flour from the United States, equal to	580,000
Importation of wheat from Canada	30,000
Rice, equivalent to	630,000
Stoppage of starch manufactory	40,000

Stoppage of distilleries	360,000
Use of coarse meal	400,000
Retrenchment	300,000
	2,510,000

In this enumeration no credit is taken for any quantity of barley which may be imported, exceeding the usual importation of 50,000 quarters, (although more than 60,000 quarters are already arrived;) for such proportion of the crop of barley as may be transferred to the use of the consumers of wheat; for any importation of Indian corn; for any retrenchment in the article of oats; for the reduction of consumption by the use of stale bread; nor for the great supplies to be expected from the fisheries.

It will also be observed, that your Committee have taken no credit, in the preceding statement, for any farther importation of wheat from the continent of Europe. They see, however, no ground for departing from the opinion expressed in their first report, that, as far as depends upon the exertions of individual merchants, both British and foreign, the supply of wheat to be drawn from thence may equal that of last year, and that the crops of barley and oats may furnish more than they did during that period; and the quantity already imported affords a strong confirmation of this opinion.—What circumstances, of a different nature, may interfere with the effect of those exertions, it is not within the province of your Committee to consider: but, supposing the supply from those quarters to be, from any causes, diminished or suspended, or even (which seems under any circumstances impossible) completely stopped; yet your Committee have the satisfaction of being persuaded, that the resources enumerated in the preceding statement are adequate, upon a moderate calculation, to furnish a sufficient supply for that period to which your Committee has considered them as applicable, and to relieve, by their gradual operation, the present exigency. Whatever may be drawn from the continent of Europe is an addition to those resources, certainly important, but by no means of absolute necessity, and, together with the great quantity of rice which may be expected from the East Indies subsequent to the next harvest, may be considered as supplying not our immediate wants, but that the diminution of the ordinary stock of the country which took place previous to the harvest of 1801, in consequence of the great deficiency of the preceding year; a diminution which is one of the main causes of the present insufficient supply and high prices, and which must retard in its consequences (whatever may be the abundance of the next harvest,) the return of cheapness and of plenty.

Your Committee think it, however, highly important to observe, that although the resources above mentioned, as fully brought forward, appear inadequate to produce the effects which they look to with hope and expectation; yet a large proportion of them depends upon the voluntary ex-

ertions of the people, and they can be rendered effectual for general relief only by the uninterrupted calculation and unchecked activity of commerce, and by the zeal and energy which may be employed, by different classes of the community, in promoting, according to their respective means, an object of such general concern.

First Report from the Lords' Committees on the present Scarcity of Corn.

The Lords' Committees, to whom it was referred to consider so much of his Majesty's speech, at the opening of the present session, as relates to the high price of provisions, and to whom has since been referred the consideration of a message from the House of Commons, relative to the same subject:

Have agreed to report to the House that, since their appointment, they have proceeded with all possible diligence to inquire into such particulars as they judged might be most worthy of the attention and consideration of the House, with respect to the matter referred to them.

They have more particularly applied themselves to ascertain the actual state of the Kingdom in respect to the productiveness of the late harvest, and to the stock of grain which may be supposed to be now in hand; which inquiry they have pursued by the examination of persons best acquainted with the situation of different parts of the country in this respect; being satisfied that any attempt at more minute investigation, or actual survey, would be inconvenient in practice, and probably in its result very little satisfactory.

As this course of inquiry is as yet by no means completed, the Lords' Committees do not think it right for them to offer to the House any precise opinions as to the probable amount of the deficiency, grounded on such information as they have hitherto received.

But the Lords' Committees do by no means think it advisable to delay any measures of immediate relief for the purpose of previously completing the inquiry in which they are engaged.

Whatever judgment may ultimately be formed respecting the amount of the deficiency of the last harvest, it is certain that the stock of old grain was almost entirely exhausted at the beginning of the autumn, and that the produce of the present year was, therefore, begun to be consumed almost as soon as it was harvested, and at least two or three months earlier than is usual.

This view of the subject has, therefore, already sufficiently convinced the Committee of the pressing necessity both of giving due encouragement to early importation, and of adopting all practicable economy in the consumption of grain during the present year; and they have unanimously agreed to recommend to this House, that, in addition to the Bills which have already passed, or are now in the course of passing through the House, for restraining the export and encouraging the import of the different

sorts of grain, and for preventing their being applied to other purposes than those of food, this House should also concur with the other House in their proposed address to his Majesty.

The Lords' Committees trust that the proclamation which his Majesty is there requested to issue, may probably engage the serious attention of the various classes of their fellow-subjects to this most important object, and may induce them to adopt such detailed regulations respecting the consumption of their families in the different sorts of grain and other articles of provision, as may not merely produce a general resolution to economize as much as possible in those articles, but may also ensure the full execution of this laudable disposition, by such particular measures as may be most practicable for that purpose in the different districts of the Kingdom.

With this view the Lords' Committees think it right here to add, that as the use of pure wheaten bread, and of other articles made of pure wheaten flour, ought in their judgment to be wholly discontinued by all persons whose means and circumstances enable them to have recourse to other articles of subsistence, it appears to them extremely desirable, that every practicable encouragement should be given by Parliament, if necessary, and by the Magistrates in the different districts of the country, under the now-existing laws, to the grinding wheaten flour (mixed in such proportions as may be found most advantageous) with barley, oats, pease, or rye; and although it is the intention of the Committee to pursue a more detailed inquiry into the whole of this part of the subject, they are induced to mention this point more particularly in the present instance, from their having been informed that misapprehension has prevailed in some parts of the kingdom respecting the present state of the laws on this subject, and that it has not been universally understood by the millers and other persons engaged in those concerns, that the grinding mixed flour, compounded of any or all the different articles above enumerated, is not only legal, where the article is openly sold as being so mixed, but is highly commendable in those who at the present period endeavour to introduce such mixtures into more general consumption.

Second Report, by the Lords' Committees on the present Scarcity of Corn.

Ordered to report, that the Lords' Committees have, since their First Report to your Lordships, proceeded with all the diligence in their power to investigate the several matters referred to them by the House.

They have thought, in an inquiry so interesting and important as that which was referred to them, that it became them to endeavour to inform themselves upon the subjects connected with it, both extensively and in detail; and, although they have hitherto principally confined their inquiries to the actual state of the harvest of this year, the stock of old corn in hand, the probability of importa-

tion, and the means of procuring substitutes, as well as of introducing them into more general use, they have also endeavoured to inform themselves upon other matters connected with a still more extensive view of this important subject.

Part First.—Deficiency of Crop, &c.

The Lords' Committees think it their duty to call the attention of the House, in the first place, to the actual state of the late harvest.

The report of the Committee of the House of Commons, referred to them by this House, and the various papers and documents which have been laid before them, contained much important information on this part of the subject; but the Lords' Committees were farther desirous of ascertaining still more particularly the correctness of those statements.

They have, therefore, endeavoured to procure, from respectable and well informed persons in different counties of this Kingdom, (where it was possible for them, within a reasonable time to attend the Committee) the most exact reports upon the subjects above alluded to; and where it has been impossible to obtain this information by personal attendance (particularly in the case of some parts both of Scotland and Wales, and the more remote districts of England,) they have received from those best capable of affording it, the most detailed and precise communications in writing; which deviation from the usual practice of this House and its Committees they trust your Lordships (under the particular circumstances of the case) will not disapprove.

The Lords' Committees endeavoured, first, to inform themselves of the amount of an average crop in ordinary years, throughout the Kingdom, in the different sorts of grain; they then proceeded to inquire respecting the actual crop of the last harvest, as compared with an average crop, and also respecting the stock of old corn in hand at the beginning of harvest, as compared with the usual stock; and likewise as to the result of such experiments as have been made with respect to the yield of flour from grain, and of grain from straw, since the last harvest. The result for each county of the actual information so received has been, under their direction, reduced into tables, and is subjoined to this Report in the Appendix thereto. It may be material to observe, that the variations, which will frequently be found in the accounts from the same county, are to be explained by the following circumstance: that the persons from whom the information is derived often speak to different districts of the same county, which differ much from each other, both in soil and produce.

The Reports which have been laid before your Committee from the receivers general of the land-tax, from officers employed under the boards of taxes, stamps, and excise, together with the returns which have been received in consequence of the circular letters of the bishops of the different dioceses to their Clergy, appear fully to justify the conclusion stated in the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons, that the crop

of wheat of the last year was deficient by one-fourth of the average produce.

It is difficult to state with precision any average deficiency for the whole Kingdom, as collected from those local informations, as to particular districts, which have been furnished by the persons who have been summoned to attend. Your Lordships' Committees, on the fullest consideration of the subject, are confident that the deficiency of the wheat of the late harvest amounted to at least one-fourth; and the Committee are inclined to believe, that it may have been greater, as it has been almost universally stated to them, that although the yield of the flour from grain harvested before the rains has been, for the most part, abundant; yet that great quantities of corn were damaged by the rains, and, in consequence thereof, furnished a deficient return of flour; and that, on the other hand, the yield of grain from straw has been generally deficient. They have the satisfaction, however, of being able to inform your Lordships, that the crops of barley may, upon the whole, be considered as approaching nearer to an average crop, and the crop of oats as equal, on the whole, to an average; but it is necessary to state, that in many parts of the Kingdom these crops have also been much damaged by the rains; although in others they have been well harvested, and the flour from the barley of the present year so harvested is stated to be of the finest quality ever remembered.

The Committee have likewise the satisfaction to add, that the crops of pease are, in general, good; and that those of potatoes, although inferior in produce by the acre to the crops of former years, and although the quality of that root is less nutritious, from its having sprouted in consequence of the rains succeeding the hot weather; yet, from the additional number of acres planted, the Lords' Committees think themselves justified in stating the whole quantity produced not to be much less than the usual average; but they think it necessary to subjoin, that it has been found, from the above cause, that the potatoes of this year are more liable than usual to spoil in the keeping.

The Committee think it proper to make some observations relating to Scotland in particular; and are happy to observe, the grain which is principally deficient in England, is not that which is most necessary for the support of the labouring classes in Scotland.

The result of the information received represents the western side (for every part of Scotland, from its narrowness, speaking generally, may be considered as belonging to the eastern or western division of the island) as having had nearly an average crop of all sorts of grain; but the eastern side, from England to Edinburgh, has not produced more than two-thirds of the ordinary quantity of wheat, or more than three-fourths of oats and barley. From Edinburgh to Caithness inclusive, notwithstanding the productiveness of that country this season, the Committee cannot estimate the crops of wheat, oats, and barley, at more than two-thirds of an usual produce, though the last-mentioned grain must be under-

stood as rather more productive than oats, north from Dundee.

The Committee, in summing up what they think it necessary to state concerning Scotland, are sorry to observe, taking the whole of the country, that the crops of hay and straw must be considered as considerably defective.

The Lords' Committees have been informed, with scarcely an exception, that the stock of old corn was very nearly exhausted at the period of the late harvest; and, instead of the usual stock in the possession of the farmers, millers, and bakers, at that time, which is almost universally stated to be from two to three months consumption, and even sometimes more, they have been invariably informed, that the stock of this year was not in any place more than the consumption of about three weeks, and that many parts of the Kingdom were at that period wholly supplied with foreign grain.

Part Second.—Means of economizing Consumption.

In their First Report, the Lords' Committees advised your Lordships to concur in an address to his Majesty, as proposed by the House of Commons, humbly requesting that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to issue a proclamation, strictly enjoining and requiring the utmost economy in the consumption of all articles of grain. The Lords' Committees can entertain no doubt of the disposition of their fellow-subjects to concur in carrying into the fullest effect the solemn call which his Majesty has, in consequence thereof, been pleased to make on all classes of the community. But they take the liberty to repeat to your Lordships their decided opinion, that this can only be done by the adoption of detailed measures for the purpose, grounded on a deliberate conviction of that necessity, the existence of which has, on the fullest investigation, been clearly proved to the Committees of both Houses of Parliament.

With a view to bring more particularly before your Lordships the consideration of the different resources to which recourse may be had on this occasion, to economize the consumption of wheat, the Lords' Committees have entered very extensively into this branch of the subject referred to them.

The most natural and obvious substitutes for wheat are the other grains of the growth of this Kingdom, barley, oats, and rye.

With respect to these, the Lords' Committees have been informed that a much larger proportion than is perhaps generally understood, of the northern parts of England, have always continued in the habit of consuming oaten bread, and that in the midland and western counties, barley enters largely into the food of the labouring classes; and they trust that these facts, strongly urged and impressed upon the public mind, will tend to remove an ill-founded prejudice which your Committee are informed still exists in this metropolis, and in its neighbourhood, against the use of any other bread than that made from the finest wheaten flour.

The Lords' Committees have found, that in most parts of the Kingdom, where the inhabitants

had formerly been accustomed to the use of bread made with a mixture of barley, or with barley alone, and where, within a few years, that diet had been partially changed for wheaten bread, recourse had almost universally been had to their former food; and that, in some parts of this Kingdom, where mixed bread had not before been brought into general use, this mode (which your Committee conceive to be far the best) of economizing of wheat, has recently been adopted.

Barley.

The testimonies from all the persons from the different counties, who have been examined on this point, are uniformly in favour of barley, as the most nourishing and cheapest article of food, whether as an entire substitute for the use of wheaten bread, or in mixtures with wheaten or other flour.

It is stated to your Committee, that in a considerable part of Devonshire little else is used among the poorer classes than bread made entirely of barley; that in ordinary years one-eighth part of the consumption of the county of Dorset is in barley, and that this year it has been one-fourth; that on the hills, in Gloucestershire, it has been used with wheat, in the proportion of one-half, and in the vale part of the same county, in that of one-third. That in some parishes of Nottinghamshire, the subsistence of the poorer classes has been confined to barley alone; that in many parts of Northamptonshire and Huntingdonshire, and other of the midland counties, they use bread made entirely of barley; that the use of mixed bread has become general in parts of Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire; that in Lincolnshire the poorer classes who (within the memory of the person from whom this testimony was received) had exchanged the use of barley bread for wheaten, returned last year to barley bread; that in Yorkshire and Lancashire the use of it has been much extended; and that in Scotland a considerable quantity of barley meal was substituted for oats during the last season, and has given satisfaction.

The information thus received of the great increase of the use of this grain is the more satisfactory to the Committee, from the circumstance of the knowledge they had already acquired of the superior quality of the flour produced from it in the present year; and the increased demand appears to them to afford a sufficient reason for the high price of this article, notwithstanding the crop has been proportionably much more productive than that of wheat.

That an article now of such general use is, in no degree, prejudicial to health, it is hardly necessary to state. But least any doubt should be entertained on this subject by those who have not been in the habit of seeing its effects, the Committee think it right to mention, that on information, respecting places where it has been used exclusively through the whole year, it appears in evidence, that the inhabitants have been at least as healthy as with the use of any other food; and the Committee are informed, that one of the best proportions in which it can be mixed with wheat,

where it is not used alone, is one-half barley to a like quantity of wheat.

Oats.

With respect to oats, the crop of which, in England, appears to have been equal to an average crop, the Committee find, that the consumption of this article, which is used almost universally in Scotland and some of the bordering counties of England, has also been considerably extended in Lancashire and in other parts of the Kingdom; and as no race of men is more hardy than that of the inhabitants of those counties where this article is the general food, the Committee think, that it must be considered as a valuable substitute for wheat in those parts of the kingdom where it is not yet brought into general use.

It may be ground in equal proportions with wheat or with barley; and either of these mixtures will, as the Committee are informed, make a palatable and nutritious bread.

Rye.

Rye is an article less generally consumed in this kingdom than either of the preceding grains; but it is used alone in bread amongst the pitmen and other labourers of the counties of Durham and Northumberland. It is mixed with wheat in some parts of the north, and experiments have been successfully made by mixing it with other grain for bread.

Pease and Potatoes.

The Lords' Committee also call the attention of your Lordships to the use of pease in various methods, particularly in soups for the labouring classes, and in mixed breads, and also that of potatoes, which have, by rapid degrees, within the last twenty years, been introduced as a very general food among all descriptions of persons.

Rice.

Your Lordships' Committees next proceed to call your attention to the article of rice. They have great satisfactions in confirming to your Lordships the information contained in the report of the Committee of the House of Commons, of the expectation of a large importation of this excellent and nutritious food. They have heard from all parts of the country where this substitute has been introduced, that the utmost satisfaction has arisen whenever its advantages, and the use to which it should be applied, have been understood; and as your Committee are aware, that the most detailed instructions are necessary in order to bring into general use a substitute of the nature of rice, which can only be rendered fully advantageous as a food of man by attention to some circumstances in the modes of preparing it, the knowledge of which (notwithstanding the highly commendable endeavours used for that purpose, particularly by the Society for bettering the Condition of the Poor) is not yet universally diffused, they have thought it necessary in this case, and in others which they have submitted and proposed to submit to your Lordships, to enter into a minute detail in the Appendix of this

Report, confident that by such means they are most likely to further the great end of economy in the consumption of grain, and especially of wheat.

The use of rice is very beneficial where it is mixed with wheat and other grain, for the purpose of making bread.

Such bread is stated to your Committee to have been made, and readily purchased by the poorer classes in the neighbourhood of Gloucester, and also in part of Sussex. And bread made of four parts wheat and one part rice is now made in London, and sold in considerable quantities, at a price below that of the wheaten loaf. It has also been successfully tried for a considerable period in private families.

But the Committee do not consider the use of rice in bread as the most economical or advantageous way of applying this article to the food of the labouring classes. A great variety of information has satisfied them, that more food is produced from it by some of the other methods, of which particular accounts are stated in the Appendix; and they are enabled to add, from the concurrent testimony of persons from almost every part of the Kingdom, that wherever this article has been introduced, it has been found to afford both a palatable and nutritious food. In Rutlandshire particularly, they have been informed, that it is now generally used by full two-thirds of the inhabitants.

Indian Corn.

Your Committee have received very satisfactory information of the great advantages which have accrued from the use of Indian corn, where it had been tried, both as food for man and for horses, and they have also the satisfaction to inform the House, that the importation of this grain, which has formerly been inconsiderable, may in future be much enlarged.

They have not learned that the use of this article has, as yet, become general in any part of the Kingdom; but on trials that have been made of it in different parts of the Kingdom, it has been found to answer perfectly well, and to afford a peculiarly cheap and nutritious food; and it is well known that in America it constitutes a considerable part of the food of all classes of the inhabitants, who are so attached to it, that, when in this country, they frequently procure it by importation for their own consumption. It may be ground into meal by the ordinary process, or may be used when only broken, according to the modes stated in the Appendix.

As food for horses it is very nourishing and healthy; it is in general use for this purpose also in America, and is considered as more strengthening than oats, being given only in the proportion of one-half of that grain.

Its ordinary price in America is stated to your Committee to be one-third less than wheat; and there appears reason to believe, that even in the present year considerable quantities may be imported.

To the consideration of these articles of grain your Committee thought it necessary to add that of fish, of meat, and of soups, in

so far as these appeared to afford the means of food for the more numerous classes of their fellow-subjects.

Fish.

On the first of these points all they could have stated to the House has been anticipated by the Second Report of the Committee of the House of Commons, which has been communicated to your Lordships, and referred to this Committee. They highly approve the measures already taken on this subject, and if sufficient encouragement be given by Parliament to the plan there detailed, and if the zeal of individuals and of those with whom rests the management of the parishes, particularly in the metropolis, be directed to it, the Committee are sanguine in their expectation of its being productive of the most extensive advantages.

Meat.

With respect to meat, it has been stated to the Committee, that the cheaper parts of beef and mutton may be applied with great advantage, in point of expence, to the food of labourers, particularly if mixed with rice.

But there is another resource which might be resorted to, and that to a considerable extent.

Your Committe have learnt that there is a large quantity of salt beef now in the London markets, and that more is daily expected from Ireland, where the price is considerably lower than last year. This beef is now sold at such a price as that it may be applied with very great advantage to the food of the poorer classes, especially if mixed with rice. In Scotland it is used in broth and mixed with vegetables; but it has not yet been brought into any general use in England, though upon the trials hitherto made, by mixing it with rice and with pease, it has been received as a very acceptable article of food, particularly as a substitute for bacon, the price of which is now unusually high.

Soups.

Soups were last winter distributed in considerable quantities, particularly in the metropolis; and it is stated that two-thirds of the expence that would have been incurred in the usual mode of parish relief has thus been saved, and that greatly to the advantage of the persons receiving this aid.

Your Committee cannot too strongly express their sense of the infinite advantages that have been derived from these excellent institutions, which they have the satisfaction to know have been imitated in various parts of the country, both by the benevolence of individuals and also by the well applied zeal and discretion of parochial officers. Every degree of encouragement should, in the opinion of the Committee, be given to the continuance of this system, which is peculiarly beneficial, not only to those persons who actually receive parochial relief, but also to those, who not receiving such relief, yet nevertheless feel most severely the pressure from the present dearth of provisions. And your Committee has been informed, that one of the most useful ways of giving this encouragement would be the disuse of soup or gravy

meats in opulent families, by which means the coarser but not less nourishing pieces would be sold at a reduced price to these establishments, for the consumption of poorer families.

The Lords' Committees having thus called your Lordships' attention to the modes in which these substitutes of our own growth and of importation can be used, proceed to give your Lordships their humble opinion with respect to the economical consumption of them; but, before they proceed to observe on this subject, they think proper to state, with respect to wheat, although the deficiency of the crop may be calculated at not much more than a fourth of the average growth, they cannot but most earnestly recommend an endeavour to reduce their consumption of that grain in the proportion of at least one-third, as required by his Majesty's royal proclamation, such reduction appearing to them absolutely necessary, taking into consideration the want of stock in hand, the deficiency above stated, and the expenditure of a sixth of the crop, which may be taken as the quantity already used for seed. They are unanimously of opinion, that the entire use of pure wheaten flour, and the use of pure wheaten bread, other than such as shall be made of the whole meal (the broad bran only being excluded), should be wholly discontinued; that a mixture of at least one-third of other grain should be used where it can be procured; and farther, that such reduction in the consumption, even of bread so mixed, should be made from the usual allowance in families (where other articles of food can be provided) as may bring it to one quartern loaf per head per week, or even to less, as your Committee are of opinion, from information which they have received, that less will be sufficient in such families.—With respect to barley, which your Committee have stated as the first substitute to be resorted to in a scarcity of wheat, they see, with great satisfaction, that laws have been passed to prevent the use of barley in the distilleries, and to allow of such alterations in the method of making malt from such barley as is not fit for the food of man, as to introduce so much larger a proportion of this grain to be used as bread. The Lords' Committees have, for a similar reason, great satisfaction in observing, that the attention of all persons is called, by his Majesty's proclamation, to the utmost saving in the use of oats by horses, as they are informed that a saving may be made of at least one-fourth, in the ordinary method of feeding horses not used for the hardest work, particularly by the mode lately adopted with the best effect in this metropolis (as given in evidence before your Committee,) namely, by mixing chopped hay and straw with oats so given.

Part Third.—Freedom of Circulation.

Your Committee feel themselves strongly called upon to point out the great importance of preserving the commerce and circulation of grain in the interior of this Kingdom perfectly free and open, as the only method of pre-

serving any degree of level through the different markets of the Kingdom, and as the most efficient means of securing to the consumer bread at the cheapest rate.

It has clearly appeared to your Committee, by the evidence of the witnesses examined, that all obstructions to the purchase or removal of grain and every event which created apprehensions in the minds either of the farmers or of the dealers in corn, as to the security and freedom of their trade, have uniformly tended to raise the price, and have, in many instances, proved highly injurious to the community at large, particularly by rendering difficult in one place, as stated to your Committee, the circulation of seed corn, and absolutely, in some instances, preventing the baking of a sufficient quantity of bread for the usual consumption.

As far as has appeared to your Committee (and they have not neglected to examine extensively as to the existence of the supposed combinations and fraudulent practices of unfair dealers), they have not been able to trace, in any one instance, any thing more than such suspicious and vague reports as usually prevail in times of scarcity; and they are of opinion, that what have been represented as deep schemes and fraudulent practices to raise the market, have been only the common and usual proceedings of dealers in all articles of commerce where there is a great demand, and where great capitals and great activity are employed.

Your Committee do not take upon them to determine that no abuses have been, in any instance, committed by individuals; but, in the trade at large, they have hitherto perceived no injurious system to prevail; and they are confident the fullest and most ample protection ought to be afforded to all dealers in corn by the Legislature and by the magistrates, not only from attention to that general principle of security and freedom of commerce which is conformable to the system of our laws and government, but also because persons engaged in this branch of trade are highly useful, and even necessary, for the due and regular supply of the markets, and may, therefore, be considered as rendering an important service to the people at large.

Conclusion.

In adverting to the matter referred to them, upon the extensive scale on which the Lords' Committees thought it their duty to consider it, they are desirous of touching upon some of the other points connected with it, to which they alluded in the commencement of their report, although they do not feel themselves sufficiently informed to report any detailed opinion to the House. The means of preventing the recurrence of such difficulties as are now experienced, are naturally connected with the consideration of the mode of relieving the present pressure.

Your Committee have every reason to believe, that although, from the recency of many of the enclosures, the full advantage which may be expected from them has not yet been derived, they have unquestionably contributed to the improvement of agriculture,

and an increased quantity of human food. Your Committee, therefore, entertain no doubt that infinite benefit will result from a still farther encouragement to enclosures in general, and particularly of waste and uncultivated lands; a measure that they deem themselves bound to recommend in the strongest manner, in the full expectation that the enclosure of those lands, would, in itself, afford the most effectual means to prevent the recurrence of the deficiency of grain, from which the present inconveniences are experienced. It has farther appeared to your Committee in the course of their inquiry, that the inundations of the fens, which took place in the year 1795, and in the years 1799 and 1800, have considerably diminished the ordinary supply of oats of our own growth, of which a proportion equal to one-third is calculated to be the produce of that district of country which includes the fens of Lincolnshire, Cambridgeshire, Norfolk, Huntingdonshire, and Northamptonshire. They have also been assured on the same authorities, that if the drainage of the fens were rendered more secure by an improvement of the outfal to the sea, a very considerable addition may be expected to the national produce of every description.

They are farther of opinion, that it may be expedient to examine the effects of the present laws, as well such as affect importation and exportation, as those which regulate the internal commerce of grain; to remove what has almost universally been stated to your Lordships' Committee as a very great and material inconvenience, viz. the difference of the measures for the sale of corn throughout the Kingdom; and to investigate whether the sale of corn by weight, or the sale by weight and measure combined, would not be more advantageous than by measure alone.

The Lord's Committees had entertained an anxious wish to connect with this Report some more detailed opinions upon subjects of this extreme importance. They have found it impossible, consistently with the more pressing subjects of this Report, to enter at large upon these topics; but they conceive, and humbly suggest, that an inquiry into them may be pursued with advantage in a future session of Parliament.

Import of Wheat in the Port of London, laid on the Table of the House of Lords, July 10, 1800.

	Quarters.
1781 —	98,270
1782 —	4,635
1783 —	240,134
1784 —	36,966
1785 —	605
1786 —	——
1787 —	——
1788 —	4
1789 —	5,908
1790 —	67,032
1791 —	49,504
1792 —	7,065
1793 —	170,971
1794 —	19,654
1795 —	198,011
1796 —	477,877
1797 —	195,462
1798 —	152,449
1799 —	238,208
To June 21, 1800 —	222,757

John Glover, pro. Inspector.

Resolutions of the Grand Jury of the County of York, respecting the Scarcity.

York, March 15, 1800.

We, the Grand Jury of the county of York, impressed with a conviction, that at this crisis it is the duty of all, not only individually but collectively, to stand forward in the cause of their country, think it becoming, to offer our sentiments to the public in the following resolutions:

Resolved, That it is melancholy to observe that corn has risen twice within the last five years, not only to double its usual price, but to double the price that, in the opinion of the Legislature, it ought to bear, since there is a law to allow the importation of wheat from foreign countries, with the trifling duty of 6*d.* per quarter, whenever it rises above the price of 52*s.* per quarter.

Resolved, That although two severe visitations, succeeding each other very rapidly and recently, may seem to account for the present deficiency of corn, yet that a deeper investigation of the subject will bring forth a conviction, that even the present scarcity is more truly attributable to a general deficiency of the annual produce of the country as compared with its consumption, and that, in process of time, the evil is likely to become worse and worse.

Resolved, That the produce of grain in this country falling short of the consumption must be more strikingly evident, if we attend to the importation of corn in any given number of years last past, and particularly of the years 1794, 1795, and 1796, which, by the report of the Committee of waste lands, amounted in value to about eight millions sterling.

Resolved, That it having been stated by the privy council so long ago as the year 1790, that the value of corn imported, on an average of eighteen years preceding, was not even one-eighth of what it appears to have been since, in the years 1794, 1795, and 1796, is a proof that we are in a state of increasing demand upon other countries, and that to expect so great a deficiency as has been stated in the foregoing resolution, to be constantly supplied from foreign countries must be delusive, if we consider that it is generally believed that, in a common year, the produce of corn in Europe is very little, if any thing, more than equal to the consumption of its inhabitants, and that in any scarcity resource must be had to America; and that since the year 1790, it has been proved by experience that America has not, in any one year, furnished much more corn and flour than was sufficient for seven days' consumption of this country.

Resolved, That this country being in such a state of inability to provide, by its annual produce, grain for the annual consumption of its inhabitants, and having so scanty and precarious a resource in foreign countries, it is become a matter of most imperious necessity to consider of its future amelioration in this important respect.

Resolved, That it appeared from the report of the Committee of waste lands, that there remained in England, in common, waste, and uncultivated land, the

immense quantity of 7,800,000 acres.

Resolved, That, without asserting or imagining that all these are convertible into a more productive state, it is evident that, in attention to this mine, lie the only true, permanent, effectual, and wise means of redressing our present, or securing against future wants, and of obviating the necessity of a precarious dependance upon foreign assistance.

Resolved, That this country, happily possessing within itself the means of its own salvation, it seems a matter of clear, urgent, and necessary policy to call them into effect; and it is hoped that the wisdom of the Legislature will take into its serious consideration the framing of such laws and regulations as may best promote the immediate bringing into the best cultivation all such parts, as may be capable of it, of the great tracts of land that are now lying in the state above referred to.

Resolved, That it seems a very well-founded opinion, that was given by the persons appointed to examine into and report upon the general state of agriculture in this country, when they almost unanimously and uniformly declared that the want of a fair and permanent compensation to the proprietors in lieu of tithes in kind, is one of the greatest obstacles not only to enclosure, but to the due improvement of agriculture.

Resolved, That, amongst other means which will doubtless occur upon a due investigation of the subject, it will be useful to facilitate enclosure, by lessening its expenses, not merely by reducing certain fees that have been talked of, but by moderating the charges of solicitors, commissioners, and public meetings; by removing obstacles between party and party (of which fair and adequate commutation for tithes is a principal;) and by giving encouragement to the more spirited management of land, and to agriculture in general, that respectability and importance in the scale of the public consideration, that it so pre-eminently deserves.

(Signed) George Armitage, Bart. Foreman; and the rest of the Grand Jury.

Official Letter from the Duke of Portland to the Lord-Lieutenant of the County of Oxford.

Whitehall, Sept. 29, 1800.

My lord,

I have had the honour to receive your grace's letter of the 25th instant, and am very glad to find that the disposition to riot at Witney has been suppressed, and that all is quiet there for the present. I cannot, however, advert to the cause to which your grace is of opinion that this event may be ascribed, and to the consequence which you seem to think would follow the removal of the troops which have been sent into Oxfordshire, without participating in your apprehensions, so far as to assure your grace that none of them will be withdrawn, until you are entirely satisfied that no part either of the county or city of Oxford is any longer exposed to the risk of suffering from the effect of popular tumult. But notwithstanding these precautions, and all the extent of the

military and civil power which is now placed at your grace's disposal, considering the state of the county, your grace will give me leave to represent to you the necessity, which I am persuaded there must be for the exertion of all your great influence and authority to combat and counteract the prejudices which have operated no less powerfully than unfortunately, in disposing a very large part of the community to believe that the late scarcity was artificial, and has been owing to the views and speculations of certain interested and rapacious men, who take advantage of the difficulties and distresses of the times to enrich themselves at the expense of the public. Your grace need not be reminded of the circumstances of the last year's harvest, and of the unfavourable state of the ground at the time of sowing wheat, to account for the dearness of that article, and indeed of every other sort of grain, and of all provisions in general; and although the quantity of corn which has been imported has far exceeded the most sanguine expectations, neither in that respect, nor in quality, does it, or can it ever compensate for the deficiency which was and will be occasioned by such a season as that of last year; nor would it have the effect which must be hoped to be derived from it, was it to be brought without reserve to market, in the same quantities in which it is landed; for, from the best information that can be obtained of the state of this year's crop throughout the kingdom, I am sorry to say, that, according to the most sanguine estimation, the produce of it is not likely to amount to more than three-fourths of an average crop; and it is thought by many that it will not exceed three-fifths. But be the amount what it may, it is, I fear, but too well ascertained, that the whole produce of the grain, in the best of years, is not equal to the annual consumption of the country. I need not ask your grace what must be the consequence of suffering the doctrines which have of late been so unhappily received against the growers of corn, and dealers in that commodity, to prevail, or of their not being discountenanced by every possible means that can be employed for that purpose; and it must be too evident, that it is indispensably necessary, without loss of time, or being influenced by any other consideration, to counteract and expose the folly and injustice of this false policy, to which it is to be attributed the assumption of a right to set prices on commodities brought to market, of fixing a maximum for the articles of daily consumption, of entering into associations (which is much the same thing) not to give more than a certain price for any of those articles, of obliging the growers of corn, or dealers in other articles of provision, to sell at a given price, and, what is worst of all, going in bands to the houses of farmers, and forcing them by threats, and various other modes of intimidation, to enter into engagements to bring and dispose of their commodities at a given price; a proceeding which I cannot advert to without urging your grace to prosecute, without distinction, all persons

concerned in it, in the most vigorous, exemplary and impressive manner, which the power, military as well as civil, under your command, will most speedily and effectually enable you to do. It would be an unreasonable abuse of your grace's time to enumerate the evils which must unavoidably result from a continuance of the proceedings which I have taken the liberty of pointing out to you, as requiring to be immediately suppressed. But if any thing could contribute to realize the absurd notion of corn being destroyed for the purpose of keeping up the price of it, this would be more likely to effect it than any other mode that could be adopted, as the life of a person possessed of corn, or any other article of provision, is rendered no less insecure than his property, and it would consequently tend, as all other acts of violence do, to the concealment, much more than the production of the commodity; the consequence of which must be obvious in the injury resulting to landed property, by discouraging tillage and every sort of agriculture, and by locking up, or diverting into another channel, that capital which it perhaps more beneficially employed in the improvement of land than in any other mode—it would so impede and obstruct the great source and means of the daily supplies of the country, that famine would soon be substituted in the place of scarcity, and that distress and confusion would soon ensue, which would debilitate its inhabitants, and enervate all its powers more fatally than any calamity with which it has been visited for centuries, or than is to be met with in the annals of its history. If the employment of property is not secure; if every man does not feel that he has power to retain what he possesses as long as he pleases, and dispose of it at the time, in the manner, and for the prices he chooses to fix upon it, there must be an end of confidence, of industry, and of all valuable and virtuous exertions of every description; for there is no reason why a price may not be paid on the works of the handycraftsman, mechanic, or artist, as well as upon those of the farmer, grazier, gardener, &c. and thus the whole order of things would be overturned and destroyed. Your grace, therefore, will, I hope, excuse the earnestness with which I address myself to you to resist those attempts in their outset, and to maintain the principle of perfect freedom of property, upon which the prosperity of this country rests, and by which it has risen, under Providence, to the extraordinary state of wealth and power which it now enjoys. If this conclusion is as well founded as I believe it to be, the necessity of the protection I recommend cannot be disputed: and I am persuaded your grace will admit and feel the occasion to be worthy the exertion of the influence I solicit. The people will be made sensible that their own interest, as well as the law, requires that the markets should be free and open, and that every man should dispose of what he brings there at his own price, or be at liberty to withhold it, unless he is satisfied with what is offered

him for it; and the person who brings his commodities to market, will go there with that confidence which can alone secure his attendance at it. I cannot but be fearful that I have trespassed very unreasonably upon your grace's time; but the situation in which I have the honour of standing, having brought before me the details of all the disturbances and outrages occasioned by the pressure of the times, and the opinions against which I have remonstrated, it may be possible that I may be more alive to the tendency of their effects than those who contemplate them at a greater distance, and more at their ease; but when I find reasons to infer that your grace entertained apprehensions not much inferior to those which I have described, I may, I think, refer myself to your candour, to excuse the liberty I have taken in opening my mind so fully upon a subject, in my conclusions on which, I shall feel myself as fully justified by your concurrence, as by the use you will make of your influence and power in restoring and securing the tranquillity and good order of the county, and that confidence which is as essential to the transactions of individuals, as to those of a public nature.

I have the honour to be,
My lord,
Your grace's most obedient,
humble servant,
Portland.

Copy of a Letter from the Duke of Portland to the Town clerk of Nottingham.

Whitehall, Sept. 10.

Sir,

I have received your letter of 6th instant, together with the several inclosures to which it refers, on the subject of the riotous proceedings which have disturbed the peace of the town of Nottingham and its neighbourhood. I learn, with great satisfaction, that the populace is beginning to testify a disposition to pay due obedience to the laws, and I trust I shall soon be able to congratulate the corporation and the respectable part of the inhabitants of Nottingham, upon the restoration of tranquillity and good order. It cannot have escaped their observation that wherever any reduction in the price of a commodity has been effected by intimidation, it has never been of any duration; and, besides, by throwing things out of their natural and orderly course, it almost necessarily happens that the evil, instead of being remedied, returns with increased violence. According to the best information I have been able to procure, and as far as my experience extends, I am satisfied, that whenever a scarcity of provisions exists, or is seriously to be apprehended, the only means which can tend effectually to obviate it, and to prevent the grain from rising to an excessive price, consist in holding out full security and indemnification to all farmers and other lawful dealers, who shall bring their corn, or other commodities, regularly to market,

and in giving early notice of a determined resolution to suppress at once, and by force, if it shall unhappily be necessary, every attempt to impede by open acts of violence, or by intimidation, the regular business of the markets. I therefore most earnestly recommend this subject to the most serious attention and consideration of the magistrates, and desire to suggest to them the propriety of framing and publishing such additional resolutions as may be judged most conducive to the restoration of the confidence which is necessary to dispose the farmers and others concerned in the supply of the various articles of provision, to bring their commodities regularly to market.

I am, &c.

Portland.

Mr. G. Coldham,
Town-clerk.

Particulars relative to the Death of General Washington.

The House of Representatives of America, after expressing the deepest regret at the death of Gen. Washington, entered into the following resolutions on the 19th Dec.—"That this House will wait on the President of the United States, in condolence of this mournful event. That the Speaker's chair be shrouded with black during the session."—On the same day a message from the President was received, communicating a letter from Tobias Lear, esq. private secretary to General Washington:

Gentlemen of the Senate, and Gentlemen of the House of Representatives—

The letter herewith transmitted will inform you, that it has pleased Divine Providence to remove from this life our excellent fellow-citizen George Washington, by the purity of his character, and a long series of services to his country, rendered illustrious through the world. It remains for an affectionate and grateful people, in whose hearts he can never die, to pay suitable honour to his memory.

John Adams.

Mount Vernon, Dec. 15, 1799.

Sir,

It is with inexpressible grief that I have to announce to you the death of the great and good General Washington. He died last evening, between ten and eleven o'clock, after a short illness of about twenty-four hours. His disorder was an inflammatory sore throat, which proceeded from a cold, of which he made but little complaint on Friday. On Saturday morning, about three o'clock, he became ill. Dr. Craick attended him in the morning, and Dr. Dick, of Alexandria, and Dr. Brown, of Port Tobacco, were soon after called in. Every medical assistance was offered, but without the desired effect. His last scene corresponded with the whole tenor of his life. Not a groan nor a complaint escaped him in extreme distress. With perfect resignation, and a full

possession of his reason, he closed his well-spent life.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Tobias Lear.

The President of the
United States.

General Washington's funeral was celebrated on the 18th of December, with every mark of honour and regret so justly due to his virtues. A great multitude of persons assembled at Mount Vernon, to pay their last melancholy duty to this distinguished man. His corpse lay in state in the portico. On the ornament, at the head of the coffin, was inscribed *Surge ad Judicium*—about the middle of the coffin, *Gloria Deo*—and on the silver plate, "General George Washington, departed this life on the 14th of December, 99, Æt. 68." When the procession, which exhibited much solemn grandeur, had arrived at the bottom of the elevated lawn, on the banks of the Potomac, where the family vault is placed, the cavalry halted, and the infantry marched towards the mount, and formed their lines. The clergy, the masonic brothers, and the citizens descended to the vault, and the funeral service of the church was performed.—The firing was continued from the vessels in the river. Three general discharges by the infantry, the cavalry, and eleven pieces of artillery, which lined the banks of the Potomac back of the vault, paid the last tribute to the entombed commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States, and to the venerable departed hero. The general assembly of Maryland have requested, that a day of mourning, humiliation, and prayer, may be appointed: scarfs and hat-bands were to be worn by the governor, the senate, and all the officers of the state and government during the whole of the present session.

General Washington's Will.

In the name of God, Amen. } I, George Washington, of Mount Vernon, a citizen of the United States, and lately President of the same, do make, ordain, and declare this instrument, which is written with my own hand, and every page thereof subscribed with my name, to be my last will and testament, revoking all others.

Imprimis.—All my debts, of which there are but few, and none of magnitude, are to be punctually and speedily paid; and the legacies hereafter bequeathed are to be discharged as soon as circumstances will permit, and in the manner directed.

Item.—To my dearly beloved wife, Martha Washington, I give and bequeath the use, profit, and benefit of my whole estate, real and personal, for the term of her natural life, except such parts thereof as are specially disposed of hereafter. My improved lot in the town of Alexandria, situated in Pitt and Cameron-streets, I give to her and her heirs for ever, as also I do my household and kitchen furniture of every sort and kind, with the liquors and groceries which may be on hand at the time of my decease, to be used and disposed of as she may think proper.

Item.—Upon the decease of my wife, it is my will and desire

that all the slaves which I hold in my own right shall receive their freedom. To emancipate them during her life would, though earnestly wished by me, be attended with such insuperable difficulties, on account of their intermixture by marriages with the dower negroes, as to excite the most painful sensations, if not disagreeable consequences from the latter, while both descriptions are in the occupancy of the same proprietor; it not being in my power, under the tenure by which the dower negroes are held, to manumit them. And whereas among those who will receive freedom according to this demise, there may be some who from old age or bodily infirmities, and others who, on account of their infancy, will be unable to support themselves, it is my will and desire that all who come under the first and second description, shall be comfortably clothed and fed by my heirs while they live; and that such of the latter description as have no parents living, or if living are unable or unwilling to provide for them, shall be bound by the court till they shall arrive at the age of twenty-five years; and in cases where no record can be produced whereby their ages can be ascertained, the judgment of the court, upon its own view of the subject, shall be adequate and final. The negroes thus bound are (by their masters or mistresses) to be taught to read and write, and to be brought up to some useful occupation, agreeably to the laws of the commonwealth of Virginia, providing for the support of orphan and other poor children. And I do hereby expressly forbid the sale or transportation out of the said commonwealth, of any slave I may die possessed of, under any pretence whatsoever. And I do moreover most solemnly and most pointedly enjoin it upon my executors hereafter named, or the survivor of them, to see that this clause, respecting slaves, and every part thereof, be religiously fulfilled at the epoch at which it is directed to take place, without evasion, neglect, or delay, after the crops, which may then be in the ground, are harvested, particularly as it respects the aged and infirm; seeing that a regular and permanent fund be established for their support as long as there are subjects requiring it, not trusting to the uncertain provision to be made by individuals.

Item.—To the trustees (governors, or by whatsoever name they may be designated) of the academy in the town of Alexandria, I give and bequeath (in trust) four thousand dollars, or, in other words, twenty of the shares which I hold in the bank of Alexandria, towards the support of a free-school, established at and annexed to the said academy, for the purpose of educating such orphan children, or the children of such other poor and indigent persons as are unable to accomplish it with their own means; and who, in the judgment of the trustees of the said seminary, are best entitled to the benefit of this donation. The aforesaid twenty shares I give and bequeath in perpetuity: the dividends only of which are to be drawn for, and applied by,

the said trustees for the time being, for the uses above mentioned: the stock to remain entire and untouched, unless indications of failure of the said bank should be so apparent, or a discontinuance thereof should render the removal of this fund necessary. In either of these cases, the amount of the stock here devised is to be vested in some other bank, or public institution, whereby the interest may with regularity and certainty be drawn and applied as above. And, to prevent misconception, my meaning is, and is hereby declared to be, that these twenty shares are in lieu of, and not in addition to, the twenty thousand pounds given by a missive letter some years ago; in consequence whereof an annuity of fifty pounds has since been paid towards the support of this institution.

Item.—Whereas, by a law of the commonwealth of Virginia, enacted in the year 1785, the legislature thereof was pleased, as an evidence of its approbation of the services I had rendered the public during the revolution, and partly, I believe, in consideration of my having suggested the vast advantages which the community would derive from the extension of its inland navigation, under legislative patronage, to present me with one hundred shares, of one hundred dollars each, in the incorporated company established for the purpose of extending the navigation of James River, from Tidewater to the mountains; and also with fifty shares, of one hundred pounds sterling each, in the corporation of another company, likewise established for the similar purpose of opening the navigation of the River Potomac, from Tidewater to Fort Cumberland; the acceptance of which, though the offer was highly honourable and grateful to my feelings, was refused, as inconsistent with a principle which I had adopted, and never departed from, namely, not to receive pecuniary compensation for any services I should render my country in its arduous struggle with Great Britain for its rights, and because I had evaded similar propositions from other states in the Union. Adding to this refusal, however, an intimation, that, if it should be the pleasure of the legislature to permit me to appropriate the said shares to public uses, I would receive them on those terms with due sensibility; and this it having consented to in flattering terms, as will appear by a subsequent law, and sundry resolutions, in the most ample and honourable manner; I proceed, after this recital, for the more correct understanding of the case, to declare that it has always been a source of serious regret with me to see the youth of these United States sent to foreign countries for the purpose of education, often before their minds were formed, or they had imbibed any adequate ideas of the happiness of their own, contracting too frequently not only habits of dissipation and extravagance, but principles unfriendly to republican government, and to the true and genuine liberties of mankind, which thereafter are rarely overcome.—For these reasons, it has been my ardent wish to see a plan devised on a liberal scale, which would have a ten-

dency to spread systematic ideas through all parts of this rising empire, thereby to do away local attachments and stale prejudices as far as the nature of things would, or indeed ought, to admit from our national councils. Looking anxiously forward to the accomplishment of so desirable an object as this is (in my estimation,) my mind has not been able to contemplate any plan more likely to effect the measure than to establish a university in a central part of the United States, to which the youths of fortune and talents, from all parts thereof, might be sent for the completion of their education in all the branches of polite literature, in arts and sciences, in acquiring knowledge in the principles of politics and good government, and (as a matter of infinite importance in my judgment,) by associating with each other, and forming friendship in juvenile years, be enabled to free themselves, in a proper degree, from those local prejudices and habitual jealousies which have just been mentioned, and which, when carried to excess, are never-failing sources of disquietude to the public mind, and pregnant with mischievous consequences to this country: under these impressions so fully dilated,

Item.—I give and bequeath, in perpetuity, the fifty shares I hold in the Potomac Company (under the aforesaid acts of the legislature of Virginia,) towards the endowment of an university to be established within the limits of the district of Columbia, under the auspices of the general government, if that government should incline to extend a fostering hand towards it; and until such seminary is established, and the funds arising in those shares shall be required for its support, my further will and desire is, that the profit accruing therefrom shall, whenever the dividends are made, be laid out in purchasing stock in the bank of Columbia, or some other bank, at the discretion of my executors, or by the treasurer of the United States for the time being, under the directions of congress, provided that honourable body should patronize the measure; and the dividends proceeding from the purchase of such a stock are to be vested in more stock, and so on until a sum adequate to the accomplishment of the object is obtained; of which I have not the smallest doubt before many years pass away, even if no aid or encouragement be given by legislative authority, or from any other source.

Item.—The hundred shares which I hold in James River Company, I have given, and now confirm in perpetuity to and for the use of Liberty Hall Academy, in the county of Rockbridge, in the commonwealth of Virginia.

Item.—I release, exonerate and discharge the estate of my deceased brother Samuel Washington, from the payment of the money which is due to me for the land I sold to P. Pendleton, (lying in the county of Berkeley,) who assigned the same to him the said Samuel, and his son Thornton Washington; the latter became possessed of the aforesaid land without any conveyance having passed from me, either to the said Pendleton, the said Samuel,

or the said Thornton, and without any consideration having been made, by which neglect neither the legal nor equitable title has been alienated; it rests therefore with me to declare my intentions concerning the premises; and these are to give and bequeath the said land to whomsoever the said Thornton Washington (who is also dead) devised the same, or to his heirs for ever, if he died intestate; exonerating the estate of the said Thornton, equally with that of the said Samuel, from payment of the purchase money, which, with interest, agreeably to the original contract with the said P. Pendleton, would amount to more than a thousand pounds. And whereas two other sons of my said deceased brother Samuel, viz. George Steptoe Washington, and Lawrence Augustine Washington, were, by the decease of those to whose care they were committed, brought under my protection, and, in consequence, have occasioned advances on my part for their education at college and other schools, for their board, clothing, and other incidental expences, to the amount of near five thousand dollars, over and above the sums furnished by their estate, which sum it may be inconvenient for them or their father's estate to refund; I do, for these reasons, acquit them and the said estate from the payment thereof, my intention being, that all accounts between them and me, and their father's estate and me, shall stand balanced.

Item.—The balance due to me from the estate of Bartholomew Dandridge, deceased, (my wife's brother,) and which amounted on the first day of October, 1795, to four hundred and twenty-five pounds (as will appear by an account rendered by his deceased son, John Dandridge, who was the acting executor of his father's will,) I release and acquit from the payment thereof; and the negroes (then thirty-three in number) formerly belonging to the said estate, who were taken in execution, sold and purchased in on my account, in the year ——, and ever since have remained in the possession, and to the use of Mary, widow of the said Bartholomew Dandridge, with their increase, it is my will and desire, shall continue to be in her possession, without paying hire, or making compensation for the same, for the time past or to come, during her natural life, at the expiration of which, I direct that all of them, who are forty years old and upwards, shall receive their freedom; all under that age, and above sixteen, shall serve seven years, and no longer; and all under sixteen years shall serve until they are twenty-five years of age, and then to be free; and to avoid disputes respecting the ages of any of those negroes, they are to be taken into the court of the county in which they reside, and the judgment thereof, in this relation, shall be final, and record thereof made, which may be adduced as evidence at any time thereafter, if disputes should arise concerning the same; and I further direct that the heirs of the said Bartholomew Dandridge shall equally share the benefits arising from the service of the said negroes, according to the

tenor of this devise, upon the decease of their mother.

Item.—If Charles Carter, who intermarried with my niece, Betty Lewis, is not sufficiently secured in the titles to the lots he had of me, in the town of Fredericksburg, it is my will and desire that my executors shall make such conveyance of them as the law requires, to render it perfect.

Item.—To my nephew, William Augustine Washington (if he should conceive them to be objects worth prosecuting,) and to his heirs, a lot in the town of Manchester, opposite to Richmond, No. 265, drawn on my sole account, and also the tenth of one or two hundred acre lots, and two or three half acre lots, in the city and vicinity of Richmond, drawn in partnership with nine others, all in the lottery of the deceased William Byrd, are given; as is also a lot which I purchased of John Hood, conveyed by William Willie and Samuel Gordon, trustees of the said John Hood, numbered 139, in the town of Edinburgh, in the county of Prince George, state of Virginia.

Item.—To my nephew, Bushrod Washington, I give and bequeath all the papers in my possession, which relate to my civil and military administration of the affairs of this country.—I leave to him also such of my private papers as are worth preserving; and at the decease of my wife, and before, if she is not inclined to retain them, I give and bequeath my library of books and pamphlets of every kind.

Item.—To the Earl of Buchan I recommit "the box made of the oak that sheltered the great Sir William Wallace, after the battle of Falkirk;" presented to me by his lordship, in terms too flattering for me to repeat, with a request, "to pass it, on the event of my decease, to the man in my country who should appear to merit it best, upon the same conditions that have induced him to send it to me." Whether it be easy or not to select the man who might comport with his lordship's opinion in this respect, is not for me to say; but conceiving that no disposition of this valuable curiosity can be more eligible than the re-commitment of it to his own cabinet, agreeably to the original design of the Goldsmiths' Company of Edinburgh, who presented it to him; and, at his request, consented that it should be transferred to me—I do give and bequeath the same to his lordship; and, in case of his decease, to his heir, with my grateful thanks for the distinguished honour of presenting it to me, and more especially for the favourable sentiments with which he accompanied it.

Item.—To my brother, Charles Washington, I give and bequeath the gold-headed cane left me by Dr. Franklin, in his will. I add nothing to it, because of the ample provision I have made for his issue. To the acquaintances and friends of my juvenile years, Lawrence Washington and Robert Washington, of Chotanck, I give my other two gold-headed canes, having my arms engraved on them; and to each (as they will be useful where they live) I leave one of the spy glasses, which constituted part of my equipage during the late war. To my compa-

triot in arms, and old intimate friend, Dr. Craick, I give my bureau; or, as the cabinet-makers call it, tambour secretary, and the circular chair, and appendage to my study. To Dr. D. Stuart, I give my large shaving and dressing-table, and my telescope. To the Rev. now Bryan Lord Fairfax, I give a bible, in three large folio volumes, with notes, presented to me by the Right Rev. Thomas Wilson, bishop of Sodor and Man. To General de la Fayette, I give a pair of finely wrought steel pistols, taken from the enemy in the revolutionary war. To my sisters-in-law, Hannah Washington and Mildred Washington, to my friends Eleanor Stuart, Hannah Washington of Fairfield, and Elizabeth Washington of Hayfield, I give each, a mourning ring, of the value of one hundred dollars.—These bequests are not made for the intrinsic value of them, but as mementos of my esteem and regard. To Tobias Lear, I give the use of the farm which he now holds, in virtue of a lease from me to him and his deceased wife (for and during their natural lives,) free from rent during his life; at the expiration of which, it is to be disposed of as is herein after directed. To Sally B. Haym, a distant relation of mine, I give and bequeath three hundred dollars. To Sarah Green, daughter of the deceased Thomas Bishop, and to Ann Walker, daughter of John Alton, also deceased, I give each one hundred dollars, in consideration of the attachment of their fathers to me, each of whom having lived nearly forty years in my family. To each of my nephews, William Augustine Washington, George Lewis, George Steptoe Washington, Bushrod Washington, and Samuel Washington, I give one of the swords or cutteaux, of which I may die possessed; and they are to choose in the order they are named. These swords are accompanied with an injunction not to unsheath them for the purpose of shedding blood, except it be for self-defence, or in defence of their country and its rights; and, in the latter case, to keep them unsheathed, and prefer falling with them in their hands to the relinquishment thereof.

And now, having gone through these specific devises with explanations for the more correct understanding of the meaning and design of them, I proceed to the distribution of the more important part of my estate in manner following:

First.—To my nephew, Bushrod Washington, and his heirs (partly in consideration of an intimation to his deceased father, while we were bachelors, and he had kindly undertaken to superintend my estate during my military services in the former war between Great Britain and France, that if I should fall therein, Mount Vernon, then less extensive in dominion than at present, should become his property,) I give and bequeath all that part thereof, which is comprehended within the following limits, viz.—Beginning at the ford of Dogue Run, near my mill, and extending along the road, and bounded thereby, as it now goes, and ever has gone since my recollection of it, to the ford of Little Hunting

Creek, at the Gun Spring, until it comes to a knowl, opposite to an old road, which formerly passed through the lower field of Muddyhole Farm; at which, on the north side of the said road, are three red or Spanish oaks, marked as a corner, and a stone placed; thence by a line of trees to be marked rectangular to the back line or outer boundary of the tract between Thompson Mason and myself; thence with that line easterly (now double ditching with a post and rail fence thereon) to the run of Little Hunting Creek; thence with that run, which is the boundary between the lands of the late Humphrey Peake and me, to the tide water of the said creek; thence by that water to Potomac River; thence with the river to the mouth of Dogue Creek; and thence with the said Dogue Creek to the place of beginning at the aforesaid ford, containing upwards of four thousand acres, be the same more or less, together with the mansion house, and all other buildings and improvements thereon.

Second. — In consideration of the consanguinity between them and my wife, being as nearly related to her as to myself, as on account of the affection I had for, and the obligation I was under to their father, when living, who, from his youth, had attached himself to my person, and followed my fortunes through the vicissitudes of the late revolution, afterwards devoting his time to the superintendence of my private concerns for many years, whilst my public employments rendered it impracticable to do it myself, thereby affording me essential services, and always performing them in a manner the most filial and respectful; for these reasons, I say, I give and bequeath to George Fayette Washington, and Lawrence Augustus Washington, and their heirs, my estate east of Little Hunting Creek, lying on the river Potomac, including the farm of three hundred and sixty acres, leased to Tobias Lear, as noticed before, and containing in the whole, by deed, two thousand and twenty acres, be it more or less; which said estate it is my will and desire should be equitably and advantageously divided between them, according to quantity, quality, and other circumstances, when the youngest shall arrive at the age of twenty-one years, by three judicious and disinterested men; one to be chosen by each of the brothers, and the third by these two. In the mean time, if the termination of my wife's interest therein should have ceased, the profits arising therefrom are to be applied for their joint uses and benefit.

Third. — And whereas it has always been my intention, since my expectation of having issue has ceased, to consider the grand children of my wife in the same light as I do my own relations, and to act a friendly part by them, more especially by the two whom we have raised from their earliest infancy, namely, Eleanor Park Custis, and George Washington Park Custis. And whereas the former of these hath lately intermarried with Lawrence Lewis, a son of my deceased sister, Betty Lewis, by which union the inducement to provide for them has been increased: — wherefore I

give and bequeath to the said Lawrence Lewis and Eleanor Park Lewis, his wife, and their heirs, the residue of my Mount Vernon estate, not already devised to my nephew Bushrod Washington, comprehended within the following description, viz.—All the lands north of the road leading from the ford of Dogue Run to the Gun Spring, as described in the devise of the other part of the tract, to Bushrod Washington, until it comes to the Stone and three Red or Spanish Oaks on the knowl, thence with the rectangular line to the back line (between Mr. Mason and me;) thence with that line westerly along the new double ditch to Dogue Run, by the tumbling dam of my mill; thence with the said run to the ford aforementioned, to which I add all the land I possess west of the said Dogue Run and Dogue Creek, bounded easterly and southerly thereby; together with the mill, distillery, and all other houses and improvements on the premises, making together about two thousand acres, be it more or less.

Fourth.—Actuated by the principle already mentioned, I give and bequeath to George Washington Park Custis, the grandson of my wife, and my ward, and to his heirs, the tract I hold on Four-mile Run, in the vicinity of Alexandria, containing one thousand two hundred acres, more or less, and my entire square, number twenty-one, in the city of Washington.

Fifth.—All the rest and residue of my estate, real and personal, not disposed of in manner aforesaid, in whatsoever consisting, wheresoever lying, and whensoever found, a schedule of which, as far as is recollected, with a reasonable estimate of its value, is hereunto annexed, I desire may be sold by my executors at such times, in such manner, and on such credits (if an equal, valid, and satisfactory distribution of the specific property cannot be made without,) as in their judgment shall be most conducive to the interest of the parties concerned, and the monies arising therefrom to be divided into twenty-three equal parts, and applied as follows, viz. To William Augustine Washington, Elizabeth Spotwood, Jane Thornton, and the heirs of Ann Ashton, son and daughters of my deceased brother Augustine Washington, I give and bequeath four parts, that is one part to each of them; to Fielding Lewis, George Lewis, Robert Lewis, Howell Lewis, and Betty Carter, sons and daughter of my deceased sister, Betty Lewis, I give and bequeath five other parts, one to each of them; to George Steptoe Washington, Lawrence Augustine Washington, Harriot Parks, and the heirs of Thornton Washington, sons and daughters of my deceased brother, Samuel Washington, I give and bequeath the other four parts, one part to each of them; to Corbin Washington, and the heirs of Jane Washington, son and daughter of my deceased brother, John Augustine Washington, I give and bequeath two parts, one part to each of them. To Samuel Washington, Frances Ball, and Mildred Hammond, son and daughters of my brother Charles Washington, I give and bequeath three parts, one part to each of them; and to George Fayette Washington,

Charles Augustine Washington, and Maria Washington, sons and daughters of my deceased nephew George Augustine Washington, I give one other part, that is, to each a third of that part. To Elizabeth Park Law, Martha Park Peter, and Eleanor Park Lewis, I give and bequeath three other parts, that is, a part to each of them; and to my nephew Bushrod Washington and Lawrence Lewis, and to my ward the grandson of my wife, I give and bequeath one other part, that is, a third thereof to each of them. And, if it should so happen that any of the persons whose names are here enumerated (unknown to me) should now be dead, or should die before me, that in either of these cases, the heirs of such deceased persons shall, notwithstanding, derive all the benefits of the bequest, in the same manner as if he or she was actually living at the time; and by way of advice I recommend it to my executors not to be precipitate in disposing of the landed property therein directed to be sold, if, from temporary causes, the sale thereof should be dull, experience having fully evinced that the price of land (especially above the falls of the rivers, and on the western waters) have been progressively rising, and cannot be long checked in its increasing value. And I particularly recommend it to such of the legatees (under the clause of my will) as can make it convenient, to take each a share of my stock in the Potomac Company, in preference to the amount of what it might sell for, being thoroughly convinced myself, that no uses to which the money can be applied will be so productive as the tolls arising from this navigation when in full operation, (and this, from the nature of things, it must be ere long,) and more especially if that of the Shenandoah is added thereto.

The family vault at Mount Vernon requiring repairs, and being improperly situated besides, I desire that a new one of brick, upon a larger scale, may be built at the foot of what is commonly called the Vineyard Inclosure, on the ground which is marked out; in which my remains, with those of my deceased relations (now in the old vault) and such others of my family as may choose to be entombed there, may be deposited. And it is my express desire that my corpse may be interred in a private manner, without parade or funeral oration.

Lastly, I constitute and appoint my dearly beloved wife Martha Washington, my nephews William Augustine Washington, Bushrod Washington, George Steptoe Washington, Samuel Washington, and Lawrence Lewis, and my ward George Washington Park Custis (when he shall have arrived at the age of twenty-one years,) executrix and executors of this will and testament.

In witness of all, and each of the things herein contained, I have set my hand and seal, this ninth day of July, in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety ——,* and of the Independence of the United States the twenty-fourth.

George Washington.

(Seal.)

* It appears that the testator omitted the word nine.

Return of the Number of Men who have been raised for the Service of the Army since the Commencement of the present War, to the 24th December 1800, *presented to the House of Commons.*

Years.	Rank and File.	Years.	Rank and File.
1793	17,038	1797	16,096
1794	38,562	1798	21,437
1795	40,463	1799	41,316
1796	16,336	To Nov. 1800	17,124

Total 208,388.

Return of the Number of Men who have been discharged from the Service of the Army, on Account of Wounds, or bodily Infirmity, since the Commencement of the present War.

Years.	Rank and File.	Years.	Rank and File.
1793	2,234	1797	7,981
1794	4,229	1798	7,772
1795	26,005	1799	8,784
1796	14,634	To Nov. 1800	4,321

Total 75,910.

Return of the Number of Men who have been killed in Action, or who have died in the Service of the Army, since the Commencement of the present War.

Years.	Rank and File.	Years.	Rank and File.
1793	2,059	1797	5,967
1794	18,596	1798	4,008
1795	1,870	1799	5,071
1796	9,858	To Nov. 1800	1,542

Total 48,971.

Return of the Total Number of effective Rank and File actually serving in the Pay of Great Britain, 24th December, 1800.

Total 168,082 Rank and File.

Irish Parliament Annuitants.

The following is the list of Annuities voted by the Parliament of Ireland to the several persons under-named, "for their respective lives, to the amount affixed to their respective names," nett, without any deduction or abatement whatsoever, as a compensation for their respective losses by reason of the discontinuance of their emoluments or offices as officers or attendants of the two Houses of Parliament:

	£.	s.	d.
John, earl of Clare, lord chancellor, speaker -	3973	3	4
John, earl of Mayo, chairman of the committees -	1448	6	0
Edmond Henry, lord Glentworth, clerk of the crown in chancery - - - -	379	10	0
William Meek, esq. clerk of the parliament -	2705	16	0
Thomas Lindsay, esq. usher of the black rod -	964	9	9
Edward Westby, Thomas Walker, William Horn, and S. King, esqrs. masters in chancery - each	101	4	2
Joseph Gayer, esq. deputy clerk of the parliament -	631	13	4
Thomas Bourchier, esq. deputy clerk of the crown in chancery - - - -	101	2	1
Joseph Gregg, esq. clerk assistant - -	786	12	4
Joseph Griffith, esq. reading clerk - -	293	3	1
Henry Minchin, esq. serjeant-at-arms - -	314	2	2
Richard Cr. Smith, jun. esq. committee clerk -	231	6	0
Edward Fenner, esq. journal clerk - -	287	7	6
B. Conner, esq. yeoman usher - - -	243	16	6
W. Walker, esq. additional clerk - -	70	0	0
T. R. O'Flaherty, clerk in the parliament-office -	74	10	8
W. Corbet, door-keeper to the speaker's chamber -	105	0	4
C. W. Jolly, J. Polden, P. Martin, W. Graham, P. Thompson, and G. Payn, door-keepers each	92	2	8
P. Lord, W. Cavendish, M. Quinam, and J. Tobin, messengers - - - - -	91	13	9
Mrs. Albini Taylor, keeper of the parliament-house -	877	18	9
Mary Foster, house-keeper - - - -	472	18	11
Mary Ann Foster, house-maid - - -	30	9	6
Sir Chichester Fortescue, Ulster king at arms -	290	19	5
Philip O'Brien, gate-keeper - - -	42	6	8
Richard Taylor, keeper of the speaker's chamber -	50	0	0
Henry Welbore, viscount Clifden, clerk of the council	181	13	4
Henry Upton, esq. dep. ditto - - - -	104	8	11
Jo. Patrickson, esq. dep. clerk of the council, usher of the council chamber, and solicitor for turnpike bills	421	9	5
Mr. Wm. M'Kay, assistant clerk of the council -	100	17	0
John Ebbs and Elizabeth Grant, door-keeper, and council office keeper - - - -	14	8	2
John Dwyer, esq. sec. to the lord chancellor -	29	2	8

	£	s.	d.
John Beresford, esq. purse-bearer to the lord chancellor	14	11	4
Andrew Bowen, water-porter	4	11	0
Right honourable John Foster, speaker of the house of commons	5083	3	4
Henry Alexander, esq. chairman of the committees of supply and ways and means	500	0	0
Sir G. Fitzgerald Hill, bart. clerk of the house	2263	13	2½
Edward Cooke, esq. clerk of the house in reversion	500	0	0
John M'Clintock and Wm. F. M'Clintock, esqrs. serjeants at arms, including 100*l.* on the civil list	1200	0	0
Ed. Tresham, clerk assistant	594	6	10
G. F. Winstanley, and Jonathan Rogers, committee clerks, each	250	0	0
Dr. Ellis, superintending engrossing clerk	140	0	0
C. H. Tandy, engrossing clerk	398	7	0
T. Richardson, assistant ditto	150	0	0
Wm. Ratferry, clerk in the chief clerk's office, clerk of the minutes, and clerk of the fees	470	0	0
H. Coddington, esq. deputy serjeant at arms	350	0	0
James Corry, esq. clerk of the journals and records	660	0	0
John Smith, assistant ditto	230	0	0
R. Conner, attending clerk	60	0	0
Mr. Hume, clerk of the brief	100	0	0
John Judd, assistant clerk in the chief clerk's office	63	6	8
J. L. Foster, esq. speaker's secretary	10	0	5
G. Dunleavy, messenger	68	0	0
R. Burnside and R. Fleming, back door-keepers, each	48	0	0
John Dogherty, and D. Smith, messengers, each	46	0	0
L. Dunlevy, R. Grace, R. Garland, E. Byrne, D. Brenan, H. Gahan, J. Brown, A. Carson, P. Ferrall, J. Morley, G. Shirley, M. Dalton, and J. King, each	36	0	0
J. Banen, ditto	51	18	6
W. Brown, distributor of votes	130	0	0
Sarah Connor, house-keeper	401	13	2
John Kennedy, and John Walker, front door-keepers, each	168	4	9½
Mary Connor, house attendant	4	11	0
T. Seavers, fire-lighter	11	7	6
R. Watham, ditto	6	16	6
Lord Viscount Glentworth, clerk of the crown and hanaper	131	8	6½
T. Bourchier, deputy ditto	52	5	6
John Beresford, esq. purse-bearer to the lord chancellor	33	18	9
Mrs. Albini Taylor, keeper of the parliament-house	140	0	0

An Account of Gold coined at his Majesty's Mint, from Michaelmas 1796 to the present time; distinguishing the Quantity coined in each year.

YEAR.	Quantity coined in pounds weight.	Value.
1796—from Michaelmas	3,480	£162,603 0 0
1797	42,810	2,000,297 5 0
1798	63,510	2,967,504 15 0
1799	9,630	449,961 15 0
1800—to 20th November	4,065	189,937 2 6
Totals	123,495	£5,770,303 17 6

Mint-office, 20th November, 1800. Hawkesbury, Master.

Return to an Order of the House of Commons, for an Account of the Amount of the Public funded Debt of the Kingdom, at the following periods, viz. at the beginning of the Years 1700, 1710, 1720, 1730, 1740, 1750, 1760, 1765, 1770, 1775, 1780, 1785, 1790, 1791, 1792, 1793, 1794, 1795, 1796, 1797, 1798, 1799, *and* 1800.

		Funded Debt.
At the beginning of the Years	1730	£47,705,122
	1740	44,072,024
	1750	72,178,898
	1760	88,341,268
	1765	127,564,821
	1770	126,963,267
	1775	122,963,267
	1780	142,113,264
	1785	226,260,805
	1790	238,231,248
	1791	238,231,248
	1792	233,831,248
	1793	238,231,248
	1794	244,481,248
	1795	260,157,773
	1796	285,767,670
	1797	327,071,369
	1798	394,059,046
	1799	424,159,046
	1800	451,699,919

Memorandum:

The Books of the Exchequer not being found to contain Accounts of the Public Debt for the Years 1700, 1710, 1720, the above is therefore the best return that can be made to the order of the House of Commons.

Exchequer, 29th December, 1800. James Fisher.

An Account of the Amount of Bank of England Notes in Circulation, on an average of every three Months, from the 25th Day of March, 1797, in the Years 1797, 1798, 1799, and 1800; distinguishing the Amount of Notes below the Value of Five Pounds.

Amount of Bank of England Notes of Five Pounds each, and upwards.

	1797.	1798.	1799.	1800.
From 25th December to 25th March	- - -	£11,385,180 -	£11,585,210 -	£13,433,420
25th March to 25th June	£10,113,030 -	11,290,610 -	12,118,690 -	13,490,720
25th June to 25th September	9,762,130 -	10,294,150 -	12,155,360 -	13,374,870
25th September to 25th December	10,411,700 -	10,711,690 -	12,335,920 -	13,388,670

Amount of Bank of England Notes of Two Pounds and One Pound each.

	1797.	1798.	1799.	1800.
From 25th December to 25th March	- - -	1,658,300 -	1,627,250 -	1,686,640
25th March to 25th June	990,850 -	1,933,830 -	1,601,570 -	1,722,800
25th June to 25th September	1,066,750 -	1,821,490 -	1,605,580 -	1,855,540
25th September to 25th December	1,230,700 -	1,730,380 -	1,671,040 -	2,062,300

N.B.—The amount of Notes for the last quarter, in the year 1800, can only be made out to the 6th instead of the 25th of December.

Bank of England, 15th December, 1800.

Wm. Walton, Acct. Gen.

Resolutions moved by Mr. Pitt, and carried in the House of Commons, 28th July, 1800.

1. That the amount of the public funded debt was, on the 5th of January, 1786, 238,231,248*l.* exclusive of long and short annuities, and annuities for lives, to the amount of 1,373,550*l.* That, on the 1st of February, 1793, stock to the amount of 10,242,100*l.* had been purchased by the commissioners for redeeming the national debt; and annuities to the amount of 79,880*l.* had fallen in, and had been carried to their account; reducing the actual amount of the debt, on the 5th of January, 1793, to 227,989,148*l.* and the annuities to 1,293,670*l.*; and that on the 1st of February, 1800, stock to the amount of 32,404,845*l.* had been purchased by the commissioners for redeeming the national debt; and annuities to the amount of 119,880*l.* had fallen in, and been carried to their account, reducing the actual amount of debt existing before the war, on the 1st of February, 1800, to 205,826,403*l.* and the annuities to 1,253,670*l.*

2. That the amount of the public funded debt created since the 1st of February, 1793, (including the amount to be created by sums borrowed in the present session of parliament, and exclusive of 7,502,633*l.* 3 per cent. stock, and 230,000*l.* per annum annuities, created by the advances to the emperor of Germany,) was on the 1st of February, 1800, 257,787,792*l.* exclusive of long annuities to the amount of 283,206*l.* per annum; of which 15,315,000*l.* is on account of Ireland, and 56,445,000*l.* is provided for by the tax on income, leaving a permanent debt of 186,027,792*l.* charged on Great Britain; and that on the 1st of February, 1800, 12,328,449*l.* had been purchased by the commissioners for redeeming the national debt; reducing the said permanent debt created since the 5th of January, 1793, to 173,699,343*l.* exclusive of long annuities to the amount of 283,206*l.* per annum, after deducting the annuities payable by Ireland.

3. That the total amount of the permanent funded debt charged on Great Britain, after deducting the sum of 44,733,294*l.* redeemed by, and the annuities fallen into, the commissioners, was, on the 1st of February, 1800, 379,525,000*l.* together with short annuities to the amount of 549,130*l.* and long annuities to the amount of 987,947*l.* after deducting the annuities provided for by Ireland.

4. That the sum annually applicable to the reduction of the national debt, in pursuance of the act passed in 1786, was 1,000,000*l.* being about 1-238th part of the capital of the permanent debt then existing; and for 1793, was 1,427,143*l.* being about 1-160th part of the permanent debt existing in 1793, and may for the year 1800 be estimated at 4,730,000*l.* being about 1-82d part of the permanent debt existing in 1800.

5. That the annual charge incurred on account of the permanent debt, on the 5th of January, 1786, was 9,297,000*l.* before any fund was created applicable to the reduction of the debt, and on the 5th January, 1793, was 10,325,000*l.* including 1,000,000*l.*

applicable to the reduction of the debt.

6. That the annual charge incurred on account of the permanent debt created since the 5th of January, 1793, (including 314,000*l.* permanent interest and charge on loan of the present session,) amounts to 8,582,429*l.* per annum, of which 6,684,469*l.* is for interest, annuity, and charges of management, and 1,897,960*l.* applicable to the reduction of debt; and that a farther charge of 497,735*l.* per annum is guaranteed by parliament, in default of payment of the interest of certain loans by his majesty the emperor of Germany.

7. That the outstanding demands on the 5th of January, 1793, amounted to 1,327,112*l.*; and on the 5th of January, 1800, to 2,890,791*l.*; the whole of which have been provided for, part thereof in the former session of parliament, and the remainder in the present session.

8. That the unfunded debt (exclusive of the anticipation in the usual form on certain duties annually voted) on the 5th of Jan. 1793, amounted to 8,925,422*l.* and on the 5th of January, 1800, to 14,406,288*l.*; of which 1,914,000*l.* was provided for in the present session of parliament, leaving an unfunded debt of 12,492,288*l.* which increase of 3,566,866*l.* beyond the amount of the unfunded debt on the 5th of January, 1793, is occasioned chiefly from an addition of 1,000,000*l.* exchequer bills, and of an additional navy debt arising from increased demands during the war, and bearing no interest.

9. That the net produce of the permanent taxes existing on the 5th of January, 1784, then amounted to 10,194,259*l.* and that taxes were afterwards imposed to defray the expences of the war ending in 1783, amounting in 1786, to 938,000*l.* making together 11,132,000*l.*

10. That the net produce of the permanent taxes existing previous to the year 1694, adding thereto about 938,000*l.* imposed, as above stated, in 1784 and 1785, and 137,000*l.* arising from the consolidated act, and from duties imposed in 1789, was, in the year ending the 5th of January, 1793, 14,284,000*l.*; on the 5th of Jan. 1794, 13,941,000*l.*; on the 5th of January, 1795, 13,858,000*l.*; on the 5th of Jan. 1796, 13,557,000*l.*; on the 5th of Jan. 1797, 14,292,000*l.*; on the 5th of Jan. 1798, 13,382,000*l.*; on the 5th of January, 1799, 14,275,000*l.*; and on the 5th of July, 1800, 15,432,254*l.*; which last sum, after deducting the duties arising from the consolidation act, and those imposed in 1789, exceeds the net produce of the permanent taxes on the 5th of January, 1784, together with that of the taxes imposed in 1784 and 1785, by 4,163,254*l.*

11. That the actual net produce of the taxes imposed since the 5th of January, 1793, amounted in the year ending the 5th of July, 1800, to 8,477,100*l.*; and that, on part of these taxes, the produce of one year has not yet been received, and only 113,770*l.* of those imposed in the present year, estimated at 350,000*l.*

12. That the total value of all imports into Great Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January,

1784, was 13,122,235*l.*; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January, 1784, was 11,690,829*l.*; that the total value of all imports into Great Britain, in the year ending the 5th of Jan. 1793, was 19,659,358*l.*; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January, 1793, was 18,685,390*l.*; that the total value of all imports into Great Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January, 1800, (supposing the imports from the East Indies, of which no account has yet been made up, to be the same as in the preceding year,) was 29,945,808*l.* making an increase, as compared with 1783, of 16,823,573*l.*; and with 1792, of 10,286,450*l.*; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January, 1800, was 24,407,000*l.* making an increase, as compared with the average to Jan. 5, 1784, of 12,717,000*l.*; and with the average to January 5, 1793, of 5,722,000*l.*

13. That the total value of British manufactures exported from Great Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January, 1784, was 10,409,713*l.*; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January, 1784, was 8,616,660*l.*; that the total value of British manufactures exported from Great Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January, 1793, was 18,336,851*l.*; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January 1793, 14,771,049*l.*; that the total value of British manufactures exported from Great Britain, in the year ending the 5th of Jan. 1800, was 24,084,000*l.* making an increase, as compared with 1783, of 13,674,375*l.* and with 1792, of 5,748,000*l.*; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January, 1800, was 18,804,000*l.* making an increase, as compared with the average to Jan. 5, 1784, of 10,188,000*l.* and with the average to Jan. 5, 1793, of 4,033,000*l.*

14. That the total amount of foreign merchandize exported from Great Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January, 1784, was 4,332,909*l.*; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of Jan. 1784, was 4,263,930*l.*; that the total value of foreign merchandize exported from Great Britain, in the year ending the 5th of Jan. 1793, was 6,568,000*l.*; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January, 1793, was 5,468,014*l.*; that the total value of foreign merchandize exported from Great Britain, ending the 5th of January, 1800, was 11,906,000*l.* making an increase, as compared with 1783, of 7,574,000*l.* and with 1792, of 5,338,000*l.*; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January, 1800, was 11,677,000*l.* making an increase, as compared with the average to January 5, 1784, of 7,414,000*l.* and with the average to Jan. 5, 1793, of 6,209,000*l.*

15. That the total sum to be raised in Great Britain, in the year 1800, may be estimated as follows, viz.

Interest of public funded debt, charges of management, and sinking fund, on the 5th of January, 1800, after deducting interest payable by Ireland - - - £19,307,000

Interest, &c. to be incurred and paid between the 5th of January, 1800, and 5th of January, 1801, on stock created by loans in the present session, to the amount of	£962,000	
Interest on exchequer bills, estimated to be the same as paid to the 5th of January, 1800	1,021,626	
The civil list	898,000	
Other charges on consolidated fund, estimated to be the same as incurred in the year ending 5th January, 1800	239,297	
Civil government of Scotland estimated as before—Pensions on hereditary revenue, ditto—Militia and deserters' warrants, do. —Bounties for promoting fisheries, linen manufacturers, &c. estimated as before	647,183	
Charges of management of the revenue, estimated as before, including the expence of collecting the income tax	1,779,769	
Making the total permanent charges to be defrayed out of the gross receipt of permanent revenue		24,854,875
Supplies voted for 1800, exclusive of 1,914,000*l.* to defray vote of credit, 1799		35,686,552
Advance to Ireland	2,000,000	
Vote of credit for probable contingencies	1,400,000	
Interest payable for imperial loans	497,000	
		3,897,000
Making in the whole the sum of		£64,438,427

16. That the gross receipt of the permanent revenue (after deducting re-payments for over-entries, drawbacks, and bounties in the nature of drawbacks,) amounted in the year ending the 5th of July, 1800, to	28,238,000
That the tax on income is estimated to produce, for the year 1800, a sum of	7,000,000
That the tax on imports and exports may be estimated to produce a sum of	1,250,000
That farther sums are applicable to the service of the year 1800, as follows:	
Surplus of consolidated fund, after completing grants to the 5th of April, 1800	597,000
Re-payments from Grenada, imprests, and lottery	826,000
And that the remainder of the supply for the year 1800, is provided for by a loan, on account of Great Britain, of	18,500,000

And a loan for Ireland of - - - -	£2,000,000
And by exchequer bills to be charged on supplies, 1801	3,000,000
And a loan from the bank of - - -	3,000,000
And expected additional produce of taxes, 1800 -	240,000
Making in the whole a sum of - - -	£64,651,000

17. That estimating the gross receipt of the permanent revenue to continue the same as in the year ending the 5th of July, 1800, and adding thereto the additional expected produce of the permanent taxes imposed in this session of parliament, the total amount to be raised by permanent and temporary taxes, for the service of the year 1800, may be computed at the sum of 36,728,000*l.*

18. That it appears by a report of a committee of this house in 1791, that the actual expenditure (including the annual million for the reduction of the public debt,) on an average of five years of peace, ending the 5th of January, 1791, and including sundry extraordinary expences for the armament of 1787, and for payments to American loyalists, and other articles of a temporary nature, amounted to - - - - - £16,816,985

But the peace establishment was estimated by the said committee at - - - -	15,969,178
And that the expence of the year 1792 amounted nearly to that sum.	
That the additional permanent charge incurred by the debt created since 1793, exclusive of interest payable by Ireland, is - - - -	8,582,395
	£24,551,573
That the additional charge to be incurred for increased amount of exchequer bills outstanding, is - -	55,000
Interest on money for satisfying increased navy debt at 5 per cent. at - - - - -	150,000
That the additional charge incurred on the consolidated fund, is - - - - -	131,650
That the additional charge incurred for a sum annually voted for the redemption of debt, is - -	200,000
And that the future peace establishment (exclusive of any charge to be incurred by interest, on sums to be paid on winding up the expences of the war; and of any augmentation which may take place in the naval or military establishments, but allowing for increase of pay and other expences) - - -	700,000
And also (exclusive of 497,000*l.* interest on loans due by the emperor of Germany, and guaranteed by parliament,) may be estimated at - - -	£25,788,223

19. That the produce of the tax on income, in the year ending the 5th of April, 1800, appears to be - -	£5,801,624
Voluntary contribution - - - -	255,000
Exports and imports may be calculated at - -	1,250,000
	£7,306,624

And that the produce of the permanent taxes imposed previous to the 5th of January, 1793, has, in the year ending the 5th of July, 1800, exceeded by above 2,000,000*l.* the sum estimated by the committee in 1791, as necessary for the peace establishment.

20. That during the continuance of the tax on income, after the conclusion of the war, if the produce in future years should amount to 7,000,000*l.* the total annual expenditure may be estimated at about 33,000,000*l.* including therein the said sum of 7,000,000*l.* applicable annually (over and above all other sums in the hands of the commissioners) to the reduction of debt.

21. That the amount of 3 per cent. stock, created in the years 1798, 1799, and 1800, and of which the interest is to be defrayed, and the principal to be redeemed by the tax on income, is 56,445,000*l.*

22. That, supposing the war to end with the year 1800, the 3 per cent. stock to remain on an average of three years after peace at 80*l.* and the tax on income to produce 7,000,000*l.* per annum, the capital stock of 56,445,000*l.* together with the interest payable thereon, would be redeemed in the year 1808.

An Account of the total Produce of the Tax upon Income, for the Year ending the 5th of April, 1800, *as far as the same can be made up and estimated; distinguishing the Amount, in consequence of Assessments by the Commercial Commissioners.*

Amount of assessments as far as the same can be made up from complete returns received, viz.

	£.	s.	d.
By commissioners for general purposes, and commissioners of appeal - - -	4,426,047	4	10
By commercial commissioners - -	1,175,577	14	6½
	5,601,624	19	4½

The amount of assessments in districts, from which complete Returns have not been received, may be estimated as follows, viz.

By commissioners for general purposes, and commissioners of appeal, from 140,000*l.* to 150,000*l.*

By commercial commissioners, from 40,000*l.* to 50,000*l.*

* By amount of voluntary contributions received between the 1st of January, 1799, and the 1st of January, 1800, about 255,000*l.*

By order of the Board,

Office for Taxes, H. Parker.
20th February, 1800.

An Account of the total net Produce of the permanent Taxes for the Year ending the 5th of April, 1800.

	£.	s.	d.
Totals of customs, excise, stamps, and incidents, prior to the year 1793	13,465,042	8	4½
Proportionate part of duties on sugar, now annually granted	1,286,119	8	2¾
Additional duty on malt, ditto	226,942	0	0
Duty on tobacco, anno 1799, ditto	396,500	0	0
Ditto 1800, ditto	10,821	0	0
	15,385,424	16	7¼
Total of duties pro anno 1793	303,719	3	4¼
Ditto 1794			
Proportionate part of duties on sugar, annually granted	987,636	4	0¾
Total of duties pro anno 1795	1,547,519	5	8¾
Ditto 1796	1,301,229	1	11¾
Ditto 1797			
Proportionate part of duties on sugar, now annually granted	2,945,011	16	6
Total of duties pro anno 1798	834,780	13	7½
Ditto 1799	290,599	6	6
Ditto 1800	5,484	0	0
	23,601,404	8	4¼

James Fisher.

Exchequer,
9th day of June, 1800.

* This is the amount of sums actually received within the year; but there is reason to believe it does not include the whole of the amount subscribed.

INDIA BUDGET.

GENERAL VIEW.

Result of the year 1798-9, *collectively.*

Revenues—Bengal	£6,153,615		
Madras	2,109,220		
Bombay	374,586		
		8,637,421	
Charges—Bengal	4,124,291		
Madras	3,543,686		
Bombay	1,270,622		
		8,938,599	
Net charges of the three Presidencies			301,178
Add supplies to Bencoolen			120,668
Total			£421,846
Add farther interest paid on debts.			
Bengal	500,990		
Madras	160,488		
Bombay	57,107		
		727,495	
Deficiency of the revenues from the territories, &c			1,149,311
Deduct—amount sales of imports			542,951
Amount in which the charges incurred and the interest paid on the debts have exceeded the resources from the territorial revenues and from the sales of imports			606,400
Amount advanced for purchase of investments payment of commercial charges, and in aid of China investments:			
At Bengal	877,684		
Madras	403,957		
Bombay	189,138		
Bencoolen	36,345		
		1,507,124	
Total of difference of charges and interest, and of advances for investment			2,113,524
Cargoes invoiced to Europe in 1798-9 with charges			1,224,524

GENERAL VIEW.

Result of Estimates 1799-1800 *collectively.*

Revenues—Bengal	£6,196,733	
Madras	2,507,594	
Bombay	368,366	
		9,072,693
Charges—Bengal	4,157,553	
Madras	2,739,230	
Bombay	1,450,476	
		8,347,259
Net estimated revenue of the three Presidencies		725,432
Deduct—supplies to Bencoolen, &c.		100,920
Remainder		624,514
Deduct farther—interest on debts		915,687
Net deficiency from the territorial revenues		291,173
Deduct—estimated amount, sales of imports, &c.		624,727
The difference is the amount estimated to be applicable in the year 1799-1800 to the purchase of investments, payment of commercial charges, &c.		333,554

DEBTS IN INDIA.

Amount stated last year	11,032,645
Amount this year	12,995,526
Increase	1,256,880
Debts transferred	274,516
Debts bearing interest.	
Amount last year	8,933,648
Amount this year	10,190,528
Increase of debt bearing interest	1,256,880
Amount of interest payable by the accounts of last year	758,135
Amount of interest payable by the accounts of this year	915,687
Increase of interest payable annually	157,552

ASSETS IN INDIA.

Consisting of cash, goods, stores, &c. last year -	£9,922,903
Ditto by the present statements - -	10,259,107
Increase of assets - - - - -	336,204
Deduct—increase of assets from increase of debts, the state of the Company's affairs in India is worse by	1,626,677

HOME ACCOUNTS.

Presented 24th April and 11th instant.

Aggregate amount of sales, 1799-1800 - -		10,160,610
Less than last year - - -	154,646	
Deficiency on Company's goods alone -	969,339	
Excess on private trade goods - -	707,021	
Excess on sale of neutral property -	107,672	
The sales of the Company's goods, estimated at -		7,863,000
Actually amounted to - - -		7,367,727
Less than estimated - - -		495,273
Receipts on the sales of the Company's goods, estimated at		7,840,528
Actually amounted to - - -		7,209,849
Less than estimated - - - -		630,679
Charges and profit on private trade, estimated at -		120,000
Actual amount - - - -		202,969
More than estimated - - - -		82,969

GENERAL RESULT.

The balance was expected to be against the Company at the close of the year 1790-1800, to the amount of -	565,983
Whereas, notwithstanding the deficient receipt from the sale of the goods, and notwithstanding the aid afforded to India and China exceeded the estimate, by a small issue of bonds, by a less payment on customs and freight, and by the protraction of the intended payments to the bank, the actual balance proved to be in favour is - - - - -	403,322
Making the balance of cash better than estimated -	969,310

ESTIMATES, 1800-1801.

Receipt for sales of Company's goods - -	£6,201,000

RESULT.

In consequence of large payments on account of India and China, and of the intention of liquidating the whole of the debts due to the bank, reckoning only on the produce of sales, on a receipt from government in part of claims, and on the sale of the loyalty loan, the balance is expected to be against the Company on the 1st of March, 1801 - - - - -	368,012

DEBTS AT HOME.

On the 1st of March, 1799 - - -		7,103,762
On the 1st of March, 1800 - - -		5,830,222
Decrease - - - -		1,273,540
Assets at home and afloat on the 1st of March, 1799		17,119,628
Ditto on the 1st of March, 1800 - -		16,185,950
Decrease - - - -		933,678
Deducting the increase of assets from the decrease of the debts, the state of the affairs at home is better to the amount of - - - -		339,862

CHINA AND ST. HELENA.

Balance at China last year against -	£1,073,607	
Ditto by present accounts ditto - -	220,022	
Better this year at China - - -		853,585
Balance at St. Helena on the 30th September, 1797, as stated last year - -	54,248	
Ditto on 30th Sept. 1798, by present accounts	62,235	
Increase at St. Helena - - -		7,987
Total improvement at St. Helena and China -		861,572

GENERAL COMPARISON OF DEBTS AND ASSETS.

Increase of debts in India - - -	1,962,881
Decrease of debts at home - - -	1,273,540
Net increase of debts - -	689,341

Increase of assets in India - - - -	£336,204	
Decrease of assets at home - - -	933,678	
Decrease - - - -	597,474	
Deducted from balance at China, which was better by - - - -	853,585	
Ditto St. Helena, ditto - -	7,987	
Total - - -	861,572	
Net increase of assets - -		264,098
Deducted from the above increase of debts shews the state of the Company's affairs in a worse point of view than in last year by - - - - -		425,243
To which add the amount of cargoes to India included in the home assets arrived in India, so as to be included in the stock there - - - - -		202,450
The total amount in which the general state of the Company's concerns is worse than by the statements of the last year, is - - - -		627,693

Supplies granted by Parliament for the Year 1800.

NAVY.

October 1, 1799.

That 120,000 seamen be employed for two lunar months, commencing 1st January, 1800, including 22,696 marines.	£.	s.	d.
For wages for ditto - - - -	444,000	0	0
For victuals for ditto - - -	456,000	0	0
For wear and tear of ships in which they are to serve - - - - -	720,000	0	0
For ordnance sea service on board such ships -	60,000	0	0

October 3.

For the ordinary establishment of the navy, for two lunar months, commencing 1st January, 1800 - - - - -	121,510	0	0
For the extraordinary establishment of ditto -	115,625	0	0

February 10, 1800.

	£.	s.	d.
That 110,000 seamen be employed for eleven lunar months, commencing 26th February, 1800, including 22,696 marines.			
For wages for ditto	2,238,500	0	0
For victuals for ditto	2,299,000	0	0
For wear and tear of ships in which they are to serve	3,630,000	0	0
For ordnance sea service on board such ships	302,500	0	0

February 13.

For the ordinary of the navy, including half-pay to sea and marine officers, for eleven lunar months, commencing 26th February, 1800	685,429	13	11
For buildings and repairs of ships, and other extra works	656,515	0	0
For the probable expence of transport service, for one year, commencing 1st January, 1800	1,300,000	0	0
For the maintenance of prisoners of war in health	500,000	0	0
For the care and maintenance of sick prisoners of war	90,000	0	0
	£13,619,079	13	11

ARMY.

October 3, 1799.

That 90,047 men be employed for land service, including 5766 invalids, from 25th December, 1799, to 24th February, 1800.			
For guards, garrisons, and other land forces, in Great Britain, Jersey, Guernsey, and Alderney, and in Holland	510,596	0	0
For forces in the plantations, including Gibraltar, Minorca, the Cape of Good Hope, and New South Wales	166,480	0	0
For the increased rates of subsistence to be paid to innkeepers and others, on quartering soldiers	40,000	0	0
For expences expected to be incurred in the barrack-master general's department	120,000	0	0

February 13, 1800.

That 80,275 men be employed for land-service, including, 5792 invalids, from 25th February, 1800.

	£.	s.	d.
For guards, garrisons, and other land-forces, in Great Britain, Jersey, Guernsey, and Alderney	2,337,159	8	8
For forces in the plantations, including Gibraltar, Portugal, Minorca, and other stations in the Mediterranean, the Cape of Good Hope, and New South Wales	1,004,480	13	6
For difference between the British and Irish pay of six regiments of foot for service abroad	42,901	19	0
For four troops of dragoons, and sixteen companies of foot, stationed in Great Britain for recruiting regiments serving in East India	24,558	8	8
For recruiting and contingencies for land-forces, and extra feed for the cavalry	530,000	0	0
For general and staff-officers, and officers of hospitals	105,054	7	11
For full pay to supernumerary officers	26,280	14	6
For allowance to the paymaster-general of the forces, commissary-general of the musters, &c. &c.	105,747	3	6
For the increased rates of subsistence to be paid to innkeepers and others, on quartering soldiers	140,000	0	0
For allowance to the non-commissioned officers and private men of the land-forces, in lieu of small beer	120,000	0	0
For reduced officers of land-forces and marines	138,979	7	1
For allowances to reduced horse-guards	20	12	11
On account of officers late in the service of the states-general	1,000	0	0
Ditto, of reduced officers of British American forces	52,500	0	0
For allowances to several reduced officers of ditto	7,500	0	0
For the in and out pensioners of Chelsea hospital, and the expences of the hospital	143,310	7	3
For pensions to widows of officers of land-forces	20,231	12	0
For expences incurred, and expected to be incurred in the barrack-master general's department	359,334	0	0
For foreign corps in the service of Great Britain	471,128	12	3
February 24.			
To defray the extraordinary services of the army for 1800	2,500,000	0	0
May 27.			
For the troops of the elector of Bavaria, in the pay of Great Britain, pursuant to treaty	566,688	10	0

July 16.

	£.	s.	d.
For the expence of a royal military asylum for the reception of the children of soldiers -	25,000	0	0
	£9,558,951	12	3

MILITIA AND FENCIBLE CORPS.

October 3, 1799.

For several corps of fencible cavalry, including the embodied provisional cavalry, from 25th December, 1799, to 24th February, 1800 -	92,635	0	0
For the embodied militia of Great Britain, the royal corps of miners of Cornwall and Devon, and several corps of fencible infantry, for ditto - - - - -	232,998	0	0

February 13, 1800.

For the embodied militia of Great Britain, the royal corps of miners of Cornwall and Devon, two regiments of Irish militia, and several corps of fencible infantry, from 25th February, 1800, to 24th December following -	1,306,121	16	5
For contingencies for the embodied militia, and corps of fencible infantry - - -	50,000	0	0
For clothing for the embodied militia of Great Britain, the corps of miners, and regiments of Irish militia on the British establishment -	127,061	13	2
For the volunteer corps of cavalry and infantry	574,000	0	0

April 1.

Making provision for pay and clothing of the militia.

Ditto, for allowances to adjutants, serjeant majors, and serjeants of the militia, disembodied in pursuance of act of this session.

June 17.

Ditto, for allowances to subaltern officers of the militia, in time of peace.

	£2,382,816	9	7

ORDNANCE.

October 3, 1799.

For ordnance land-service, for the months of January and February, 1800 - - -	350,000	0	0

February 18, 1800.

	£.	s.	d.
For ordnance land-service, for ten months, from 1st March to 31st December, 1800	1,127,960	13	3
Ditto, not provided for in 1798	33,671	11	5
Ditto, not provided for in 1799	184,324	13	3
	£1,695,956	17	11

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

February 13, 1800.

For the works and repairs of the military roads and bridges in North Britain	4,500	0	0

February 18.

To enable his majesty to make such advances as may be necessary, in consequence of engagements which he is concerting with the emperor of Germany, the elector of Bavaria, and other princes of the empire	500,000	0	0

February 4.

To make good the deficiency of the grants for 1799	447,039	4	0¼
For foreign and other secret services	150,000	0	0
To make good money issued pursuant to addresses	26,230	3	0
For relief of the suffering clergy and laity of France, Toulonese and Corsican emigrants, certain St. Domingo sufferers, and American loyalists	242,798	5	1
For relief of the suffering clergy and laity of France, Toulonese emigrants, and American loyalists, for 1799, over and above the estimated sum	7,574	6	3
Plantations. For the civil establishment of Upper Canada	7,950	0	0
Ditto of Nova Scotia	5,540	0	0
Ditto of New Brunswick	4,650	0	0
Ditto of St. John's Island	1,900	0	0
Ditto of the Island of Cape Breton	1,840	0	0
Ditto of Newfoundland	1,640	0	0
Ditto of the Bahama Islands	4,100	0	0
Ditto of the Bermudas or Somers Islands	580	0	0
Ditto of the Island of Dominica	600	0	0
Ditto of New South Wales	6,309	16	8
To discharge bills that may be drawn on the lords of the treasury for the service of the settlement at New South Wales	24,074	0	0

	£.	s.	d.
For defraying the charge of the superintendence of aliens	6,309	0	0
Ditto, the expences of convicts at home	32,353	16	11

March 3.

To enable his majasty to make remittances, to be applied to his service in Ireland, on provisions being made by the parliament of that kingdom, for defraying the interest and charges of a loan to that amount	2,000,000	0	0

April 1.

To make good the sums paid for discount on prompt payments of the loan and lottery granted for 1799	163,368	13	10
For paying interests due to the bank on the sum of 561,303*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.*	39,675	18	10
To make good money paid to the bank for receiving contributions to the loans and lottery for 1799	15,907	2	11
For defraying the expences incurred for prosecutions relating to the coin	2,338	19	4
To make good the charges of preparing and drawing the lottery for 1799	12,000	0	0
Ditto, money paid for salaries of officers, and incidental expences of the commission for reducing the national debt	1,805	9	0
For his majesty's secret service abroad, for 1799, over and above the estimated sum	13,779	0	0
Towards defraying the expence of repairs at the King's Bench prison	7,000	0	0
Ditto, for the police-office in Wapping, for 1800	3,000	0	0
For printing the journals, &c. of the house of commons	8,000	0	0
For defraying the expences attending the purchase of a house for depositing the journals of the House of Commons	1,697	0	0
For defraying the expences of the office of the commissioners for American awards	3,575	0	0
Ditto, incurred for repairs at the Marshalsea prison	5,000	0	0
To make good money paid to the officers of the exchequer for extra trouble in making out exchequer bills	900	0	0
Ditto, issued for relief of St. Domingo claimants	16,000	0	0
Ditto, for printing impressions of the plan of the proposed wet docks in the port of London	177	6	6

	£.	s.	d.
To make good money for expences attending the parliament office	348	3	9
Ditto, for the expence of additional clerks in the office of the commissioners for auditing the public accounts	2,482	16	0
Ditto, issued to pay the expence of the police-office in Wapping	2,646	9	6
Ditto, for completing the thirty-fourth volume of the manuscript journal of the House of Lords	110	17	9
Ditto, to pay bills drawn from New South Wales, and which became due in 1797, being the excess of the sum granted for that purpose	9,760	13	10
Ditto, to pay a bill drawn from the Isle of Man, to complete the pier at Douglas Harbour	255	9	0
Ditto, for the relief of Toulonese emigrants, not included in the estimate for 1799	900	0	0
Ditto, for the expence of publishing weekly the average price of Muscovado sugar	448	13	0
May 26.			
To be applied to the satisfaction of the parties interested, for the losses sustained by the destruction of certain ships and their cargoes	41,400	0	0
July 19.			
To enable his majesty to fulfil the engagements which he has entered into with the emperor of Germany	1,500,000	0	0
Ditto, to make good such sums as have or will become due in the course of the present year, in consequence of engagements with the emperor of Russia	545,494	0	0
To make good money issued for copper coin, provided for the use of the settlement of New South Wales	697	7	0
Ditto, for defraying the expences of a police-office at Wapping	797	11	6
Ditto, for surveying roads in North Britain	680	18	0
Ditto, for an additional allowance to clerks in the office for auditing the public accounts	827	12	0
Ditto, on account of expences of the settlement of New South Wales, and to discharge bills for stationery for public service at Norfolk Island and New South Wales	177	15	0¾
Ditto to the clerks of the House of Commons, for attendance on public committees	370	9	6

	£.	s.	d.
To discharge sundry bills remaining due to different workmen, for works done at Somerset-place	2,650	0	0
To make good the fees paid on receipt of the sum voted as compensation for the destruction of certain ships and their cargoes from Mogadore	1,048	13	6
To discharge bill drawn from New South Wales, and which will become due in 1800	30,000	0	0
Towards liquidating the demands of the St. Domingo claimants	50,000	0	0
To discharge the demands outstanding for surveys, &c. made by direction of the late commissioners for woods and forests	1,000	0	0
To defray the expence of printing the journals of the House of Lords	1,024	4	3
Towards enabling the trustees of the British Museum to carry on the execution of the trusts reposed in them by Parliament	3,000	0	0
For the board of agriculture	3,000	0	0
For assisting the Levant company in carrying on their trade	5,000	0	0
For support of the veterinary college	1,500	0	0
For supporting the British forts and settlements on the coast of Africa	20,000	0	0
For the civil establishment at Sierra Leone	4,000	0	0
To be paid to Mr. John Davis, upon his making a proper discovery of his method of cleaning and purifying wheat damaged by smut	1000	0	0
	£6,000,767	16	0

NATIONAL DEBT.

March 3, 1800.

To the bank of England, to be by them placed to the account of the commissioners for reduction of the national debt	200,000	0	0

EXCHEQUER-BILLS.

October 1, 1799.

For paying off exchequer-bills, made out by virtue of act of last session, for raising 3,000,000*l.* thereby	3,000,000	0	0

April 1, 1800.

	£.	s.	d.
For paying off exchequer-bills, raised on the credit of act of last session, for granting certain duties on income - - -	2,506,250	0	0
Ditto, raised on credit of acts 38 Geo. III. for granting an aid for prosecution of the war, and for granting duties of customs on goods imported and exported - -	1,079,740	0	0
Ditto, made out by virtue of act of last session for raising 3,500,000*l.* thereby - -	3,500,000	0	0
Ditto, by virtue of act for enabling his majesty to raise the sum of 3,000,000*l.* - -	1,914,000	0	0
For paying interest on sundry exchequer-bills, made out by virtue of several acts of 37, 38, and 39 Geo. III. - - -	633,176	15	6½
	£12,633,166	15	6½

VOTE OF CREDIT.

July 22, 1800.

To enable his majesty to fulfil such engagements, and to take such measures, as the exigency of affairs may require - -	1,400,000	0	0

RECAPITULATION.

Navy - - - -	13,619,079	13	11
Army - - - -	9,558,951	13	3
Militia and fencibles - - -	2,382,816	9	7
Ordnance - - - -	1,695,956	17	11
Miscellaneous services - - -	6,000,767	16	0
National debt - - -	200,000	0	0
Exchequer-bills - - -	12,633,166	15	6½
Vote of credit - - -	1,100,000	0	0
Total of supply -	£47,499,739	6	2½

WAYS AND MEANS FOR RAISING THE SUPPLY.

ANNUAL GRANTS.

October 3, 1799.

For continuing the duties on malt, mum, cider, and perry - - - - -	750,000	0	0
For raising four shillings in the pound upon pensions, offices, and personal estates			
For continuing certain duties on sugar, malt, tobacco, and snuff - - -	2,000,000	0	0

April 3, 1800.

That the charge of pay and clothing of the militia in England be defrayed out of the land tax.

That the allowances to adjutants, &c. of the militia, disembodied in pursuance of an act of the present session, be defrayed out of the same.

June 19.

That the allowances to certain subaltern officers of the militia be defrayed out of the same.

	£2,750,000	0	0

EXTRAORDINARY AIDS.

October 3, 1799.			
For raising 2,500,000*l.* by exchequer-bills	2,500,000	0	0
February 25, 1800.			
For raising 20,500,000*l.* by annuities	20,500,000	0	0
March 3.			
For applying the monies which shall be paid into the exchequer by the bank, for the extension of the term of their charter, not exceeding the sum of 3,000,000*l.*	3,000,000	0	0
April 1.			
For applying 5,300,000*l.* out of the monies arising by virtue of act 39 Geo. III. for granting certain duties on income	5,300,000	0	0
For applying 1,250,000*l.* out of the monies arising by virtue of act 38 Geo. III. for granting certain duties on goods imported and exported, and on tonnage of ships and vessels	1,250,000	0	0
May 15.			
For raising 826,250*l.* by a lottery	826,250	0	0
July 17.			
For applying 5,200,000*l.* out of the monies that shall arise of the surplus of the consolidated fund	5,200,000	0	0
July 19.			
For raising 3,500,000*l.* by exchequer-bills	3,500,000	0	0
For raising 3,000,000*l.* by ditto	3,000,000	0	0
For raising a farther sum of 3,000,000*l.* by ditto	3,000,000	0	0
Total ways and means	£48,076,250	0	0

Supplies granted in the Fifth Session of the Eighteenth and last Parliament of Great Britain.

NAVY.

November 21, 1800.

	£.	s.	d.
That 120,000 seamen be employed, for three lunar months, commencing 1st January, 1800, including 22,696 marines			
For pay for ditto	666,000	0	0
For victuals for ditto	684,000	0	0
For wear and tear of ships	1,800,000	0	0
For ordnance sea-service on board such ships	90,000	0	0
For the ordinary establishment of the navy, for three lunar months	205,000	0	0
For the extraordinary establishment of ditto, for ditto	200,000	0	0
For transport-service, prisoners of war, &c.	475,000	0	0
For the accommodation of sick prisoners	35,000	0	0
	£4,155,000	0	0

ARMY.

That 58,528 men, including 4797 invalids, officers, and non-commissioned officers, be granted to his majesty for the service of three months, from the 25th of December, 1800, to the 21st of March, 1801, both included.			
For guards, garrisons, and other land-forces	562,055	0	0
For forces in the plantations, Mediterranean, Portugal, and New South Wales	51,486	0	0
For the militia, miners, and fencibles	374,350	0	0
For increased rates of subsistence to inn-keepers, and in lieu of small beer	110,000	0	0
For recruiting and contingences for land-forces, and extra feed for the cavalry	125,500	0	0
For volunteers, cavalry and infantry	145,000	0	0
For the department of barrack-master-general	171,200	0	0
For foreign corps	120,000	0	0
For ordnance for the land service	457,000	0	0
	£2,118,591	0	0

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

	£.	s.	d.
For foreign and other secret services -	35,000	0	0
For the suffering clergy and laity of France -	60,000	0	0
For convicts at home - - - -	8,000	0	0
To cover the interest of exchequer-bills granted in 1799 - - - - -	151,643	0	0
	£254,643	0	0

RECAPITULATION.

Navy - - - - -	4,155,000	0	0
Army - - - - -	2,118,591	0	0
Miscellaneous services - - -	254,643	0	0
Total of supply - -	£6,528,234	0	0

WAYS AND MEANS FOR RAISING THE SUPPLY.

November 21.

For continuing the duties on malt, mum, cider, and perry - - - - -	750,000	0	0
For raising 4*s.* in the pound, upon pensions, offices, and personal estates			
For continuing certain duties on sugar, malt, tobacco, and snuff - - -	2,000,000	0	0

EXTRAORDINARY AID.

December 10.

For raising 3,500,000*l.* by exchequer-bills -	3,500,000	0	0
Total ways and means	£6,150,000	0	0

Taxes imposed in the Year 1800.

DUTIES ON SPIRITS AND TEA.

February 25, 1800.

For charging an additional duty of 1*d.* per gallon on wash, made for extracting spirits for home consumption, from malt, corn, &c.

Ditto of ditto, made from any other British materials.

Ditto of ditto, made from molasses or sugar, which shall be distilled into spirits on or before the 1st of June, 1800, and not actually distilled on or before the 24th of February, 1800.

Ditto of 1½*d.* per gallon on ditto, which shall be distilled into spirits after the 1st of June, 1800.

Ditto of 2*d.* per gallon on ditto, prepared from foreign materials, except molasses and sugar.

Ditto of 2*s.* 8¾*d.* upon every 120 gallons of wash, which sir William Bishop and Co. may produce from 112lb. of malt or other corn.

Ditto of 5½*d.* per gallon on spirits, not exceeding one to ten over hydrometer proof, manufactured in Scotland, and imported into England, or found in any ship or lighter, &c.; and in proportion for the surplus strength.

Ditto of 10*d.* per gallon on single brandy, imported, or found in any ship or lighter, &c.

Ditto of 1*s.* 8*d.* per gallon on ditto, above proof, ditto.

Ditto of 8*d.* per gallon on rum, spirits, or aqua vitæ, of the British plantations, ditto.

Ditto of 1*s.* 4*d.* per gallon on ditto, above proof, ditto.

Ditto of 8*d.* per gallon on rum or spirits, of the British plantations, in warehouse.

Ditto of 1*s.* 4*d.* per gallon on ditto, above proof.

Ditto of 10*d.* per gallon on all other single spirits, or aqua vitæ, imported, or found in any ship or lighter, &c.

Ditto of 1*s.* 8*d.* per gallon on ditto, above proof, ditto.

Ditto of 5*l.* per centum upon all tea sold by the East India Company for 2*s.* 6*d.* per lb. or upwards, and granting a drawback thereof on exportation.

Public Acts passed in the Fourth Session of the Eighteenth Parliament of Great Britain.

For charging public accountants with payment of interest.

For raising 20,500,000*l.* by annuities.

For authorizing bakers to sell new bread to soldiers on their march.

For establishing an agreement

with the bank of England for advancing 3,000,000*l.*

For prohibiting the sale of bread not baked a certain time.

To amend act of 31 Geo. II. for better regulating the price and assize of bread.

To lessen the duties on wine and spirits imported from the Cape of Good Hope.

For explaining and amending certain acts relating to church leases.

For security of collieries and mines, and for regulation of colliers, &c.

For granting money out of the consolidated fund.

To continue and amend act to prohibit the exportation and permit the importation of corn.

To enable courts of equity to compel the transfer of stock in suits.

For making regulations with respect to certain articles of customs.

To authorize the granting commissions to certain persons serving in the Dutch forces.

To remove doubts arising from an act of last session, for permitting East India goods to be warehoused.

To enable exchequer-bills to be issued on credit of the tonnage and income duties.

For raising several sums of money by exchequer-bills.

To continue and amend act for encouragement of British fisheries.

To permit French wines to be imported from Guernsey, &c. in bottles.

For indemnifying the governors, &c. in the West India Islands.

For allowing farther time for payment of instalments on certain loans.

To continue an act for empowering his majesty to secure and detain suspected persons.

For altering the fares of licensed hackney-coachmen.

To permit the importation of Swedish herrings.

To permit horse hides to be used for boots, &c. and to prevent the damaging of raw hides and skins.

To repeal act 14 Geo. III. relating to hops, and for better collection of the duty thereon.

For suspending the duties on foreign hops imported, and granting other duties.

For establishing regulations in the offices of the House of Commons.

For better ascertaining and collecting the duties on income.

To regulate the delivery of statements to the commercial commissioners of London.

To indemnify persons who have omitted to qualify for offices and employments.

For regulating the government of the British territories in India.

For increasing the inn-keepers' rates of subsistence on quartering soldiers.

For the safe custody of insane persons charged with offences.

For the Union of Great Britain and Ireland.

For repealing part of the duties and drawbacks on imported kid skins.

Concerning the disposition of certain real and personal property of their majesties.

For better regulating the Court of Common Pleas at Lancaster.

For granting a duty on pensions, &c. and duties on sugar, malt, tobacco and snuff.

To extend the period limited for preference in the redemption of land-tax.

For enlarging the powers of acts for redemption of land-tax.

For making perpetual and continuing several expiring laws.

To advance a sum for completing the improvements of Leith harbour.

To permit the importation of linseed cakes, &c. in neutral ships.

To direct the issue of exchequer-bills for relief of the merchants of Liverpool.

For raising money by lottery.

For continuing the duties on malt.

For regulating marine forces while on shore.

For accepting the services of additional volunteers from the militia.

To continue act for accepting offers of militia forces to be employed in Ireland.

For punishing mutiny and desertion.

For granting 200,000*l.* for reduction of national debt.

To prevent the embezzlement of naval, ordnance, and victualling stores.

To permit the importation of goods from America in neutral ships.

To continue acts relating to the admission of merchandize in neutral ships.

For better preservation of timber in the New Forest, and ascertaining the boundaries thereof.

To continue laws relating to Newfoundland judicature, neutral ships, &c.

For granting a bounty on the importation of oats.

To exempt from duty waste paper imported to be re-manufactured.

For empowering his majesty to shorten the time for the meeting of parliament in cases of adjournment.

To repeal the duties on perfumery, and on licences for vending it.

To continue and amend act 36 Geo. III. for better relief of the poor.

For erecting a lazaret on land, and making further provision respecting quarantine.

To prohibit the exportation of rice for a time to be limited.

To confirm an agreement with the duke of Richmond for purchase of a duty on coals.

For granting a bounty on the importation of rye.

For repealing part of an act of last session granting duties on saltpetre.

To prevent the making of spirits in Scotland from grain.

To amend and make perpetual an act for recovery of small debts in Scotland.

To amend an act of last session relating to the salaries of Scotch judges.

For repealing duties on Scotch distilleries, and granting others.

To continue act 37 Geo. III. for punishing attempts to seduce seamen, &c.

For reducing the duties on spirits distilled from molasses or sugar.

For granting additional duties of excise on spirits and tea.

To amend stamp acts.

To prohibit the use of wheat in making starch.

To allow British plantation sugar to be warehoused.

To repeal certain duties on sugar and coffee exported, and allowing drawbacks on exportation of sugar.

To allow the use of sugar in the brewing of beer.

For indemnifying the governor of Surinam for permitting the importation of certain goods.

For the more effectual prevention of depredations on the river Thames.

For regulating trials for high treason in certain cases.

To extend the provisions of act 17 Geo. II. respecting vagrants.

To indemnify persons serving in volunteer corps respecting the duty on hair-powder certificates.

For granting bounties on importation of wheat, wheaten flour, and rice.

To explain and amend an act of last session respecting workmen.

To restrain the trusts and directions in deeds or wills.

For relief of persons entitled to entailed estates.

For the better observance of Good Friday.

Public Acts passed in the Fifth Session of the Eighteenth Parliament of Great Britain.

November 24, 1800.

An act to prohibit, until 1st November, 1801, the exportation of rice; and to indemnify all persons who have been concerned in preventing the exportation thereof, or in the non-performance of any contracts and agreements that shall not have been performed in consequence thereof.

To authorize his majesty, from time to time, to prohibit the exportation of provisions or food.

December 8.

To prohibit, until the 1st January, 1802, the use of corn in distilling of spirits or making of starch.

For suspending, until 20th August, 1801, the duties on hops imported, and for charging other duties in lieu thereof.

For continuing, until the expiration of forty days after the commencement of the first session of parliament that shall be begun and holden after 1st September, 1801, several laws relating to the prohibiting the exportation, and permitting the importation, of corn and other articles of provision, without payment of duty; to the allowing the use of sugar in the brewing of beer; to the reducing the duties upon spirits distilled from molasses and sugar; and to the prohibiting the making of low wines or spirits from wheat, and certain other articles, in that part of Great Britain called Scotland.

For shortening, until 25th March, 1801, the time of keeping in steep, for malting, barley damaged by rain in the late harvest.

For continuing and granting to his majesty certain duties upon malt, mum, cider and perry, for the service of the year 1801.

For continuing and granting to his majesty a duty on pensions,

offices, and personal estates, in England, Wales, and the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed; and certain duties on sugar, malt, tobacco, and snuff, for the service of the year 1801.

To explain and amend an act, made in the twenty-second year of the reign of his present majesty, intituled, "An act for the better relief and employment of the poor."

December 15.

For granting bounties on the importation of wheat, barley, rye, oats, peas, beans, and Indian corn, and of barley, rye, oat, and Indian meal, and wheaten flour and rice.

To permit, until 1st October, 1801, the importation of herrings and other fish, the produce of the fishery carried on in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, and on the coast of Labrador, into this kingdom, without payment of duty.

December 22.

For making better provision for the maintenance of the poor, and for diminishing the consumption of bread corn, by directing the manner of applying parish relief; until 6th November, 1801, and from thence until the end of six weeks after the meeting of the then next session of parliament.

To enable commissioners to purchase certain buildings for the accommodation of the two houses of parliament.

December 31.

For raising a certain sum of money by loans or exchequer-bills, in the service of the year 1801: and for appropriating the supplies granted in this session of parliament.

For taking an account of the population of Great Britain, and of the increase or diminution thereof.

To prevent, until 6th November, 1801, and from thence to the end of six weeks from the commencement of the then next session of parliament, the manufacturing of any fine flour from wheat, or other grain, and the making of any bread solely from the fine flour of wheat; and to repeal an act, passed in the thirty-sixth year of the reign of his present majesty, for permitting bakers to make and sell certain sorts of bread, and to make more effectual provision for the same.

To prohibit, until 1st October, 1801, and from thence to the end of six weeks next after the commencement of the then next session of parliament, any person or persons from selling any bread, which shall not have been baked twenty-four hours.

To permit, until 1st October, 1801, the importation of Swedish herrings into Great Britain.

To remove doubts arising upon the construction of an act of this session of parliament, intituled, "An act for granting bounties on the importation of wheat, barley, rye, oats, peas, beans, and Indian corn, and of barley, rye, oat, and Indian meal, and wheaten flour and rice."

To revive and continue, until the expiration of six weeks after the commencement of the next session of parliament, and amend so much of an act of the last session of parliament, as relates to

the reducing and better collecting the duties payable on the importation of starch; and to continue, for the same time, several laws relating to the enabling his majesty to permit goods to be imported into this kingdom in neutral ships; to the authorizing his majesty to make regulations respecting the trade to the Cape of Good Hope; and to the preventing offences in obstructing, destroying, or damaging ships, and in obstructing seamen, and others, from pursuing their lawful occupations.

For allowing, until 15th October, 1801, the use of salt, duty free, in the preserving of fish in bulk, or in barrels; for protecting persons, engaged in such fisheries from being impressed into his majesty's service; for discontinuing the bounty payable on white herrings exported; and for allowing a bounty on pilchards now cured, whether exported or sold for home consumption.

To authorize his majesty to appoint commissioners for the more effectual examination of accounts of public expenditure, for his majesty's forces in the West Indies, during the present war.

For making the port of Amsterdam in the island of Curaçao, a free port.

For continuing, until six months after the conclusion of a general peace, three acts, made in the thirty-third and thirty-eighth years of his present majesty's reign, for establishing regulations respecting aliens arriving in this kingdom, or resident therein, in certain cases.

For allowing the importation of undressed hemp, from any of the countries that lie within the limits of the exclusive trade of the East India Company, free of duty.

For continuing, until 1st June, 1801, the several acts for regulating the turnpike-roads in Great Britain, which expire at the end of the present session of parliament.

For extending the time for the payment of certain sums of money advanced by way of loan to several persons connected with and trading to the islands of Grenada and St. Vincent.

To explain, amend, and render more effectual, the several acts made in the thirty-eighth and thirty-ninth years of the reign of his present majesty, and in the last session of parliament, for the redemption and purchase of the land-tax.

For farther continuing, until 1st August, 1801, an act made in the thirty-seventh year of the reign of his present majesty, intituled, "An act for the better prevention and punishment of attempts to seduce persons serving in his majesty's forces, by sea or land, from their duty and allegiance to his majesty, or to incite to mutiny or disobedience."

For explaining and amending an act, passed in the last session of parliament, intituled, "An act for erecting a lazaret on Chetney Hill, in the county of Kent, and for reducing into one act the laws relating to quarantine, and for making farther provision therein, as far as regards the payment of the tonnage duty in the islands of Guernsey, Jersey, Alderney, Sark, or Man."

To indemnify such persons as have omitted to qualify themselves for offices and employments; and to indemnify justices of the peace, or others, who have omitted to register or deliver in their qualifications within the time directed by law, and for extending the time limited for those purposes, until the 25th December, 1801; to indemnify members and officers, in cities, corporations, and borough towns, whose admissions have been omitted to be stamped, according to law, or having been stamped, have been lost or mislaid, and for allowing them, until the 25th December, 1801, to provide admissions duly stamped; to permit such persons as have omitted to make and file affidavits of the execution of indentures of clerks to attornies and solicitors, to make and file the same on or before the first day of Michaelmas term, 1801; and for indemnifying deputy-lieutenants and officers of the militia, who have neglected to transmit descriptions of their qualifications to the clerks of the peace within the time directed by law, and for extending the time limited for that purpose, until the 1st of September, 1801.

For farther continuing, until six weeks after the commencement of the next session of parliament, several acts, made in the thirty-eighth and thirty-ninth years of his present majesty's reign, and in the last session of parliament, for empowering his majesty to secure and detain such persons as his majesty shall suspect are conspiring against his person and government.

AVERAGE PRICES OF CORN FOR 1800.

	Wheat.		Barley.		Oats.		Beans.	
	s.	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*
January	11	10	5	8	4	0	7	7
February	12	8	6	0	4	2	7	8
March	13	5	6	9	4	10	8	5
April	13	11	7	5	5	4	9	0
May	15	0	8	1	5	9	9	3
June	15	7	8	1	6	0	9	6
July	16	10	8	7	6	4	9	6
August	12	11	6	11	4	10	8	3
September	12	11	6	10	4	1	8	1
October	13	3	7	5	4	3	7	11
November	15	0	8	4	4	9	8	7
December	16	4	9	4	5	2	9	4
General Average	14	1	7	6	5	2	8	7

METEOROLOGICAL TABLE FOR 1800.

1800.	*Thermometer without.*			*Thermometer within.*			*Barometer.**			*Hygrometer.*			*Rain.*
	Greatest Height.	Least Height.	Mean Height.	Greatest Height.	Least Height.	Mean Height.	Greatest Height.	Least Height.	Mean Height.	Greatest Height.	Least Height.	Mean Height.	
	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Inches.
January	51	22	39,1	55	41	52,6	30,40	29,01	29,49	95	60	80,7	2,458
February	53	26	36,4	54	45	49,7	30,27	29,30	29,84	86	57	70,7	0,260
March	57	23	39,9	58	45	50,6	30,22	29,28	29,85	88	54	68,8	0,305
April	62	41	51,5	60	56	58,1	30,02	29,27	29,68	88	50	69,3	2,885
May	74	44	57,5	68	57	61,1	30,21	28,75	29,83	80	47	63,3	1,087
June	74	46	58,8	65	58	60,3	30,34	29,72	30,00	79	48	63,0	0,997
July	81	56	66,8	71	64	67,5	30,45	29,97	30,20	68	48	58,7	0,000
August	88	57	67,4	74	64	69,4	30,40	29,59	30,05	82	41	61,4	1,466
September	75	43	60,8	70	59	65,2	30,27	29,15	29,77	85	54	71,6	2,709
October	65	37	50,6	62	55	58,6	30,43	29,03	29,91	88	58	69,0	1,285
November	59	30	44,3	60	50	56,2	30,36	28,82	29,67	89	60	73,9	3,802
December	51	32	40,3	58	48	52,7	30,18	28,78	29,65	90	73	80,4	1,671
Whole Year			51,1			58,5			29,90			79,2	18,925

* The quicksilver in the basin of the barometer is 81 feet above the level of low water spring tides at Somerset-house.

PRICES OF STOCK FOR THE YEAR 1800.

N. B. The highest and lowest Prices of each Stock in the course of any Month are put down in that Month.

1800.	Bank Stock.	3 per c. red.	3 do. cons.	4p.ct. cons.	5p.ct. Navy.	5p.ct. 1797.	Long Ann.	Short Ann.	India Stock.	India Bond.	S. Sea Stock	Old Ann.	New Ann.	Exchequer Bills.	Omnium.	Irish 5p.ct.	Imp. 3p.ct.	Eng. Lot. Tickets.	Irish Lot. Tickets.
Jan.	157	62½	63⅝	78¼	91⅜	92⅝	17⅞	6	201	10 pr	—	61⅜	60⅝	4 pr.	10½	90	61	16 10 0	
	153	60¾	60⅜	76¼	90¼	90	17⅝	5¾	195	1	—	61	60¼	par.	8¾	84½	58¾	15 17 0	
Feb.	161	63⅝	62⅞	80¼	94¼	95	18¼	6½	203	11	—	—	60½	5	2½	82¼	61¼	16 12 0	
	154¾	60⅞	60¼	77⅛	90⅝	91⅞	17⅞	5⅞	195	1	—	—	60	4 dis.	1¼	88½	59½	14 10 0	
Mar.	163	64	63⅜	81¼	96⅜	95½	18½	6⅛	210½	12	—	—	63¼	7 pr.	1¾	92½	62¼	32 0 0	
	161¾	63⅝	62½	80⅞	94¼	95	—	—	202¼	10	—	—	62¼	2	2½	91½	61¼	15 5 0	
Apr.	165	63½	64½	83⅞	98¼	95½	18⅞	5⅝	211½	17	69¼	64⅜	63¾	8	3½	92⅜	63½	140 0 0	8 6 0
	161¼	62⅞	63¼	80⅝	96¾	95¼	—	—	208½	10	68¼	62⅞	63¼	1	2¼	91¾	62	25 0 0	
May.	162¼	63⅞	65⅜	81	98⅜	96	18⅞	5⅝	210½	21	68	62⅞	63⅞	7	2½	92½	61½		8 8 0
	160¼	62¾	63½	80½	97⅛	95¼	18⅝	—	208	20	—	—	63⅝	1	1¼	92¼	61⅝		8 6 0
June.	161¾	63⅝	64⅞	81⅞	99	96⅜	18¾	5¾	211½	19	68½	—	63⅞	6	2½	92⅞	62⅛	16 10 0	8 8 0
	160¼	62⅜	63⅞	80⅝	98½	95⅛	18⅝	5⅝	209	9	—	—	63⅝	1	1	91	61		8 10 0
July.	166¼	65⅞	65½	84⅞	98¼	99¼	19¾	5¾	211¼	15	67	65	63¾	5	5	96	64¾	16 10 0	8 8 0
	161½	63⅜	62	81⅜	97⅝	95⅞	18¾	5⅝	205½	10	—	64⅝	62½	1	2	92	61⅞		8 10 0
Aug.	172	65½	65	85⅝	99⅛	100	19⅝	5⅜	206	22	69½	65	64⅝	7	5	97½	65⅞	16 12 0	10 10 0
	166	64¼	61	83⅞	97⅜	98¼	19⅜	5¾	201½	18	68¾	64¾	63¾	3	3¼	95¼	63⅛	16 10 0	8 8 0
Sept.	175	66¼	67¼	85⅝	99⅞	100¾	19½	5⅞	207¼	21	71⅞	—	65½	4	6	98¼	65⅛	16 14 0	8 8 0
	169	66	64⅜	84⅞	97⅞	99⅜	—	5¼	204½	19	70¾	—	64⅞	1	4¼	97½	63¼	16 12 0	
Oct.	174½	66	65⅞	84½	99¾	100⅞	19½	5¾	208¾	19	68¼	62⅜	—	3 pr.	4	98½	65¼	16 15 0	8 8 0
	165	61⅝	63¾	80	98⅜	96¼	17¾	5⅛	203½	18	67⅞	62¼	—	1 dis.	2¼	92¾	63¾	16 14 0	
Nov.	167	63¾	64⅞	82¼	100	97⅞	18⅞	5⅜	207	—	69¾	63⅜	—	2 pr.	4	95	62⅛	16 18 0	9 5 0
	164¾	62⅞	63½	80⅝	98¼	96¼	18¼	5⅝	205½	—	68¾	63	—	1	2¼	92	—	16 15 0	8 8 0
Dec.	164	62¾	63½	80	99	95½	18⅜	5¼	204	—	67	61¼	—	2	1½	93½	61⅛	16 18 0	9 10 0
	158	60⅝	62¼	77¾	98½	92¼	18	—	201¼	—	—	60⅞	—	1	½	91½	59⅛		9 5 0

A GENERAL BILL

OF

CHRISTENINGS AND BURIALS,

From December 10, 1799, to December 9, 1800.

Christened	Males 10,112	In all, 19,176	Buried	Males 11,605	In all, 23,068
	Females 9064			Females 11,463	

Increased in Burials this Year, 4934.

Whereof have died under	2 Years 6657	70 and 80	1459
between	2 and 5 2553	80 and 90	655
	5 and 10 848	90 and 100	97
	10 and 20 710	101	1
	20 and 30 1581	104	2
	30 and 40 2055	106	1
	40 and 50 2308	107	1
	50 and 60 2163	108	1
	60 and 70 1973	120	2

DISEASES.							
Abortive, and Still-born	492	Eaten by lice	1	Palsy	122	Drowned	124
Abscess	37	Evil	6	Pleurisy	37	Excessive Drinking	12
Aged	1742	Fevers of all kinds	2712	Quinsy	1	Executed*	19
Ague	2	Fistula	6	Rash	1	Found Dead	10
Apoplexy and suddenly	252	Flux	9	Rheumatism	4	Fractured	1
Asthma and Phthisic	801	French Pox	27	Rickets	0	Frighted	2
Bedridden	3	Gout	105	Scurvy	5	Frozen	2
Bleeding	9	Gravel, Stone, & Stranguary	16	Small Pox	2409	Killed by Falls, and several other Accidents	62
Bursten and Rupture	15	Grief	5	Sore Throat	1	Killed themselves	29
Cancer	58	Head-ache	2	Sores and Ulcers	8	Killed by a cow	0
Chicken Pox	1	Headmouldshot, Horse-shoe-head, and Water in the Head	80	Spasm	2	Killed by fighting	3
Childbed	164	Jaundice	67	St. Anthony's Fire	0	Murdered	4
Colds	27	Jaw-locked	1	Stoppage in the Stomach	8	Poisoned	2
Cholic, Gripes, &c.	11	Inflammation	593	Surfeit	1	Scalded	6
Consumption	5721	Leprosy	1	Swine-pox	1	Shot	1
Convulsions	4512	Lethargy	2	Teeth	414	Smothered	1
Cough & Hooping Cough	380	Liver-grown	3	Thrush	33	Starved	8
Cow Pox	1	Lunatic	162	Tumour in the womb	0	Sprain	0
Cramp	3	Lumbago	1	Vomiting and looseness	2	Strangled	0
Croup	13	Measles	395	Worms	15	Suffocated	3
Dropsy	1003	Miscarriage	4	CASUALTIES.		Tooth-ache	0
Ear ache	0	Mortification	242	Bit by Mad Dogs	0		
		Palpitation of the heart	2	Broken limbs	9	Total	314
				Bruised	4		
				Burnt	12		

* There have been executed, in Middlesex and Surrey, 25; of which number 12 only have been reported to be buried (as such) within the bills of mortality.

STATE PAPERS.

Message from His Majesty to both Houses of Parliament, 21st Jan.

George R.

THE supplies granted in the commencement of the present Session having been calculated to provide only for the first months of the year, his Majesty now recommends it to the House to make such farther provision as they may judge necessary under the present circumstances, for the several branches of the public service, and for the vigorous prosecution of the war; and his Majesty has given directions that the proper estimates for this purpose should be laid before the House.

His Majesty has thought proper on this occasion to direct that there should be laid before this House, copies of communications recently received from the enemy, and of the answers which have been returned thereto by his Majesty's command.

His Majesty entertains the fullest confidence that those answers will appear to this House to have been conformable to that line of conduct which was required from his Majesty on this occasion, by his regard to all the most important interests of his dominions; and his Majesty having no object more at heart than that of contributing, as soon as the situation of affairs shall render it practicable, to the establishment of the general tranquillity of Europe, on a sure and solid foundation, and of providing effectually for the security and permanent prosperity of his faithful people, places a firm reliance on the continued support of his Parliament, and on the zeal and perseverance of his subjects, in such measures as may best tend to confirm the signal advantages which have been obtained to the common cause in the course of the last campaign, and to conduct the great contest in which his Majesty is engaged to a safe and honourable conclusion.

G. R.

Message from the King to the House of Lords, 2d April.

George R.

It is with the most sincere satisfaction that his Majesty finds himself enabled to communicate to this House the joint address of his Lords and Commons of Ireland, laying before his Majesty certain resolutions which contain the terms proposed by them for an entire union between the two kingdoms. His Majesty is persuaded that this House will participate in the pleasure with which his Majesty observes the conformity of sentiment manifested in the proceedings of his two Parliaments after long and

careful deliberation on this most important subject; and he earnestly recommends to this House to take all such farther steps as may best tend to the speedy and complete execution of a work so happily begun, and so interesting to the security and happiness of his Majesty's subjects, and to the general strength and prosperity of the British empire.

G. R.

His Majesty's Speech from the Throne on closing the Sessions, 29th July.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

In putting an end to this laborious Session of Parliament, I must express the just sense I entertain of the diligence and perseverance with which you have applied yourselves to the various objects of public concern which came under your deliberation. It is with peculiar satisfaction I congratulate you on the success of the steps which you have taken for effecting an entire union between my kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland.

This great measure, on which my wishes have been long earnestly bent, I shall ever consider as the happiest event of my reign, being persuaded that nothing could so effectually contribute to extend to my Irish subjects the full participation of the blessings derived from the British Constitution, and to establish on the most solid foundation, the strength, prosperity, and power of the whole Empire.

I have witnessed with great concern, the severe pressure on my people from the continued scarcity of the season; but I trust that, under the blessing of Providence, there is now every reason to expect that the approaching harvest will afford a speedy and effectual relief.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I return you my particular thanks for the zeal and liberality with which you have provided for the various exigencies of the public service. I regret deeply the necessity of these repeated sacrifices on the part of my subjects, but they have been requisite for the preservation of our dearest interests, and it is a great consolation to observe, that, notwithstanding the continuance of unusual burdens, the revenue, commerce, and resources of the country have flourished beyond all former example, and are still in a state of progressive augmentation.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The course of the campaign upon the Continent has, by a sudden reverse, disappointed the sanguine hopes which the situation of affairs at its commencement appeared fully to justify, and has unhappily again exposed a considerable part of Europe to those calamities and dangers, from which it had been recently rescued by the brilliant success of my allies.

Much as these events are to be regretted, it will always be matter of just satisfaction to me to reflect, that, in the course of this important contest, my efforts, and those of my Parliament, have been unremittingly employed for the maintenance of our own rights and interests, and, for animating and

supporting the exertions of other powers in defending the liberties of Europe.

Notwithstanding the vicissitudes of war, your constancy and firmness have been productive of the most important and lasting advantages in the general situation of affairs; and the determination manifested in your recent declarations and conduct, must afford me the best means of promoting, in conjunction with my allies, the general interests, and of providing under every circumstance for the honour of my crown, for the happiness of my subjects, and for the security and welfare of every part of the British empire.

Speech of His Majesty, on opening the Session, 11th November.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

My tender concern for the welfare of my subjects, and a sense of the difficulties with which the poorer classes particularly have to struggle, from the present high price of provisions, have induced me to call you together at an earlier period than I had otherwise intended. No object can be nearer my heart than that, by your care and wisdom, all such measures may be adopted as may, upon full consideration, appear best calculated to alleviate this severe pressure, and to prevent the danger of its recurrence, by promoting, as far as possible, the permanent extension and improvement of our agriculture.

For the object of immediate relief, your attention will naturally be directed, in the first instance, to the best mode of affording the earliest and the most ample encouragement for the importation of all description of grain from abroad.

Such a supply, aided by the examples which you have set on former occasions of attention to economy and frugality in the consumption of corn, is most likely to contribute to a reduction in the present high price, and to insure, at the same time, the means of meeting the demands for the necessary consumption of the year.

The present circumstances will also, I am persuaded, render the state of the laws respecting the commerce in the various articles of provision the object of your serious deliberation.

If on the result of that deliberation it shall appear to you that the evil necessarily arising from unfavourable seasons has been increased by any undue combinations or fraudulent practices, for the sake of adding unfairly to the price, you will feel an earnest desire of effectually preventing such abuses; but you will, I am sure, be careful to distinguish any practices of this nature from that regular and long-established course of trade which experience has shown to be indispensable, in the present state of society, for the supply of the markets, and for the subsistence of my people.

You will have seen with concern the temporary disturbances which have taken place in some parts of the kingdom. Those malicious and disaffected persons who cruelly take advantage of the present difficulties to excite any of my subjects to acts in violation of the laws and of the public peace, are in the present circumstances doubly cri-

minal, as such proceedings must necessarily and immediately tend to increase, in the highest degree, the evil complained of, while they, at the same time, endanger the permanent tranquillity of the country, on which the well-being of the industrious classes of the community must always principally depend.

The voluntary exertions which have on this occasion been made for the immediate repression of these outrages, and in support of the laws and public peace, are therefore entitled to my highest praise.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

Under the circumstances of the present meeting, I am desirous of asking of you such supplies only as may be necessary for carrying on the public service, till the Parliament of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland may conveniently be assembled. The estimates for that purpose will be laid before you; and I have no doubt of your readiness to make such provision as the public interests may appear to require.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have directed copies to be laid before you, of those communications which have recently passed between me and the French government, respecting the commencement of negociations for peace. You will see in them fresh and striking proofs of my earnest desire to contribute to the re-establishment of general tranquillity. That desire on my part has hitherto been unhappily frustrated, by the determination of the enemy to enter only on a separate negociation, in which it was impossible for me to engage, consistently, either with public faith, or with a due regard to the permanent security of Europe.

My anxiety for the speedy restoration of peace remains unaltered, and there will be no obstacle nor delay on my part to the adoption of such measures as may best tend to promote and accelerate that desirable end, consistently with the honour of this country and the true interests of my people: but if the disposition of our enemies should continue to render this great object of all my wishes unattainable, without the sacrifice of these essential considerations, on the maintenance of which all its advantages must depend, you will, I am confident, persevere in affording me the same loyal and steady support, which I have experienced through the whole of this important contest, and which has, under the blessing of Providence, enabled me, during a period of such unexampled difficulty and calamity to all the surrounding nations, to maintain, unimpaired, the security and honour of these kingdoms.

His Majesty's Speech to both Houses, on concluding the last Session of the British Parliament.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I cannot close this session of Parliament without returning you my particular acknowledgments for the distinguished industry and zeal with which you have applied yourselves to the interesting object which, at the commencement of

the session, I most especially recommended to your attention. It has been my earnest wish that nothing should be omitted which could tend to relieve the pressure occasioned by the present dearth of provisions, and to insure a sufficient supply till the produce of the next harvest can be brought into use.

The diligence with which your inquiries have been conducted has afforded you the best means of ascertaining the true circumstances of our present situation; and the extensive measures which you have wisely adopted in consequence, for diminishing the consumption of grain, and procuring an increased supply, will, I doubt not, be found productive of the most salutary effect.

Much, however, must depend on the disposition which will, I am confident, be manifested by all those who have the means of carrying into execution my solemn recommendation and injunction, issued at your desire, for the adoption of all practicable economy in the use of those articles which are necessary to the subsistence of the poorer classes of my subjects.

The time fixed for the commencement of the union of Great Britain and Ireland will necessarily terminate your proceedings on this important subject; but I am persuaded that the consideration of it will be resumed with the same zeal and temper, on the first meeting of the Parliament of the united kingdom.

The early period which I have appointed for that meeting will afford a speedy opportunity of completing whatever you may have left unfinished, and of considering what measures may tend farther to alleviate the pressure on my people, or to prevent the danger of its renewal.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I thank you for the readiness with which you have granted the supplies necessary, under the present circumstances, for the public service.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The detention of the property of my subjects in the ports of Russia, contrary to the most solemn treaties, and the imprisonment of British sailors in that country, have excited in me sentiments, in which you and all my subjects will, I am sure, participate.

I have already taken such steps as this occasion indispensably required; and it will afford me great satisfaction if they have proved effectual; but if it shall be necessary to maintain, against any combination, the honour and independence of the British empire, and those maritime rights and interests on which both our prosperity and our security must always depend, I entertain no doubt either of the success of those means which, in such an event, I shall be enabled to exert, or of the determination of my Parliament and my people to afford me a support proportioned to the importance of the interests which we have to maintain.

Speech of the Lord Lieutenant, from the Throne, on the 15th of January, 1800, at the Meeting of the Irish Parliament.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have received his Majesty's commands to assemble you in Parliament. Upon a review of the important and glorious events that have distinguished the period which has elapsed since I last addressed you, the most gratifying and encouraging reflections present themselves to our consideration. By the brilliant course of victories achieved by the combined imperial armies, the various kingdoms and states of Italy have been delivered from the ravages and the tyranny of the French. The throne of Naples and our friendly connection with that kingdom have been restored. The French expedition to Egypt has been checked in its career by the exertions of the Turkish arms, assisted by a small detachment of his Majesty's forces, and the gallantry of their heroic commander. The hostile plans of the common enemy in India have terminated in the total destruction of the power which had been misled by their artifices, and through the timely, vigorous, and decisive councils of the marquis of Wellesley, and the consummate skill and valour of his Majesty's generals, officers, and troops, the British possessions in that quarter of the globe have been beneficially extended and effectually secured. By the descent of his Majesty's forces and of his Russian allies on the coast of Holland, the Dutch fleet has been happily rescued from the power of the enemy; and although the season, peculiarly unfavourable to military operations, produced the necessity of relinquishing an enterprize so fortunately begun, and prevented the complete accomplishment of his Majesty's views, yet the result of that expedition has been peculiarly beneficial to this kingdom, in removing all fear of attack on our coasts from a quarter whence it has been so often planned, and in enabling his Majesty's fleets to direct their vigilance exclusively to the single port from which the enemy can attack this country with any hope even of a temporary success. My utmost care has been exerted to carry into execution the extraordinary powers which you have committed to my discretion, with vigour, and at the same time with moderation. All tendency to insurrection has been effectually repressed; but it gives me true concern to acquaint you, that the painful necessity of acting with severity has been too frequently imposed upon me; and although public tranquillity has been in a great measure restored, yet I have to lament that a disposition to outrage and conspiracy still continues in several districts, that much industry is used to keep alive the spirit of disaffection, and to encourage among the lower classes the hopes of French assistance. I trust that the recent revolution in France cannot fail to open the eyes of such of his Majesty's subjects as have been deluded by the artifices which have been unremittingly employed to withdraw them from their alle-

giance; and that it will restore and increase the love of constitutional order, and of regulated freedom, by demonstrating that the principles of false liberty tend ultimately to despotism, and that the criminal struggles of democratic faction naturally close in military usurpation. So long as the French government, under whatever form it exerts its influence, shall persevere in schemes of destruction and projects of ambition, subversive at once of the liberties of Europe, and of the security of his Majesty's dominions, there can be no wise alternative but to prosecute the war with increasing energy. It is by great exertions alone that either their views of aggrandizement can be frustrated, or a solid peace procured; his Majesty has therefore availed himself, with peculiar satisfaction, of the cordial and great assistance which has been afforded him by his faithful ally the emperor of Russia, and has thought right to make every exertion for augmenting the disposable military force of his own dominions. His Majesty therefore has been highly gratified in accepting the services so generously offered by his English militia; and I am to express to you the entire confidence which his Majesty feels, that the zeal and loyalty of his militia of this kingdom, in forwarding, at this important crisis, the active operations of the empire, will not be less prompt and conspicuous. The apprehensions of general scarcity which some time since took place, called for my early attention to this most important subject; and I was induced, with the advice of the council, to offer premiums for the early importation of grain. This measure will, I flatter myself, meet your approbation; and I have full confidence in your wisdom, if it shall be necessary to resort to any farther extraordinary means for procuring a supply.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

The evident necessity of securing this kingdom from every danger, whether foreign or domestic, and of rendering the success of invasion, if attempted, impracticable, will demonstrate to you the wisdom of continuing that enlarged system of defence you have so wisely adopted. I have therefore ordered the public accounts and estimates for the ensuing year to be laid before you; and have the fullest confidence, that, in the supply which such a situation shall appear to you to require, you will equally consult the safety of the kingdom, and the honour of his Majesty's government. I am induced to hope, that the great increase of the revenue which has taken place in the present year, may enable you to raise the sums which may be wanted for the current services, without any distressing addition to the burdens of the people.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I recommend to your usual attention the agriculture, the manufactures, and particularly the linen manufacture of Ireland; and I doubt not, that the Protestant charter-schools, and those public institutions, whether of charity or

of education, which have been protected, by your liberality, will still receive a judicious encouragement. It will be for your wisdom to consider how far it will be necessary to continue any of those extraordinary powers, with which you have strengthened the authority of his Majesty's government, for the more effectual suppression and punishment of rebellious conspiracy and outrage.—His Majesty places the most entire reliance upon your firmness and wisdom; and he has no doubt that you will anxiously pursue such measures as shall be best calculated for bringing the present war to an honourable termination, and for restoring the country to permanent tranquillity. It will be my constant object to attend to your suggestions and advice, that I may by this means most beneficially accomplish the commands I have received from his Majesty, and most effectually forward the interests and happiness of this kingdom.

Message from the Lord-Lieutenant to the Irish House of Commons.

Cornwallis.

I am commanded by his Majesty to return to this House the resolutions upon the great and important subject of a legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland, which you desired me to transmit to his Majesty, together with your address of the 27th day of March last.

The few alterations and additions which have been suggested therein by the two Houses of the Parliament of Great Britain, by whom, in consequence of your request, they were communicated to his Majesty, are in such strict conformity to the spirit of the resolutions you agreed to, that they may be justly considered as essentially the same. I am, therefore, to congratulate you, in his Majesty's name, upon that identity of sentiment which has been so conspicuously manifested in both his Parliaments for the adjustment of this great measure: and I am to express the confidence which his Majesty feels, that you will persevere in those zealous exertions which you have hitherto displayed, for its speedy and entire accomplishment.

His Majesty will feel it as the proudest day of his reign when he can consider all his subjects as one people, united under the common protection of the same government and the same legislature, and all participating in the full enjoyment of those blessings which the British constitution is so eminently calculated to confer.

I am also commanded by his Majesty to communicate to you the joint address of the Lords and Commons of Great Britain, of the 8th instant, which they presented to his Majesty upon laying before him the said resolutions.

C.

His Excellency's Speech to both Houses, on the 2d of August, 1800, on proroguing the Parliament of Ireland.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The whole business of this important session being at length

happily concluded, it is with the most sincere satisfaction that I communicate to you, by his Majesty's express command, his warmest acknowledgments for that ardent zeal and unshaken perseverance which you have so conspicuously manifested, in maturing and completing the great measure of a legislative union between this kingdom and Great Britain. The proofs you have given on this occasion of your uniform attachment to the real welfare of your country, inseparably connected with the security and prosperity of the empire at large, not only entitle you to the full approbation of your Sovereign, and the applause of your fellow-subjects, but must afford you the surest claim to the gratitude of posterity. You will regret with his Majesty the reverse which his Majesty's allies have experienced on the continent; but his Majesty is persuaded that the firmness and public spirit of his subjects will enable him to persevere in that line of conduct, which will best provide for the honour and the essential interests of his dominions, whose means and resources have now. by your wisdom, been more closely and intimately combined.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I am to thank you, in his Majesty's name, for the liberal supplies which you have cheerfully granted for the various and important branches of the public service in the present year. His Majesty has also witnessed with pleasure, that wise liberality which will enable him to make a just and equitable retribution to those bodies and individuals, whose privileges and interests are affected by the union; and he has also seen with satisfaction that attention to the internal prosperity of this country, which has been so conspicuously testified by the encouragement you have given to the improvement and extension of its inland navigation.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have the happiness to acquaint you, that the country in general has, in a great measure, returned to its former state of tranquillity.—If in some districts a spirit of plunder and disaffection still exists, these disorders, I believe, will prove to be merely local, and will, I doubt not, be soon effectually terminated. The pressure of scarcity on the poorer classes, much relieved by private generosity, and by the salutary provisions of the legislature, has been long and unusually severe; but I trust that, under the favour of Providence, we may draw a pleasing prospect of future plenty from the present appearance of the harvest. I am persuaded that the great measure which is now accomplished, could never have been effected but by a decided conviction on your part, that it would tend to restore and preserve the tranquillity of this country, to increase its commerce and manufactures, to perpetuate its connection with Great Britain, and to augment the resources of the empire. You will not fail to impress these sentiments on the minds of your fellow-subjects; you will encourage and improve that just confidence which they have manifest-

ed in the result of your deliberations on this arduous question; above all, you will be studious to inculcate the full conviction, that, united with the people of Great Britain, into one kingdom, governed by the same sovereign, protected by the same laws, and represented in the same legislature, nothing will be wanting on their part but a spirit of industry and order, to ensure to them the full advantages under which the people of Great Britain have enjoyed a greater degree of prosperity, security, and freedom, than has ever yet been experienced by any other nation. I cannot conclude without offering to you, and to the nation at large, my personal congratulations on the accomplishment of this great work, which has received the sanction and concurrence of our sovereign on that auspicious day which placed his illustrious family on the throne of these realms. The empire is now, through your exertions, so completely united, and by union so strengthened, that it can bid defiance to all the efforts its enemies can make, either to weaken it by division, or overturn it by force.—Under the protection of Divine Providence, the united kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland will, I trust, remain in all future ages, the fairest monument of his majesty's reign, already distinguished by so many and such various blessings conferred upon every class and description of his subjects.

Address from the British House of Lords to his Majesty, with the Resolutions for the Union with Ireland, as amended by them.

Resolved,

That it be the first article of the union of the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, that the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland shall, upon the first day of January which shall be in the year of our Lord 1801, and for ever after, be united into one kingdom, by the name of "The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland;" and that the royal style and titles appertaining to the imperial crown of the said united kingdom and its dependencies, and also the ensigns, armorial flags and banners thereof, shall be such as his Majesty, by his royal proclamation under the great seal of the united kingdom, shall be pleased to appoint.

Resolved, That it be the second article of union, that the succession to the imperial crown of the said united kingdom, and of the dominions thereunto belonging, shall continue limited and settled in the same manner as the succession to the imperial crown of the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland now stands limited and settled, according to the existing laws, and to the terms of union between England and Scotland.

Resolved, That it be the third article of union, that the said united kingdom be represented in one and the same Parliament, to be styled "The Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland."

Resolved, That it be the fourth article of the union, that four lords spiritual of Ireland by rotation of

sessions, and twenty-eight lords temporal of Ireland, elected for life by the peers of Ireland, shall be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the House of Lords of the Parliament of the United Kingdom; and one hundred commoners (two for each county of Ireland, two for the city of Dublin, two for the city of Cork, one for the university of Trinity College, and one for each of the thirty-one most considerable cities, towns, and boroughs,) be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the House of Commons of the Parliament of the United Kingdom; that such act as shall be passed in the Parliament of Ireland previous to the union, "to regulate the mode by which the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons, to serve in the Parliament of the United Kingdom on the part of Ireland, shall be summoned and returned to the said Parliament," shall be considered as forming part of the treaty of union, and shall be incorporated in the acts of the respective Parliaments by which the said union shall be ratified and established: that all questions touching the rotation or election of lords spiritual or temporal of Ireland to sit in the Parliament of the United Kingdom, shall be decided by the House of Lords thereof; and whenever by reason of an equality of votes in the election of any such lords temporal, a complete election shall not be made according to the true intent of this article, the names of those peers for whom such equality of votes shall be so given, shall be written on pieces of paper of a similar form, and shall be put into a glass by the clerk of the Parliament at the table of the House of Lords whilst the house is sitting; and the peer or peers whose name or names shall be first drawn out by the clerk of the Parliament, shall be deemed the peer or peers elected, as the case may be: that any person holding any peerage of Ireland now subsisting, or hereafter to be created, shall not thereby be disqualified from being elected to serve if he shall think fit, or from serving, or continuing to serve, if he shall think fit, for any country, city, or borough of Great Britain in the House of Commons of the united kingdom, unless he shall have been previously elected as above to sit in the House of Lords of the united kingdom; but that, so long as such peer of Ireland shall so continue to be a member of the House of Commons, he shall not be entitled to the privilege of peerage, nor be capable of being elected to serve as a peer on the part of Ireland, or of voting at any such election; and that he shall be liable to be sued, indicted, proceeded against, and tried as a commoner for any offence with which he may be charge; that it shall be lawful for his Majesty, his heirs and successors, to create peers of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, and to make promotions in the peerage thereof after the union; provided that no new creation of any such peers shall take place after the union, until three of the peerages of Ireland, which shall have been existing at the time of the union, shall have become extinct; and upon such extinction of three peerages, that it shall be lawful for his Majesty,

his heirs and successors, to create one peer of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland; and in like manner so often as three peerages of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland shall become extinct, it shall be lawful for his Majesty, his heirs and successors, to create one other peer of the said part of the united kingdom; and if it shall happen that the peers of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, shall, by extinction of peerages or otherwise, be reduced to the number of one hundred, exclusive of all such peers of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland as shall hold any peerage of Great Britain subsisting at the time of the union, or of the united kingdom created since the union, by which such peers shall be entitled to an hereditary seat in the House of Lords of the united kingdom, then and in that case it shall and may be lawful for his Majesty, his heirs and successors, to create one peer of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, as often as any one of such one hundred peerages shall fail by extinction, or as often as any one peer of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland shall become entitled by descent or creation to an hereditary seat in the House of Lords of the united kingdom; it being the true intent and meaning of this article, that at all times after the union it shall and may be lawful for his Majesty, his heirs and successors, to keep up the peerage of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, to the number of one hundred, over and above the number of such of the said peers as shall be entitled by descent or creation to an hereditary seat in the House of Lords of the united kingdom: that if any peerage shall at any time be in abeyance, such peerage shall be deemed and taken as an existing peerage: and no peerage shall be deemed extinct unless on default of claimants to the inheritancy of such peerage for the space of one year from the death of the person who shall have been last possessed thereof; and if no claim shall be made to the inheritance of such peerage, in such form and manner as may from time to time be prescribed by the House of Lords of the united kingdom before the expiration of the said period of a year, then, and in that case, such peerage shall be deemed extinct; provided that nothing herein shall exclude any person from afterwards putting in a claim to the peerage so deemed extinct, and if such claim shall be allowed as valid by judgment of the House of Lords of the united kingdom, reported to his Majesty, such peerage shall be considered as revived; and in case any new creation of a peerage of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland shall have taken place in the interval in consequence of the supposed extinction of such peerage, then no new right of creation shall accrue to his Majesty, his heirs, or successors, in consequence of the next extinction which shall take place of any peerage of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland; that all questions touching the election of members to sit on the part of Ireland in the House of Commons of the united kingdom, shall be heard and decided in the same manner as questions

touching such elections in Great Britain now are, or at any time hereafter shall by law be heard and decided, subject nevertheless to such particular regulations in respect of Ireland as from local circumstances the Parliament of the united kingdom may from time to time deem expedient: that the qualifications in respect of property of the members elected on the part of Ireland to sit in the House of Commons of the united kingdom shall be respectively the same as are now provided by law in the cases of elections for counties and cities and boroughs respectively in that part of Great Britain called England, unless any other provision shall hereafter be made in that respect by act of Parliament of the united kingdom: that when his Majesty, his heirs, or successors, shall declare his, her, or their pleasure, for holding the first or any subsequent Parliament of the united kingdom, a proclamation shall issue under the great seal of the united kingdom, to cause the Lords spiritual and temporal and Commons who are to serve in the Parliament thereof on the part of Ireland, to be returned in such manner as by any act of this present session of the Parliament of Ireland shall be provided; and that the Lords spiritual and temporal and Commons of Great Britain shall, together with the Lords spiritual and temporal and Commons so returned as aforesaid on the part of Ireland, constitute the two Houses of the Parliament of the united kingdom: that if his Majesty, on or before the 1st day of January, 1801, on which day the Union is to take place, shall declare, under the great seal of Great Britain, that it is expedient that the Lords and Commons of the present Parliament of Great Britain should be the members of the respective Houses of the first Parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Great Britain, then the said Lords and Commons of the present Parliament of Great Britain shall accordingly be the members of the respective Houses of the first Parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Great Britain; and they, together with the Lords spiritual and temporal and Commons so summoned and returned as above on the part of Ireland, shall be the Lords spiritual and temporal and Commons of the first Parliament of the united kingdom; and such first Parliament may (in that case) if not sooner dissolved, continue to sit so long as the present Parliament of Great Britain may by law now continue to sit, if not sooner dissolved: provided always, that until an act shall have passed in the Parliament of the united kingdom, providing in what cases persons holding offices or places of profit under the crown in Ireland shall be incapable of being members of the House of Commons of the Parliament of the united kingdom, no greater number of members than twenty holding such offices or places as aforesaid shall be capable of sitting in the said House of Commons of the Parliament of the united kingdom; and if such a number of members shall be returned to serve in the said House as to make the whole number of members of the said House, holding such offices or places as aforesaid more than twenty, then, and

in such case, the seats or places of such members as shall have last accepted such offices or places shall be vacated, at the option of such members, so as to reduce the number of members holding such offices or places to the number of twenty; and no person holding any such office or place shall be capable of being elected, or of sitting in the said House, while there are twenty persons holding such offices or places sitting in the said House; and that every one of the Lords of Parliament of the united kingdom, and every member of the House of Commons of the united kingdom, in the first and all succeeding Parliaments, shall, until the Parliament of the united kingdom shall otherwise provide, take the oaths, and make and subscribe the declaration, and take and subscribe the oath now by law enjoined to be taken, made, and subscribed by the Lords and Commons of the Parliament of Great Britain: that the Lords of Parliament, on the part of Ireland, in the House of Lords of the united kingdom, shall at all times have the same privileges of Parliament which shall belong to Lords of Parliament on the part of Great Britain; and the Lords spiritual and temporal respectively on the part of Ireland, shall at all times have the same rights, in respect of their sitting and voting upon the trial of Peers, as the Lords spiritual and temporal respectively on the part of Great Britain; and that all Lords spiritual of Ireland shall have rank and precedency next and immediately after the Lords spiritual of the same rank and degree of Great Britain, and shall enjoy all privileges as fully as the Lords spiritual of Great Britain do now or may hereafter enjoy the same; the right and privilege of sitting in the House of Lords, and the privileges depending thereon, and particularly the right of sitting on the trial of Peers, excepted; and that the persons holding any temporal peerages of Ireland existing at the time of the Union, shall, from and after the Union, have rank and precedency next and immediately after all the persons holding peerages of the like order and degrees in Great Britain subsisting at the time of the Union; and that all peerages of Ireland, created after the Union, shall have rank and precedency with the peerages of the united kingdom so created, according to the dates of their creations; and that all peerages, both of Great Britain and Ireland, now subsisting, or hereafter to be created, shall, in all other respects, from the date of the Union, be considered as peerages of the united kingdom; and that the Peers of Ireland shall, as Peers of the united kingdom, be sued and tried as peers, except as aforesaid, and shall enjoy all privileges of Peers as fully as the Peers of Great Britain; the right and privilege of sitting in the House of Lords, and the privileges depending thereon, and the right of sitting on the trial of Peers, only excepted.

Resolved, that it be the fifth article of Union, that the Churches of England and Ireland, as now by law established, be united into one Protestant Episcopal Church, to be called "The United Church of England and Ireland;" and that the doctrine, worship, discipline

and government of the said united Church shall be, and shall remain in full force for ever, as the same are now by law established for the Church of England; and that the continuance and preservation of the said united Church, as the established Church of England and Ireland, shall be deemed and taken to be an essential and fundamental part of the Union; and that in like manner the doctrine, worship, discipline and government of the Church of Scotland shall remain and be preserved as the same are now established by law, and by the acts for the union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland.

Resolved, that it be the sixth article of Union, that his Majesty's subjects of Great Britain and Ireland shall, from and after the 1st day of January, 1801, be entitled to the same privileges, and be on the same footing, as to encouragements and bounties on the like articles, being the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country respectively, and, generally, in respect of trade and navigation, in all ports and places in the united kingdom and its dependencies; and that, in all treaties made by his Majesty, his heirs and successors, with any foreign power, his Majesty's subjects of Ireland shall have the same privileges, and be on the same footing as his Majesty's subjects of Great Britain; that, from the 1st day of January, 1801, all prohibitions and bounties on the export of articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, to the other, shall cease and determine; and that the said articles shall henceforth be exported from one country to the other without duty or bounty on such export: that all articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, (not hereinafter enumerated as subject to specific duties,) shall from thenceforth be imported into each country from the other, free from duty, other than such countervailing duties on the several articles enumerated in the schedule, No. 1. A. and B. hereunto annexed, as therein specified, or to such other countervailing duties as shall hereafter be imposed by the Parliament of the united kingdom in the manner hereinafter provided; and that, for the period of twenty years from the Union, the articles enumerated in the schedule, No. 2, hereunto annexed, shall be subject, on importation into each country from the other, to the duties specified in the said schedule, No. 2. And the woollen manufactures, known by the names of old and new drapery, shall pay, on importation into each country from the other, the duties now payable on importation into Ireland; salt and hops, on importation into Ireland from Great Britain, duties not exceeding those which are now paid on importation into Ireland; and coals, on importation into Ireland from Great Britain, shall be subject to burthens not exceeding those to which they are now subject: that calicoes and muslins shall, on their importation into either country from the other, be subject and liable to the duties now payable on the same, on the importation thereof from Great Britain into Ireland, until the 5th day of January, 1808; and from and after the said day, the said duties shall be annually

reduced by equal proportions, as near as may be, in each year; so as that the said duties shall stand at ten per cent. from and after the 5th day of January, 1816, until the 5th day of January, 1821: and that cotton yarn and cotton twist shall, on their importation into either country from the other, be subject and liable to the duties now payable upon the same, on the importation thereof from Great Britain into Ireland, until the 5th of January, 1801; and from and after the said day, the said duties shall be annually reduced by equal proportions, as near as may be, in each year; so that all duties shall cease on the said articles from and after the 5th day of January, 1816: that any articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, which are or may be subject to internal duty, or to duty on the materials of which they are composed, may be made subject, on their importation into each country respectively from the other, to such countervailing duty as shall appear to be just and reasonable in respect of such internal duty or duties on the materials; and that, for the said purposes, the articles specified in the said schedule, No. 1. A. and B. shall be subject to the duties set forth therein, liable to be taken off, diminished, or increased in the manner herein specified; and that, upon the export of the said articles from each country to the other respectively, a drawback shall be given, equal in amount to the countervailing duty payable on such articles on the import thereof into the same country from the other; and that, in like manner, in future it shall be competent to the united Parliament to impose any new or additional countervailing duties, or to take off or diminish such existing countervailing duties as may appear, on like principles, to be just and reasonable in respect of any future or additional internal duty on any article of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, or of any new or additional duty on any materials of which such article may be composed, or of any abatement of duty on the same; and that when any such new or additional countervailing duty shall be so imposed on the import of any article into either country from the other, a drawback, equal in amount to such countervailing duty, shall be given in like manner on the export of every such article respectively from the same country to the other: that all articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, when exported through the other, shall, in all cases, be exported subject to the same charges as if they had been exported directly from the country of which they were the growth, produce, or manufacture: that all duty charged on the import of foreign or colonial goods into either country, shall, on their export to the other, be either drawn back, or the amount, (if any be retained,) shall be placed to the credit of the country to which they shall be so exported, so long as the expenditure of the united kingdom shall be defrayed by proportional contributions; provided always, that nothing herein shall extend to take away any duty, bounty, or prohibition which exists with respect to corn, meal,

malt, flour, or biscuit; but that all duties, bounties, or prohibitions on the said articles may be regulated, varied, or repealed from time to time as the united Parliament shall deem expedient.

SCHEDULE, No. 1.

Of the Articles to be charged with countervailing Duties upon Importation from Ireland into Great Britain, and from Great Britain into Ireland respectively, according to the sixth Article of Union.

A.

On Importation into Great Britain from Ireland.

Beer.
Bricks and tiles.
Candles.
Chocolate, cocoa paste, and cocoa.
Cordage.
Cider and perry.
Glass.
Hops.
Leather.
Mead and metheglin.
Paper and books.
Paper, stained.
Printed goods.
Salt.
Silk manufactures, silk and cotton mixed manufactures, and silk and worsted mixed manufactures.
Soap.
Spirits.
Starch and hair-powder.
Sugar, refined.
Sweets.
Tobacco.
Verjuice and vinegar.
Wire.

B.

On Importation into Ireland from Great Britain.

Beer.
Glass.
Leather.
Paper, stained.
Paper.
Silk manufactures, silk and cotton mixed manufactures, and silk and worsted mixed manufactures.
Spirits.
Sugar, refined.
Sweets.
Tobacco.

SCHEDULE, No. II.

Of the Articles charged with the Duties specified upon Importations into Great Britain and Ireland respectively, according to the sixth Article of the Union.

Apparel; brass, wrought; cabinet ware; coaches and other carriages; copper, wrought; cottons, other than calicoes and muslins; glass; haberdashery; hats; tin plates, wrought iron, and hardware; gold and silver lace, gold and silver thread, bullion for lace, pearl, and spangles, millinery; paper, stained; pottery; sadlery and other manufactured leather; silk manufacture; stockings—ten per cent. on the true value.

Resolved, that it be the seventh article of union, that the charge arising from the payment of the interest, and the sinking fund for the reduction of the principal of the debt incurred in either kingdom before the union, shall continue to be separately defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland re-

spectively, except as hereinafter provided: that, for the space of twenty years after the union shall take place, the contribution of Great Britain and Ireland respectively, towards the expenditure of the united kingdom in each year, shall be defrayed in the proportion of fifteen parts for Great Britain, and two parts for Ireland: that, at the expiration of the said twenty years, the future expenditure of the united kingdom (other than the interest and charges of the debt to which either country shall be separately liable,) shall be defrayed in such proportion as the Parliament of the united kingdom shall deem just and reasonable, upon a comparison of the real value of the exports and imports of the respective countries upon an average of the three years next preceding the period of revision, or on a comparison of the value of the quantities of the following articles consumed within the respective countries on a similar average, viz. beer, spirits, sugar, wine, tea, tobacco, and malt, or according to the aggregate proportion resulting from both these considerations combined, or on a comparison of the amount of income in each country estimated from the produce for the same period of a general tax (if such shall have been imposed) on the same descriptions of income in both countries; and that the Parliament of the united kingdom shall afterwards proceed in like manner to revise and fix the said proportions according to the same rules, or any of them, at periods not more distant than twenty years, nor less than seven years from each other, unless, previous to any such period, the Parliament of the united kingdom shall have declared, as hereinafter provided, that the expenditure of the united kingdom shall be defrayed indiscriminately by equal taxes imposed on the like articles in both countries; that, for the defraying the said expenditure according to the rules above laid down, the revenues of Ireland shall hereafter constitute a consolidated fund, which shall be charged, in the first instance, with the interest of the debt of Ireland, and with the sinking fund applicable to the reduction of the said debt, and the remainder shall be applied towards defraying the proportion of the expenditure of the united kingdom to which Ireland may be liable each year: that the proportion of contribution to which Great Britain and Ireland will be liable, shall be raised by such taxes in each country respectively as the Parliament of the united kingdom shall from time to time deem fit; provided always, that in regulating the taxes in each country, by which their respective proportions shall be levied, no article in Ireland shall be made liable to any new or additional duty by which the whole amount of duty payable thereon would exceed the amount which will be thereafter payable in England on the like article: that if, at the end of any year, any surplus shall accrue from the revenues of Ireland, after defraying the interest, sinking fund, and proportional contribution and separate charges to which the said country shall then be liable, taxes shall be taken off to the amount of such surplus, or the surplus

shall be applied by the Parliament of the united kingdom to local purposes in Ireland, or to make good any deficiency which may arise in the revenues of Ireland in the time of peace, or be invested, by commissioners of the national debt of Ireland, in the funds, to accumulate for the benefit of Ireland, at compound interest, in ease of the contribution of Ireland in time of war; provided that the surplus so to accumulate shall at no future period be suffered to exceed the sum of five millions: that all monies to be raised after the union by loan in peace or war for the service of the united kingdom by the Parliament thereof, shall be considered to be a joint debt, and the charges thereof shall be borne by the respective countries in the proportion of their respective contributions; provided that if at any time, in raising their respective contributions hereby fixed for each country, the Parliament of the united kingdom shall judge it fit to raise a greater proportion of such respective contributions in one country within the year than in the other, or to set apart a greater proportion of sinking fund for the liquidation of the whole or any part of the loan raised on account of the one country than of that raised on account of the other country, then such part of the said loan, for the liquidation of which different provisions shall have been made for the respective countries, shall be kept distinct, and shall be borne by each separately, and only that part of the said loan be deemed joint and common, for the reduction of which the respective countries shall have made provision in the proportion of their respective contributions: that, if at any future day the separate debt of each country respectively shall have been liquidated, or if the value of their respective debts (estimated according to the amount of the interest and annuities attending the same, and of the sinking fund applicable to the reduction thereof, and to the period within which the whole capital of such debt shall appear to be redeemable by such sinking fund) shall be to each other in the same proportion with the respective contributions of each country respectively, or if the amount by which the value of the larger of such debts shall vary from such proportion shall not exceed one hundredth part of the said value; and if it shall appear to the Parliament of the united kingdom, that the respective circumstances of the two countries will thenceforth admit of their contributing indiscriminately, by equal taxes imposed on the same articles in each, to the future expenditure of the united kingdom, it shall be competent to the Parliament of the united kingdom to declare, that all future expence thenceforth to be incurred, together with the interest and charges of all joint debts contracted previous to such declaration, shall be so defrayed indiscriminately by equal taxes imposed on the same articles in each country, and thenceforth from time to time, as circumstances may require, to impose and apply such taxes accordingly, subject only to such particular exemptions or abatements in Ireland, and in that part of Great

Britain called Scotland, as circumstances may appear from time to time to demand: that, from the period of such declaration, it shall no longer be necessary to regulate the contribution of the two countries towards the future expenditure of the united kingdom, according to any specific proportion, or according to any of the rules hereinbefore prescribed; provided, nevertheless, that the interest or charges which may remain on account of any part of the separate debt with which either country shall be chargeable, and which shall not be liquidated or consolidated proportionably as above, shall, until extinguished, continue to be defrayed by separate taxes in each country: that a sum, not less than the sum which has been granted by the Parliament of Ireland, on the average of six years immediately preceding the 1st day of January, in the year 1800, in premiums for the internal encouragement of agriculture or manufactures, or for the maintaining institutions for pious and charitable purposes, shall be applied, for the period of twenty years after the union, to such local purposes in Ireland, in such manner as the Parliament of the united kingdom shall direct: that, from and after the 1st day of January, 1801, all public revenue arising to the united kingdom, from the territorial dependencies thereof, and applied to the general expenditure of the united kingdom, shall be so applied in the proportions of the respective contributions of the two countries.

Resolved, that it be the eighth article of the union, that all laws in force, at the time of the union, and all the courts of civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the respective kingdoms, shall remain now as by law established within the same, subject only to such alterations and regulations from time to time as circumstances may appear to the Parliament of the united kingdom to require; provided that all writs of error and appeals depending at the time of the union, or hereafter to be brought, and which might now be finally decided by the House of Lords of either kingdom, shall from and after the union be finally decided by the House of Lords of the united kingdom; and provided that, from and after the union, there shall remain in Ireland an instance court of admiralty, for the determination of causes civil and maritime only; and that the appeal from sentences of the said court, shall be to his Majesty's delegates in his court of chancery in that part of the united kingdom called Ireland; and that all laws at present in force in either kingdom, which shall be contrary to any of the provisions which may be enacted by any act for carrying these articles into effect, be from and after the union repealed.

Address to the King with the above Resolutions.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, humbly beg leave to acquaint your majesty, that, in conformity to your Majesty's gracious mes-

sage, laying before us the resolutions of the Lords and Commons of Ireland, we have proceeded to resume the consideration of the great and important subject of a legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland; and it is with unspeakable satisfaction we have observed the conformity of the said resolutions to those principles which we humbly submitted to your Majesty in the last session of Parliament, as calculated to form the basis of such a settlement.

With the few alterations and additions which we have found it necessary to suggest, we consider these resolutions as fit to form articles of union between Great Britain and Ireland; and if those alterations and additions shall be approved by the two Houses of the Parliament of Ireland, we are ready to confirm and ratify these articles, in order that the same may be established for ever by the mutual consent of both Parliaments.

We offer to your Majesty our humble congratulations upon the near prospect of the accomplishment of a work, which your Majesty, as the common father of your people, has justly declared to be so near your heart; concurring, as we do, with your Houses of Parliament in Ireland, in the full conviction that, by incorporating the legislatures, and consolidating the resources of the two kingdoms, we shall increase the power and stability of the British empire, and shall at the same time contribute in the most effectual manner to the improvement of the commerce, the security of the religion, and the preservation of the liberties of your Majesty's subjects in Ireland.

Protest entered on the Journals of the Irish House of Lords, against the Union.

Dissentient,

1st.—Because the resolution sanctions the principle of a legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland, without an opportunity having been afforded to this House of examining the details which are held out as an inducement for its adoption; details which have occupied the attention of those who have proposed the measure for a considerable length of time, and which therefore should not be hastily, or without due consideration, acted upon by any branch of the legislature of Ireland.

2dly.—Because those details do not appear to us, on such consideration as we have been allowed to give them, to proffer any benefits to this country of which it is not already in possession, or to afford any remedy for any of the evils which it at present has reason to apprehend.

3dly.—Because the resolution proposes, as a remedy for partial and temporary evils, an act which, if once adopted, binds us and our posterity for ever.

4thly.—Because we consider the independence of Ireland, and the security of her connection with Great Britain, to be equally essential to the well-being of this country; and that we consider both as endangered by the measure of a legislative union.

5thly.—Because the present constitution of these kingdoms, founded on the complete unity of their executive power, and the perfect distinctness of their legislatures, appears to us as happily contrived as the limited nature of human institutions can admit to maintain national freedom in both countries, and unalterable connection between both.

6thly.—Because the plan proposed, whether it be good or whether it be ill, appears to us calculated to effect a total and fundamental change in the constitution of Ireland; a change which ought not to be ventured on, without the unequivocal approbation of the informed understanding and resident property of the country, both of which we consider to be adverse to the reception of the measure.

7thly.—Because we consider the present season of innovation ill adapted for the discussion of new systems of government, more particularly in this country, which has only just escaped from the revolutionary projects of foreign and domestic enemies, and in which the ordinary course of law has been necessarily suspended.

8thly.—Because, next to the protection of Divine Providence, we hold this country indebted for its preservation from those evils to the vigilance of its resident Parliament, and the loyalty of its resident gentry, the former of whom the proposed measure necessarily removes from the country, and the latter of whom it must powerfully operate to withdraw.

9thly.—Because, by the plan laid before us for constituting the Parliament of the united kingdoms, it is intended that four spiritual and twenty-eight temporal Lords shall be added to the British House of Lords, consisting of upwards of 300 members, and that 100 representatives for the people of Ireland shall be added to the British House of Commons, consisting of 558 members, and that the present entire British Houses of Parliament, with the said additional members, shall form their united Parliament; from which it is evident that the entire power of making laws and imposing taxes must reside in the preponderating majority of the British members in such Parliament; which power, though it might without danger be intrusted to them if the two nations were to be so perfectly incorporated as to form but one nation, and to have but one purse, as in the union between England, Scotland, and Wales; yet in the intended union, where distinct revenues, distinct taxes, and distinct expences shall continue to exist between the two nations, it must leave the liberties of the Irish nation at the disposal of such British majority, who will make the laws for the internal regulation of Ireland, which shall not in any sort affect themselves, and impose taxes upon that kingdom, the pressure of which they will not feel. It appears to us that the exercise of such power must necessarily produce universal discontent, and may possibly tend to alienate the affections of Ireland from Great Britain.

10thly.—And above all, because

we conceive that no scheme of national adjustment can be honourable, satisfactory, or permanent, which is not considered with mature deliberation, prosecuted by fair and temperate means, and founded on the uninfluenced sense of Parliament, no one of which essential requisites can be found in the present project.

Leinster,
Downshire,
Pery, by proxy,
Meath,
Granard,
Ludlow, by proxy,
Moira, by proxy,
Arran,
Charlemont,
Kingston,
Mountcashell,
Farnham,
Massey, by proxy,
Enniskillen,
Belmore, by proxy,
Dillon,
Strangford,
Powerscourt,
De Vesci, by proxy,
Wm. Down and Connor,
Rd. Waterford and Lismore,
Louth,
Lismore,
Sunderlin.

Protest entered on the Journals of the Irish House of Lords, on reporting the Union Propositions.

Dissentient,

1st.—Because, that in the present awful state of affairs, when the most unremitting industry is made use of to unhinge every established government in Europe; when revolutionary principles have produced the overthrow of several ancient established governments, we think every loyal subject who regards the liberties of his country called upon to rally round the constitution, and to preserve its stability; we therefore cannot help protesting against the rashness of the minister, who, in such times, hazards the experiment of annihilating that constitution which has for so many ages maintained the connection between Great Britain and Ireland, and of substituting in its stead (in opposition to the general voice of the nation) a new system, totally subversive of every fundamental principle of that constitution which we consider as the best security for those liberties which the subjects of Ireland now enjoy.

2dly.—Because, however willing we now are, and always have been, to contribute in proportion to our means to the support and defence of the empire, we hold it our bounden duty, before that we shall irrevocably enter into any engagement, to take upon ourselves any particular proportion of the expenses of the empire, to ascertain the probable amount of such proportion, to inquire into the ability of Ireland to discharge the same, and to examine whether such part be proportionate to the relative abilities of the two nations. Upon such inquiry we find that the expense incurred by Great Britain in the year 1799, amounted to upwards of 32,000,000*l.*; and that which was incurred by Ireland in the same year, amounted to upwards of 6,000,000*l.* two seventeenths of which sums (the proposed proportion) amount to

upwards of 4,400,000*l.*, which added to the present interest of the debt incurred by Ireland, and the discharge of her annuities, amounting to 1,400,000*l.* and the interest of the loan of this year, amounting to about 250,000*l.* will make the annual charge upon Ireland to amount to 6,050,000*l.* It appears to us that the produce of our revenue, including the estimated amount of the taxes laid on this session, does not exceed 2,800,000*l.* and consequently they will fall short by 3,250,000*l.* of the sum necessary to discharge such proportionate part of the expenses of the empire. In order to ascertain the relative abilities of the two nations, their respective balances of trade with the whole world have been compared, and it appears from thence that such balance in favour of Great Britain amounts to the sum of 14,800,000*l.* and that such balance in favour of Ireland, according to the returns laid before this house, amount to the sum of 509,312*l.*; taking therefore the balance of trade as a criterion of ability, the proportion would be as 29 to 1. Inquiry likewise having been made into the current cash in circulation in both kingdoms, it appears that in the year 1777, the current cash in Great Britain was calculated at 43,000,950*l.* and it is computed by persons the best informed upon that subject in this kingdom, that the current cash in Ireland may now amount to between 3,000,000*l.* and 3,500,000*l.*; taking it therefore at the latter, the proportion should be as 12 to 1; considering it in another very essential point of view, the influx and efflux of money into the respective kingdoms, it appears that Great Britain receives by remittances to persons having property in the East and West Indies, who reside in Great Britain, 4,000,000*l.* sterling. We do not know of any influx of money into Ireland, save that of 509,312*l.* the balance of her trade; and it appears to us that she annually remits to Great Britain, on account of her debts, the sum of 720,000*l.*; and on account of the pay of 3234 men, serving in Great Britain, the sum of 101,570*l.*: these annual drains, together with the remittances to absentees (probably little short of 2,000,000*l.*), we consider to have occasioned the high rate of exchange with Great Britain during the last twelve months, from 3 to 5 per cent. above par, notwithstanding that during that period 3,000,000*l.* have been borrowed in Great Britain, and remitted to Ireland. We do not know of any fund to resort to for raising the said deficiency of 3,250,000*l.* save by taxation, an addition to which cannot in any considerable degree be supported; and by resorting to her landed property, the gross contents of which being but 11,000,000 plantation acres, we cannot estimate at more than the annual rent of 5,500,000*l.* We observe the large sums of money borrowed by Ireland within these four years have been for the most part raised in Great Britain, owing to the total disability of procuring them in Ireland. The facility of raising money in Great Britain, and the difficulty found in raising any in Ireland, clearly demonstrates the opulence of the one

nation, and the poverty of the other. Under such circumstances it appears to us, that if this kingdom should take upon herself irrevocably the payment of two-seventeenths of such expenses, she will not have means to perform her engagement, unless by charging her landed property with 12 or 13*s.* in the pound. It must end in the draining from her her last guinea, in totally annihilating her trade for want of capital, in rendering the taxes unproductive, and consequently in finally putting her into a state of bankruptcy. We think ourselves called upon to protest against a measure so ruinous to this country, and to place the responsibility for its consequences upon such persons as have brought it forward and supported it.

For these reasons, and believing the above statement to be accurate, we thus record our dissent.

3dly.—For these and many other reasons, too tedious and too obvious to be here dwelt upon, we have deemed it our bounden duty, both to ourselves and to our descendants, thus publicly to declare our dissent from these resolutions, approving of the measures of a legislative union, which have passed this House, calling on our latest posterity to entreat, that in virtue of this, our solemn declaration, they will acquit us of having been in anywise instrumental to their degradation, and the ruin of that country which they may hereafter inhabit.

Leinster,
Downshire,
Meath,
Granard,
Ludlow, by proxy,
Moira, by proxy,
Arran,
Charlemont,
Riversdale, by proxy,
Mountcashell,
Farnham,
Dillon,
Strangford,
Powerscourt,
De Vesci, by proxy,
W. Down and Connor,
R. Waterford and Lismore,
Louth,
Massey, by proxy,
Sunderlin, for the first reason.

Protest against a Legislative Union with Great Britain; entered on the Journals of the Irish House of Lords.

1st.—Because the measure, recommended by our most gracious Sovereign, was a complete and entire union between Great Britain and Ireland, to be founded on equal and liberal principles. We cannot help observing, that the terms proposed in the said bill are inconsistent with those principles, and are totally unequal; that Great Britain is thereby to retain entire and undiminished her Houses of Lords and Commons, and that two-fifteenths of the Irish peers are to be degraded and deprived of their legislative functions, and that two-thirds of the Irish House of Commons are to be struck off. Such a proceeding appears to us totally unequal, both in respect of numbers, and the mode of forming the united Parliament; and we cannot suggest any reason for reduc-

ing the number of the members of the Irish Houses of Parliament, which does not apply with more force to reducing the number of the members in the British Houses of Parliament, whose numbers so greatly exceed that of the members of the Irish Houses of Parliament.

2dly.—Because the measure recommended by his Majesty was a complete and entire union between Great Britain and Ireland, by which we understand such an union as should so perfectly identify the two nations, that they should become as one nation, and there should not exist any distinct interest between them.—When we consider the provisions of the said bill, we find, that although its professed object is to form a perfect union between them, it does not in any sort effect it. It unites the legislatures, but does not identify the nations; their interests will remain as distinct as they are at present; Ireland will continue to be governed by a viceroy, assisted by an Irish privy-council; her purse, her revenues, her expenditure, and her taxes, will be as distinct as they are at present from those of Great Britain; even their intercourse of trade must be carried on as between two separate nations, through the medium of revenue officers. Such distinctnesses of interest prove, that they require separate Parliaments, resident in each kingdom, to attend to them; that such union is only nominal, and that it does not effect that complete and entire union recommended by his Majesty, but shews, that, from the circumstances of the two nations, the same is totally impracticable.

3dly, Because the adjustment of the numbers of the Irish members to be added to the two Houses of the Imperial Parliament has been determined upon without any official documents or other authentic information having been laid before Parliament. That upon the union with Scotland, such proportion was adjusted by the commissioners appointed for England and Scotland, upon an examination of their respective claims, who having thereupon agreed that the number of Commoners to be added to the English Commons, consisting of 513, should be 45 on the part of Scotland, and the number of English Peers being then 185, they calculated that 16 bore the same proportion to that number, which 45 bore to the English House of Commons, and therefore determined upon that number of Peers; this calculation justified the propriety of such adjustment, and we cannot conceive upon what principle the number of Irish Peers was reduced to 32, when, according to the proportion aforesaid, it ought to have been 53. We must consider such conduct as unjust in its principle, and wantonly casting a stigma upon the Irish peerage, by depriving twenty-one of their body of their just right of sitting in the united Parliament.

4thly, Because, that, however proper it may have been for the two Parliaments to mark out the great outlines for forming an union between the two nations, we think, that from their situation in different kingdoms, and the impracticability of communication between them, they were ill suited to the adjustment of matters which require detail. That the mode of proceed-

ing adopted by the great Lord Somers, upon the union with Scotland, of appointing commissioners on the behalf of each nation, is proved by experience to have been well adapted to that purpose. That such commissioners, having the means of procuring information, and communicating with each other, were thereby enabled to settle with propriety, and to the satisfaction of both nations, such matters as should be necessary to be adjusted between them. That, instead of adopting that wise and rational mode of proceeding, the adjustment of the numbers to be added to the imperial Parliament has been established in pursuance of the mandate of the British minister, without laying before Parliament any official document whatsoever, or taking any step to procure information concerning the respective claims of the two nations.

5thly, Because, by the original distribution of power between the two Houses of Parliament, it has been established as a leading and fundamental principle of the constitution, that the Commons should hold the purse of the nation, without the interference of the Peerage; notwithstanding which, and that the said bill declares, that the Irish Peerages shall be considered as Peerages of the united kingdom, it directs, that Irish Peers shall be eligible, as Commoners, to represent any place in Great Britain, whereby the purse of the nation will be eventually put into the hands of the Peers of the united kingdom, under the description of Irish Peers, in direct defiance of the aforesaid principle. That it is evident that such innovation was introduced by the minister for the purpose of preventing the opposition which the measure might receive from such Irish Peers as were members of the British House of Commons, which is clearly evinced by their not being made eligible for any place in Ireland, from whence they derive their honours. That by the provision in the bill for a constant creation of Peers for Ireland, the Irish Peerage is to be kept up for ever, thereby perpetuating the degrading distinction by which the Irish Peerage is to continue stripped of all Parliamentary functions. That the perpetuity of such distinction would have been avoided, by providing that no Irish Peer should hereafter be created (which is the case of Scots Peers,) and that whenever the Irish Peers shall be reduced to the number of twenty-eight, they should be declared Peers of the united empire, equally with the British, from which time all national distinctions between them should cease.

6thly, Because, when we advert to the corrupt and unconstitutional language held out by the minister to such members as claimed property in boroughs, intimating to them, that they should be considered as their private property, and should be purchased as such, and the price paid out of the public purse, such language appears to us to amount to a proposal to buy the Irish Parliament for government, and makes the union a measure of bargain and sale between the minister and the individual.

7thly, Because, when we compare the relative abilities of Great

Britain and Ireland, we find the contribution to be paid by the two kingdoms, to the expenses of the united empire, most unequally adjusted; and that the share of two-seventeenths, fixed upon as the proportion to be paid by Ireland, is far beyond what her resources will enable her to discharge. Should Ireland undertake to pay more than she shall be able to answer, the act will be irrevocable, and the necessary consequence will be a gradual diminution of her capital, the decline of her trade, a failure in the produce of her taxes, and finally her total bankruptcy. Should Ireland fall, Great Britain must necessarily be involved in her ruin, and we have to lament that our great and glorious empire will be brought to the brink of destruction, by the dangerous and visionary speculation of substituting a new system of government for Ireland, in the place of that constitution, which she has experienced to be the firmest security for the preservation of her liberties. We think it proper to observe, that if the ministers had any plausible grounds, whereupon they have calculated the said proportion, they have not deigned to lay them before parliament, nor have the usual and established forms of proceeding to investigate matters of intricate and extended calculations been resorted to, by appointing committees for their examination; neither have commissioners been appointed, as was done upon the union with Scotland. Had the minister applied his attention to that very necessary inquiry, of ascertaining the relative ability of the two nations, he would have compared the balance which Great Britain has in her favour, from her trade with all the world, amounting to 14,800,000*l.* with that of Ireland upon the whole of her trade, amounting to 509,312*l.* bearing a proportion to each other of about 29 to 1;—he would have examined into the amount of revenue, out of which the said proportions must naturally be paid, namely, the produce of the permanent taxes of each nation, which he would have found to have produced in Great Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January, 1799, the sum of 26,000,000*l.* and the permanent taxes in Ireland in the corresponding year did not exceed 2,000,000*l.* bearing a proportion to each other of about 13 to 1. He would have been informed that the only influx of money into Ireland which can be discovered, is the said balance of her trade of 500,000*l.* and that she remits to Great Britain annually 724,753*l.* a sum exceeding, by upwards of 215,000*l.* the amount of such balance. That the remittances of her absentees (as stated by Mr. Pitt) amount to 1,000,000*l.* but are computed really to amount to double that sum, and must necessarily greatly increase, should an union take place, such drains exhausting in a great degree the resources of this kingdom, and adding to the opulence of Great Britain. The facility with which large sums of money have lately been raised in Great Britain, compared with the unsuccessful attempt to raise so small a sum in this kingdom as one million and a half, would have afforded to him the strongest proof of the opulence of the one

and the poverty of the other. From the Irish minister's own statement he has computed that the sum for which this kingdom shall be called upon annually in time of war, as her contribution, will amount to 4,492,680*l.* but has not attempted to point out the means by which she can raise so enormous a sum. When the minister shall find the circumstances of Ireland are such as have been herein stated, and shall recollect that this new project has been suggested by him, and forced upon this nation, he will feel the immense responsibility which falls upon him for the disastrous consequences which it may produce, not only upon this kingdom, but upon the whole empire, he will be alarmed at the discontents which an imposition of taxes beyond the abilities of the people to pay must produce, and the fatal consequences that they may occasion.

8thly, Because the transfer of our legislature to another kingdom will deprive us of the only security we have for the enjoyment of our liberties, and being against the sense of the people, amounts to a gross breach of trust; and we consider the substitute for our constitution, namely, the return of the proposed number of persons to the united parliament as delusive, amounting indeed to an acknowledgment of the necessity of representation, but in no sort supplying it, inasmuch as the 32 peers and the 100 commoners will be merged in the vast disproportion of British members, who will in fact be the legislators for Ireland; and when we consider that all the establishments of the two separate governments are to continue, which must add to the influence of the minister over the conduct of parliament, and advert to his power in the return of Irish members to parliament, we conceive that such portion is more likely to overturn the constitution of Great Britain than to preserve our own.

9thly, Because we consider the intended union a direct breach of trust, not only by the parliament with the people, but by the parliament of Great Britain with that of Ireland, inasmuch as the tenor and purport of the settlement of 1782 did intentionally and expressly exclude the re-agitation of constitutional questions between the two countries, and did establish the exclusive legislative authority of the Irish parliament, without the interference of any other. That the breach of such a solemn contract, founded on the internal weakness of the country, and its inability at this time to withstand the destructive design of the minister, must tend to destroy the future harmony of both, by forming a precedent, and generating a principle of mutual encroachment, in times of mutual difficulties.

10thly, Because, that when we consider the weakness of this kingdom at the time that the measure was brought forward, and her inability to withstand the destructive designs of the minister, and couple to the act itself the means that have been employed to accomplish it, such as the abuse of the place bill, for the purpose of modelling the parliament—the appointment of sheriffs to prevent county meetings—the dismissal of the old stedfast friends of constitutional government for their adherence to

the constitution, and the return of persons into parliament who had neither connection nor stake in this country, and were therefore selected to decide upon her fate—when we consider the armed force of the minister, added to his powers and practices of corruption, when we couple these things together, we are warranted to say, that the basest means have been used to accomplish this great innovation, and that the measure of union tends to dishonour the ancient peerage for ever, to disqualify both houses of parliament, and subjugate the people of Ireland for ever. Such circumstances, we apprehend, will be recollected with abhorrence, and will create jealousy between the two nations, in the place of harmony, which for so many centuries has been the cement of their union.

11thly, Because the argument made use of in favour of the union, namely, that the sense of the people of Ireland is in its favour, we know to be untrue; and as the ministers have declared, that they would not press the measure against the sense of the people, and as the people have pronounced, and under all difficulties, their judgment against it, we have, together with the sense of the country, the authority of the minister to enter our protest against the project of union, against the yoke which it imposes, the dishonour which it inflicts, the disqualification passed upon the peerage, the stigma thereby branded on the realm, the disproportionate principle of expense it introduces, the means employed to effect it, the discontents it has excited, and must continue to excite; against all these, and the fatal consequences they may produce, we have endeavoured to interpose our votes, and failing, we transmit to after-times our names in solemn protest on behalf of the parliament constitution of this realm, the liberty which it secured, the trade which it protected, the connexion which it preserved, and the constitution which it supplied and fortified.

This we feel ourselves called upon to do in support of our characters, our honour, and whatever is left to us worthy to be transmitted to our posterity.

Leinster,
Meath,
Granard,
Moira, by proxy, for the 8th, 10th, and 11th reasons,
Ludlow, by proxy,
Arran,
Charlemont,
Kingstone, by proxy,
Riversdale, by proxy,
Mountcashell,
Farnham,
Belmore, by proxy,
Massey, by proxy,
Strangford,
Powerscourt,
De Vesci,
Wm. Down and Connor,
R. Waterford and Lismore,
Sunderlin, except for the 7th reason,
Lismore, by proxy.

Papers relative to the Commencement of Negociations for Peace with France.

No. 1.

No. 8, Hereford-street, le 6 Fruc. An. 8. (Aug. 24, 1800.)

My Lord,

However scrupulous I may have

hitherto been to follow in all respects the path traced for my official communications with the ministry of his majesty, yet the secrecy and dispatch requisite for those which form the subject of the inclosed note, appear to me to justify a more direct communication. I flatter myself, therefore, that your excellency will not disapprove of the step I now take of communicating to you, without any intervention, the intentions of the French government respecting the overtures which have been made to it by Baron Thugut.

If his Majesty should accept the propositions contained in the inclosed note, I beg, my lord, that you would appoint, as soon as possible, the person who shall be employed to treat with me; and who, without doubt, will be guided in this important negociation by that spirit of conciliation which alone can contribute to the restoration of peace and good understanding between the two governments. I have the honour to be, with the most respectful consideration, my lord, your excellency's most humble and most obedient servant,

(Signed) Otto.

No. 2.

To his Excellency Lord Grenville, Secretary of State for the Department of Foreign Affairs.

His Imperial Majesty having communicated to the Government of the French republic a note from Lord Minto, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of his Majesty the King of Great Britain at the Court of Vienna, from which note it appears that the desire of his Britannic Majesty is to see a termination of the war which divides France and England, the undersigned is specially authorized to demand from his Majesty's Ministry farther explanations respecting the proposition which has been transmitted by the Court of Vienna; and, at the same time, as it appears impossible, that at the moment when Austria and England take a common share in the negociations, France should find herself under a suspension of arms with Austria, and a continuation of hostilities with England, the undersigned is in like manner authorized to propose that a general armistice be concluded between the armies and the fleets of the two states, adopting, with respect to the places which are besieged and blockaded, measures analogous to those which have taken place in Germany relative to Ulm, Philipsburg, and Ingolstadt.

The undersigned has received from his government the powers necessary for negociating and concluding this general armistice. He begs his excellency Lord Grenville to lay this note before his Britannic Majesty, and to transmit to him his Majesty's answer.

(Signed) Otto.

London, the 6th Fruc. An. 8. *(Aug.* 24, 1800.*)*

No. 3.

Downing-street, Aug. 26, 1800.

Sir,

I am to request that you will endeavour, as soon as you can, to see M. Otto, and to ask him from me, whether he has any objection to deliver to you, sealed up for me,

the papers to which his last communication refers? as his doing so will expedite his receiving the answer to it.

You will at the same time apprise him, that you are not informed of the particulars of that communication, or of its tendency; and that you have been charged to make this inquiry, in order to avoid drawing any attention to it.

(Signed) Grenville.

Commissioner George.

No. 4.

M. Otto's full Powers.

Buonaparte, First Consul of the French Republic, in virtue of the 41st article of the constitution, gives to the citizen Otto, commissary of the government for the exchange of prisoners in England, power to propose, to consent to, and to sign, conformably to his instructions, a general armistice between the French republic and his Majesty, the King of Great Britain.

(Signed) By the First Consul, Buonaparte.

(Signed) The Secretary of State. Hugues B. Maret.

Done at Paris, at the Palace of the Government, the 2d Fructidor, year 8 of the Republic.

No. 5.

Downing-street, Aug. 28, 1800.

Sir,

I have the King's commands to desire that you will, as soon as you can after the receipt of this letter, see M. Otto; and that you will return to him the original of the paper which he delivered to you on Tuesday last.

In making proper acknowledgments to him for his attention on this occasion, you will mention, that the paper I had wished to see was not this, but Lord Minto's note referred to in that which M. Otto addressed to me by order of his government on the 24th instant; but that, while you were with M. Otto, I received, by a messenger from Vienna, the copy of Lord Minto's note, together with that written on the same subject by M. de Thugut to M. Talleyrand.

I enclose to you, for your information, a copy of the former, and an extract of the latter of these papers, which you will return to me after you shall have seen M. Otto. The reason of my communicating them to you is, to enable you to converse with M. Otto on the subject of them, in conformity with the instructions contained in the minute herewith inclosed, which you are at liberty in the course of your conversation to show to M. Otto, as containing the heads of what you are charged to communicate to him.

You will of course carefully confine your conversation within the limits of that paper; and you will, as soon as possible, deliver to me a written minute of what shall have passed between you and M. Otto on the subject.

I am, &c.

(Signed) Grenville.

Commissioner George.

No. 6.

Minute of Instructions to Captain George, Aug. 28, 1800.

1. To declare that the note presented at Vienna by Lord Minto

contains the expression of his Majesty's sentiments, and that the King is ready to act in conformity to it.

2. To inquire whether any answer has been returned by the French government to the proposal contained in M. Thugut's letter to M. Talleyrand respecting a place for the meeting of plenipotentiaries to carry on joint negociation; or whether M. Otto is authorized to agree with this government on that point, agreeably to the suggestion contained in M. Thugut's letter.

3. To express, in that case, that either of the places named by M. de Thugut would be agreed to by his Majesty, and a proper person sent thither on his Majesty's part to meet the plenipotentiaries of Austria and France, provided that the French government is willing to enter into sufficient engagements for the freedom of direct communication by couriers with such place of negociation.

4. That, with respect to the proposal of an armistice, the King would see with great satisfaction the moment when he could with propriety adopt any measure, the immediate effect of which would be to put a stop, at least for a time, to the calamities of war; but that an armistice, as applying to naval operations, has at no period ever been agreed on between Great Britain and France during the course of their negociations for peace, or until the preliminaries have been actually signed: that it cannot therefore be considered as a step necessary to negociation; and that, from the disputes to which its execution must unavoidably be expected to give rise, it might more probably tend to obstruct than to facilitate the success of those endeavours which the two parties might employ for the restoration of peace: that the circumstances of a naval war are obviously not such as to admit of such equal arrangements as are easily established with regard to military operations when suspended by such an agreement: that it appears, therefore, at all events premature to enter even into the discussion of this question, until, from the course of the negociations, it shall more clearly appear how far they are likely to lead to a satisfactory issue: and that no decision could in any case be taken here on such a subject, unless the French government had previously explained in what manner it is conceived that the principles of the regulations adopted in the German armistice, with respect to blockaded towns, can be applied to the naval ports and arsenals of France, so as to carry *bonâ fide* into execution, as to the respective maritime forces, the objects which those stipulations have in view with respect to the military positions occupied by the two armies.

No. 7.

Park-place, Aug. 29, 1800.

My Lord,

In obedience to his Majesty's commands, communicated to me by your lordship in your letter of yesterday's date, I called upon M. Otto, and had a particular conversation with him on the subject of the papers delivered to me by your lordship. I made a proper acknowledgment to him for

the readiness which he showed to comply with your lordship's wish of communicating the paper you wished to see, which he conceived to be the one I had the honour to deliver to your lordship; and he appears fully sensible of the attention shown him on that occasion. I declared to him,

1st, That the note presented at Vienna by Lord Minto, contains the expression of his Majesty's sentiments, and that the king is ready to act in conformity to it.

2nd, I inquired whether any answer had been returned by the French government to the proposal contained in M. Thugut's letter to M. Talleyrand respecting a place for the meeting of plenipotentiaries to carry on joint negociations, and was informed by him that the place of meeting was fixed at Luneville.

3d, I informed M. Otto that either of the places named by M. Thugut would be agreed to by his Majesty, and a proper person sent thither on his Majesty's part to meet the plenipotentiaries of Austria and France, provided that the French government is willing to enter into sufficient engagements for the freedom of direct communication by couriers with such place of negociation; which he promises to communicate immediately to the French government by courier.

4th, I also informed M. Otto of the very substantial reasons that will prevent his Majesty from agreeing to a general armistice previous to the signing of preliminaries, as detailed in the minute which I had the honour to receive from your lordship; and was answered by him, that he has every reason to think, and is personally convinced, that the continuation of the German armistice will depend upon the conclusion of the English armistice, the advantages of the latter being considered by France as an equivalent for the very obvious disadvantages of the German one. He observed, that the regulations contained in the German armistice do not extend to such places as were not actually blockaded or attacked by the French; judging, therefore, from analogy, such places only as are actually blockaded by the English forces could be comprehended in the proposed armistice; therefore Belleisle, Malta, and Alexandria, should be put on the same footing as Ulm, Philipsburg, and Ingolstadt.

M. Otto has been instructed to require an answer to the proposal for a general armistice before the 3d of September, which makes him conclude that hostilities may again commence about that time, should the proposed armistice be positively refused on the part of his Majesty. He farther observed, that as long as hostilities on the continent are carried on, there can be no firm basis on which to ground negociation, as every change on either side would occasion a new subject of discussion.

M. Otto farther remarked, that if a general armistice should be agreed on, he is authorized to enter into any security that may be thought necessary for the commerce of Great Britain; and that the great importance of the subject obliges him to inquire whether he is to have a written answer on the subject of the general armistice, or whether he is to con-

sider the present verbal communication as definitive against it. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) R. George.

Right Hon. Lord Grenville.

No. 8.

Downing-street, Aug. 29, 1800.

Sir,

As M. Otto expressed to you a desire to receive in writing the answer of the King's Government to his note, I transmit to you the inclosed, which I request you will communicate to him. I am, &c.

(Signed) Grenville.

Commissioner George.

No. 9.

Downing-street, Aug. 29, 1800.

Sir,

I inclose to you, by the King's command, the answer which his Majesty has thought proper that I should return to the different points contained in the note which I had the honour to receive from you.

The mode which you adopted for the transmission of that paper was perfectly satisfactory to his Majesty's government; but as Capt. George has, from his situation, the opportunity of unobserved intercourse with you, I will request you to transmit to me, through him, any further communications with which you may be charged by your government respecting this business.

(Signed) Grenville.

M. Otto.

No. 10.—Note.

M. Otto having apprised his Majesty's government, through Captain George, that the proposal made by the court of Vienna for fixing Luneville as the place for carrying on the proposed negociation for a general peace, has been acceded to by the French government, it only remains on that head to express his Majesty's agreement to the same proposal; and to declare, that in consequence thereof, a proper person shall be sent to Luneville, on his Majesty's part, to meet the plenipotentiaries of Austria and France, as soon as the passports for such minister and his suite shall be received; provided that the French government is willing to enter into the necessary engagements, that his Majesty's plenipotentiary shall be at liberty to communicate freely, and in the usual manner, by courier, with this country, and with the dominions of his Majesty's allies.

With respect to the proposal for a general armistice by sea and land between Great Britain and France, the King would see with great satisfaction the moment when he could with propriety adopt any measure, the immediate effect of which would be to put a stop, at least for a time, to the calamities of war; but an armistice, as applying to naval operations, has at no period ever been agreed on between Great Britain and France, during the course of their negociations for peace, or until the preliminaries have been actually signed: such a step cannot, therefore, be considered as necessary to negociation, and from the disputes to which its execution must unavoidably be expected to give rise, there is just reason to apprehend that it might more probably

tend to obstruct than to facilitate the success of those endeavours which the two parties might employ for the restoration of peace. Besides this, it is to be considered, that the circumstances of a naval war are obviously not such as to admit of such equal arrangements as are easily established with regard to military operations, when suspended by such an agreement. It appears therefore, at all events, premature to enter even into the discussion of this question, until, from the course of the negociations, it shall more clearly appear how far they are likely to lead to a satisfactory issue. But in any case no decision could be taken here on such a subject, unless the French government had previously explained in what manner it is conceived that the principles of the regulations adopted in the German armistice, with respect to blockaded towns, can be applied to the naval ports and arsenals of France and her allies now blockaded by his Majesty's fleets, so as to carry *bonâ fide* into execution, as to the respective maritime forces, the same objects which those stipulations have in view with respect to the military positions occupied by the armies in Germany and Italy.

(Signed) Grenville.

Downing-street, Aug. 29, 1800.

No. 11.

No. 8, *Hereford-street, Aug.* 30, 1800, (12*th Fruc. An.* 8.)

My Lord,

I received yesterday evening the letter and the note which your excellency did me the honour to address to me; and I immediately transmitted them to Dover by an extraordinary messenger.

I cannot but be extremely flattered by the approbation which his Majesty's government has been pleased to give to the mode which I had adopted for my political communications. That which your excellency proposes to me, combines the double advantage of dispatch and of secrecy, and I shall follow it as often as orders from my government shall afford me an opportunity of profiting by it. I have the honour to be, with the most respectful consideration, my lord, your excellency's most humble and most obedient servant,

(Signed) Otto.

No. 12.—Note.

His excellency Lord Grenville having been pleased to inform the undersigned of the intention of his Majesty to send a plenipotentiary to Luneville, in order to take a share in the negociations which shall be entered upon, as soon as the necessary passports shall have been transmitted by the French government, and as soon as assurance shall have been given respecting the free correspondence of this plenipotentiary with his court and with the countries belonging to the allies of his Majesty, the undersigned immediately dispatched an extraordinary messenger, in order to communicate these dispositions to his government.

The conciliatory and humane sentiments which have had an influence in producing this decision of the cabinet, are a happy presage of the re-establishment of good harmony between two coun-

tries which, from the genius, the talents, and the industry of their people, are so strongly interested in cherishing the arts and the enjoyments of peace. It is with a view to attain more speedily this end, so ardently desired by all Europe, that the undersigned was directed to submit to the British government the *projet* for a maritime truce; but the ministers of his Majesty having judged that it would be *premature to enter even upon the discussion of this object*, it is his duty to respect the motives which appear to them to militate against such a negociation, although he may have had every reason to hope that the adherence of his Majesty to that proposal might have become the pledge of the continuance of the two armistices concluded in Germany and Italy; the French government not being able to consent, for any length of time, to sacrifice the advantages afforded to it by its military position upon the continent, without the assurance of an analogous sacrifice on the part of Great Britain.

If, through the imperious force of circumstances, the result of the negociations of Luneville should be subjected to the future fortune of war, it is to be presumed that the respective instructions and deliberations would no longer have for a basis a state of things known and appreciated on all sides, and that the pacific dispositions manifested by the belligerent powers would not produce effects as prompt and salutary as might have been hoped for from a general truce.

The apprehensions of the undersigned, relative to the probable renewal of hostilities in Germany and in Italy, notwithstanding the negociations which, in concert with his Majesty, shall be commenced at Luneville, are confirmed by the order which he has received to solicit an answer before the 3d of September.

(Signed) Otto.

Hereford-street, the 12th Fruct. year 8. (30th Aug. 1800.)

No. 13.

Downing-street, Sept. 2, 1800.

Sir,

I am to desire that you will apprise M. Otto, that the King has been pleased eventually to make choice of Mr. Grenville to represent his Majesty at Luneville, and of Mr. Garlike, now his Majesty's secretary of legation at Berlin, to act as his Majesty's secretary to Mr. Grenville's mission. It will therefore be necessary that a separate passport for Mr. Garlike should be furnished by the French government, such as will enable him to proceed directly from Berlin to Luneville. You will add, that it will be a matter of convenience to his Majesty's government, and to Mr. Garlike personally, if that passport, instead of being sent through London, were transmitted, through the French minister at Berlin, to the Earl of Carysfort, his Majesty's minister at that court.

I wish you further to remark to M. Otto, that it is usual in the opening of negociations for peace, that such previous explanations should take place as may enable the respective ministers to arrive nearly at the same time at the place of negociation; and that as

the communication on this point may be received here so much sooner from Paris than from Vienna, his Majesty's government would wish to be informed through you of the period which may be fixed for the arrival of the Austrian and French plenipotentiaries at Luneville, in order that no delay may take place on his Majesty's part in the opening of the negociation. I am, &c.

(Signed) Grenville.

To Captain George.

No. 14.

Hereford-street, Sept. 4, (17*th Fruct.*)

My Lord,

Mr. George not being yet returned from Margate, whither he has conveyed his family, I hope that your excellency will not disapprove of my transmitting to you directly the very important communications which I received this morning by an extraordinary courier. I should add that, if his Majesty consent to the proposed armistice, I am directed to deliver the passport, and to give all the assurances demanded for the plenipotentiary who shall be appointed. I have the honour to be, with the highest consideration, &c.

(Signed) Otto.

No. 15.—Note.

The undersigned having communicated to his government the note dated the 29th of August, forwarded to him by his excellency Lord Grenville, is directed to submit to him the following observations.

Preliminaries of peace had been concluded and signed between his Imperial Majesty and the French republic. The intervention of Lord Minto, who demanded that England should be admitted to take part in the negociations, prevented their ratification by his imperial Majesty.

The suspension of arms which had taken place solely in the hope of a speedy peace between the emperor and the republic ought then to cease, and will in fact cease on the 24th Fructidor, (11th Sept.) since France had sacrificed to that hope alone the immense advantages which victory had secured to her.

The intervention of England renders the question of peace so complicated, that it is impossible for the French government to prolong farther the armistice upon the continent, unless his Britannic Majesty will consent to render it common to the three powers.

If then the cabinet of St. James's desires to continue to make a common cause with Austria, and if its desire to take part in the negociations be sincere, his Britannic Majesty will not hesitate to adopt the proposed armistice.

But if this armistice be not concluded before the 24th Fructidor (11th Sept.) hostilities will have been renewed with Austria, and the First Consul will no longer be able to consent, with regard to that power, to any but separate and complete peace.

In order to satisfy the explanations demanded relative to the armistice, the undersigned is directed to acquaint Lord Grenville, that the places which it is proposed to assimilate to those of

Germany are Malta and the maritime towns of Egypt.

If it be true that a long suspension of arms between France and England would appear unfavourable to his Britannic Majesty, it is not less so, that an armistice prolonged upon the continent would be essentially disadvantageous to the French republic; so that at the same time that the naval armistice would be to the French government a pledge of the zeal which would be employed by England in promoting the re-establishment of peace, the continental armistice would be one also to the British government of the sincerity of the efforts of France; and as the position of Austria would no longer admit of her not diligently seeking for a conclusion, the three powers would have, in their own private interests, decisive reasons for consenting, without delay, to the sacrifices which may be reciprocally necessary in order to bring about an early conclusion of a general and a solid peace, such as may answer the wish and the hope of the whole world.

(Signed) Otto.

Hereford-street, 17*th Fruct. year* 8.
(4th Sept. 1800.)

No. 16.

Downing-street, Sept. 4, 1800.

Sir,

It appearing by a note received this day from M. Otto, that the French government has determined to make the continuance of the armistice between Austria and France, and the commencement of the negociations for peace, dependant on the conclusion of an armistice with this country, it is judged proper, in order that the ultimate decision on so important and extensive a question may be taken with the fullest knowledge of all the considerations by which it ought to be governed, that you should see M. Otto, and inquire of him, whether (as his note of the 30th ultimo appears to intimate) he is furnished with a *projet* of a treaty of naval truce? and, in that case, whether he is willing to communicate it to you for the information of his Majesty's government?

You will further inquire, whether he is empowered and instructed to include in such treaty his Majesty's allies?

And, lastly, if his *projet* should contain no article applicable to the question of moving the French and Spanish ships now in Brest to any other station in or out of Europe, you will inquire, whether M. Otto is authorized to enter into negociation for the purpose of including proper stipulations on that subject in any treaty of the nature which his government has proposed? I am, &c.

(Signed) Grenville.

Evan Nepean, Esq.

No. 17.

London, Sept. 4, 1800.

My Lord,

Since I had the honour of communicating to your lordship the conversation that had passed between me and M. Otto on the subject of the proposal for a naval armistice, and the readiness he had expressed of furnishing me with a copy of the *projet*, I have received from him the inclosed

note and the *projet* therein referred to. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Evan Nepean.

Lord Grenville.

No. 18.—*Projet.*

I. There shall be a suspension of hostilities between the fleets and armies of the French republic and those of Great Britain.

II. The ships of war and merchant vessels of each nation shall enjoy a free navigation, without being subject to any search, and shall observe the usage established previous to the war.

III. All vessels, of either nation, captured after the of Fructidor, shall be restored.

IV. The places of Malta, Alexandria, Belleisle, shall be assimilated to the places of Ulm, of Philipsburg, and of Ingolstadt; that is to say, all neutral or French vessels shall have permission freely to enter them, in order to furnish them with provisions.

V. The squadrons which blockade Brest, Cadiz, Toulon, Flushing, shall return into their own harbours, or at least shall keep out of sight of the coast.

VI. Three English officers shall be dispatched, one directly to the admiral commanding in the Mediterranean, another to the commander of the squadron before Malta, the third to the commander of the blockade of Alexandria, to notify to them the present armistice, and to convey to them orders to conform themselves thereunto. The said officers shall pass through France, in order the more expeditiously to arrive at their destination.

VII. His Catholic Majesty and the Batavian republic are included in the present armistice.

No. 19.—Note.

The only motive which could lead this court to entertain the discussion of a proposal so unusual in itself, and so disadvantageous to the interests of Great Britain, as that of a maritime truce to precede negociation, is the desire of contributing to facilitate the conclusion of a general peace; and the termination of the armistice on the continent, by the act of the French government, would put an end to all inducements to such a measure on the part of this country.

The necessity of receiving the King's commands, on the *projet* communicated by M. Otto, must prevent the undersigned from transmitting any reply to that paper before Sunday next. It is therefore for M. Otto to determine whether he will not think it proper immediately to write to his government, to remark, that if France had proposed an armistice with Great Britain for the purpose of its leading to general negociation and peace, that object can only be attained by at least such a prolongation of the continental armistice as will allow the time required for receiving the answer to the proposal made here.

(Signed) Grenville.

Downing-street, Sept. 5, 1800.

No. 20.

Thursday Evening, Sept. 4, 1800.

Citizen Otto presents his com-

pliments to Mr. Nepean, and, according to his desire, incloses a sketch of the treaty proposed by his government.

No. 21.

London, the 5th Sept. 1800, *(18th Fruct. year* 8.*)*

Sir,

I have received the letter which you have done me the honour to address to me, acquainting me that his Majesty had thought proper provisionally to appoint Mr. Grenville to take part in the eventual negociations at Luneville. That choice cannot fail to be very agreeable to the French government. As soon as the result of the present communications shall have rendered the journey of Mr. Grenville necessary, I shall deliver to him the passport for which I had previously applied; and I am directed to give, in the name of my government, every assurance which Mr. Grenville can desire respecting the promptitude and the inviolability of his correspondence.

With respect to Mr. Garlike, it will be very easy to send to him directly to Berlin the passport necessary for him; and I shall request it of my government.

The arrangements to be taken in the case of an eventual congress, in order that the respective ministers may arrive about the same time at the place of the conferences, are so conformable to the ordinary proceedings in similar cases, that they will not be neglected. The proximity of Paris will afford me the facility of giving to the British ministry every information which it may desire upon that subject, long before it could be procured from Vienna. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Otto.

No. 22.

The undersigned received yesterday, at four o'clock in the afternoon, the note which his excellency Lord Grenville did him the honour to address to him. It appeared to him to be of such high importance, that at the same hour he transmitted it by an extraordinary messenger to his government. He hopes that it may arrive in time to produce the effect which his excellency has had in view; and, if it serves to prolong for a few days the continental armistices, he will congratulate himself very much on having had it in his power to contribute thereunto.

He begs his excellency to accept the homage of his respectful consideration.

(Signed) Otto.

Hereford-street, 19 *Fruct. year* 8. (*6th Sept.* 1800.)

No. 23.—Note.

Lord Grenville presents his compliments to M. Otto, and sends him herewith the official answer to his last communication on the subject of an armistice, together with the counter *projet* therein referred to.

He requests M. Otto to accept the assurance of his high consideration.

Downing-street, Sept. 7, 1800.

No. 24.—Note.

The undersigned has had the

honour to lay before the King the official answer of the French government which he received from M. Otto on the 4th instant, and also the *projet* of an armistice communicated on the same day.

The spirit of that answer is unhappily but little consonant with those appearances of a conciliatory disposition which had before been manifested. If it be really practicable in the present moment to restore permanent tranquillity to Europe, this object must be effected by very different means than those of such a controversy as that paper is calculated to produce.

Some reply is however indispensably necessary to the assertions there advanced, which, if now passed over, might hereafter be considered as admitted.

The articles which an Austrian officer, charged with no such commission, was persuaded to sign at Paris, do indeed appear to his Majesty little calculated to terminate the calamities of Europe.

But whatever be the tendency of the conditions which the French government has there specified, there can be no pretence for representing them as preliminaries concluded by Austria, or annulled by the intervention of his Majesty.

The engagements by which the courts of London and Vienna have agreed not to treat except in concert with each other, were concluded before there was any question of these pretended preliminaries of peace.—And the first intimations which his Majesty received of their signature were accompanied by the express declarations of his ally, that they were wholly unauthorized, and must be considered as absolutely null.

The French government could indeed expect no other determination to be taken by his Imperial Majesty. The want of all powers or instructions for such a treaty, on the part of the Austrian officer, was, at the time, distinctly notified by him to those who treated with him, and is declared even on the very face of the paper which he signed.

With respect therefore to the supposed demand of his Majesty to be admitted to those negociations, nothing more is necessary to be said. The note delivered to M. de Thugut by Lord Minto sufficiently explains the part which his Majesty is really disposed to take in any negociation which may be regularly set on foot for general peace.

The King has always been persuaded that the result of such a negociation can alone effectually re-establish the tranquillity of Europe.

Experience has confirmed this opinion; and it is only from the conviction of its truth that his Majesty has now been induced to wave his strong objections to the first proposal of a naval armistice, and to enter into the discussion of the conditions on which it may be established.

His Majesty, judging from the experience of so many former negociations, considers such an armistice as in no degree likely either to expedite or to facilitate an arrangement of the direct interests of Great Britain and France.

He views it in no other light than as a temporary advantage which it is proposed to him to yield to his enemy, in order to prevent the renewal of continental hostilities, and thereby to contribute to the conclusion of a general peace.

And on this ground, notwithstanding the many disadvantages which he is sensible must result to this country from such a measure, he is resolved to give to his allies, and to all Europe, this new pledge of the sentiments by which he is actuated; provided that his enemies are disposed to regulate the conditions of such an armistice, as far as the nature of the case will allow, in conformity to the obvious and established principle of such arrangements.

This principle is, that the respective position of the two parties should remain during the continuance of the armistice, such as it was at its commencement; and that neither of them should, by its operation, acquire fresh advantages or new means of annoying his enemy, such as he could not otherwise obtain. The difficulty of doing this with the same precision in the case of naval operations, as by land, has already been adverted to in a former note; and it constitutes a leading objection to the measure itself.

But the French *projet*, instead of attempting to remove or lessen these difficulties, departs at once, and in every article, from the principle itself, although expressly recognized and studiously maintained in the continental armistice, which is there referred to as the foundation and model of this transaction.

It is proposed, in effect, that the blockade of the naval ports and arsenals of the King's enemies should be raised; that they should be enabled to remove their fleets to any other stations, and to divide or to collect their force as they may judge most advantageous to their future plans: the importation both of provisions and of naval and military stores is to be wholly unrestrained. Even Malta and the ports of Egypt, though expressly stated to be now blockaded, are to be freely victualled, and for an unlimited period, in direct contradiction to the stipulations of the German armistice respecting Ulm and Ingolstadt, to which places it is nevertheless professed to assimilate them: and this government is expected to bind itself towards the allies of France even before any reciprocal engagement can be received from them; while, at the same time, all mention of the King's allies is on the other hand totally omitted.

To a proposal so manifestly repugnant to justice and equality, and so injurious not only to his Majesty's interests, but also to those of his allies, it cannot be expected that any motive should induce the King to accede.

The counter *projet*, which the undersigned has the honour to transmit to M. Otto, contains regulations in this respect more nearly corresponding with that principle of equality on which alone his Majesty can consent to treat.

Even those articles are in many important points, and particularly in what relates to the actual stations of his Majesty's squadrons, very far short of what his Ma-

jesty might justly demand from a reference to the general principle above stated, from analogy to the conditions of the continental armistice, or from the relative situation of naval force: and a confidence is reposed in the good faith of his enemies, which, although it can never be claimed in transactions between belligerent powers, his Majesty is nevertheless willing to hope he shall not find to have been misplaced on the present occasion.

If M. Otto is empowered to accede to these stipulations, a proper person will immediately be authorized to sign them on his Majesty's part: if not, he is requested to transmit them without delay to his government.

(Signed) Grenville.

Downing-street, Sept. 7, 1800.

No. 25.

Counter *Projet.*

It having been agreed that negociations for a general peace shall be immediately set on foot between the Emperor of Germany, his Britannic Majesty, and the French republic, and an armistice having already been concluded between the forces of his Imperial Majesty and those of the French republic, it is agreed that an armistice shall also take place between the forces of his Britannic Majesty and those of the French republic, on the terms and in the manner following: that is to say,

Art. I. All hostilities, both by sea and land, between the forces of the two contracting parties shall be suspended, and shall not be renewed until after fourteen days notice given of the termination of the armistice. This notice, in so far as relates to the parts of Europe north of Cape St. Vincent, must be given by one of the two governments to the other, and is to be reckoned from the day in which the same shall be received by the government to whom it is given. In the Mediterranean, or other parts of the world, the notice must be given by the respective commanding officers. But in case of the renewal of hostilities between Austria and France, the armistice between Great Britain and France is likewise to be considered as terminated, so soon as such renewal of hostilities shall be known to the officer commanding the British forces; except only in so far as relates to prizes of merchant vessels, which shall be regulated by the third article of this convention.

Art. II. Orders shall immediately be sent by the two governments to their officers in the different parts of the world, to conform themselves to this agreement; sea-passes shall be given to the ships which are to carry these orders; and his Britannic Majesty's officers to be sent for that purpose through France shall be furnished with the necessary passports and facilities to expedite their journey.

Art. III. All prizes made in any part of the world during the continuance and operation of the armistice, by any officers having actually received due notice of this agreement, shall be restored; and generally, whether such notice shall have been received or not, all prizes made in the Chan-

nel, or in the North Seas after twelve days (to be reckoned from the exchange of the ratifications of this convention,) shall be restored; and the same periods shall be allowed, in this respect, for the other parts of the world, as were stipulated by the 22d article of the preliminaries of the last peace.

Art. IV. Malta, and the maritime towns and ports of Egypt, shall be placed on the same footing as those places which, though comprized within the demarcation of the French army in Germany, are occupied by the Austrian troops; consequently nothing shall be admitted by sea which can give additional means of defence; and provisions only for fourteen days at a time, in proportion to the consumption, as it shall be ascertained by commissaries to be named for the purpose, who shall have power to establish the necessary regulations for giving effect to this stipulation, conformably to the principles of the 4th article of the convention concluded between the Austrian and French generals in Germany.

Art. V. The blockade of Brest, Toulon, and any other of the ports of France, by his Majesty's fleets, shall be discontinued; and all British ships shall be instructed not to interrupt or obstruct the trade or navigation of any ships sailing to or from the coasts of France, except in the article of naval or military stores, which are not to be brought thither by sea during the present armistice. None of the ships of war now stationed in the said ports respectively shall, before the renewal of hostilities, be removed to any other station.

Art. VI. The allies of the two parties shall severally be at liberty to accede to this armistice, if they so think fit; provided that they also engage to observe a like armistice, on conditions similar to those here specified, towards such of the allies on the other side as shall accede to it.

The periods or terms to be fixed for the commencement of the armistice, in the different quarters of the world, as with respect to each of the said allies, are to be regulated in conformity to the stipulations contained in the 3d article of this convention as between Great Britain and France; and the said periods or terms are to be reckoned from the day on which the accession of such power to the armistice shall have been duly notified by such power to the party with whom it is at war. Such notification, duly authenticated by the government on whose part it is made, may either be transmitted directly by couriers or flags of truce, or through the channel of the two contracting parties, to each other reciprocally. The naval ports and arsenals of the allies of France are, during such armistice, to be placed on the same footing with those of France; and the notices which are to precede the renewal of hostilities, as well as all other matters relating to such armistice, are to be regulated according to the terms of this convention.

Art. VII. This convention shall be ratified, and the ratifications

shall be exchanged within the term of ten days, or sooner, if the same be practicable.

No. 26.

Hereford-street, 21 *Fruc.* 8.
(*Sept.* 8, 1800.)

My Lord,

I received yesterday, at eleven o'clock at night, the note and the counter *projet* which your excellency did me the honour to address to me. The principles contained in these two pieces are, in several respects, so little analogous to the proposals which I have been directed to make, and the object of which was to compensate by a British armistice the inconveniencies which might result to France from the eventual prolongation of the German armistice, that I cannot take upon myself to admit them without previously receiving farther instructions. I have therefore complied with your excellency's intentions by transmitting to my government those two pieces with as little delay as possible. I have the honour to be, with the most respectful consideration, &c.

(Signed) Otto.

No. 27.

Hereford-street, *Sept.* 16, 1800.
(29 *Fruc.* 8.)

My Lord,

I have the honour to address to your excellency the answer which my government has directed me to make to the note which you did me the honour to address to me.

The First Consul hoping that it is still possible to approximate the interests of the two governments, and their wishes for a speedy and solid peace, and being willing to give, on his part, a fresh proof of his pacific dispositions, has dispatched orders for deferring, for some days longer, the attack which the French army had been directed to make upon the whole line.

I shall give verbally either to your excellency yourself, or to such person as you shall judge proper to appoint for that purpose, satisfactory explanations respecting the principal objections contained in your note of the 7th of this month; and I flatter myself that they will produce the effect which your excellency had in view, by making known to me the intentions of his Majesty.—The high importance of those communications authorizes me to entreat that you would give them every facility in your power. I have the honour to be, with the most respectful consideration, my lord, your excellency's most obedient and most humble servant,

(Signed) Otto.

No. 28.—Note.

The undersigned has transmitted to his Government the note of his excellency Lord Grenville, dated the 7th of September. The counter *projet* which accompanied it having been laid before the First Consul, he has observed that the armistice, such as it was proposed, did not offer any advantage to the French Republic, and consequently could not compensate to it for the serious inconveniencies which would result to it from the

continuance of the continental armistice: hence it follows, that the counter *projet* could be admitted inasmuch only as the question might simply be to settle the preliminaries of a particular arrangement between France and England by a truce alike particular to the two states; but the effect of the proposed maritime truce being intended to serve as a compensation to the French republic for the continental truce, the former ought to afford to it advantages equal to the inconveniencies which it experiences from the latter.

The undersigned is therefore directed to make two proposals, of which his Britannic Majesty may choose that which may appear to him most consonant to the interest of his dominions, or to his continental relations.

The first is, that the *projet* for an armistice be drawn up and admitted in terms analogous to those which have been proposed by the ministry of his Britannic Majesty, but solely under the supposition that this armistice should be independent of the events of the continent, and relative only to a separate negociation to be immediately opened between the two powers.

The second is, that his Britannic Majesty should continue to make common cause with the Emperor, but that, in that case, he should consent that the maritime truce may offer to the French Republic advantages equal to those secured to the house of Austria by the continental truce.

And with this view the comparison may be easily settled.

By the continental armistice the court of Vienna acquires the means of re-organizing its armies, of converting into men, arms, ammunition of every kind, the subsidies paid to it by England; of fortifying and victualling its places of the second and third line which were in a bad state, in consequence of the rapid march of the French armies having not been foreseen. Thus Asoppo, Palmanova, Venice, Verona, and Lintz, had been neglected; every day their fortifications are repairing. Ulm, Ingolstadt, although blockaded, are improving their means of defence; and it is the armistice which procures to them this advantage: for at the moment when those places were invested, the enemy thought only of besieging ours, and consequently their own were not prepared for so early an attack.

By the continental armistice, the impression made by the victories of the French armies diminish, their effects are weakened. Six months of repose would suffice to restore the moral and physical strength of the Austrian armies; to allow the conquered to recover from the impression of ascendancy acquired by the conquerors, and to make it necessary once more to regain that contingent superiority so well earned by the republic.

It would also follow as a consequence of the continental armistice, that the kingdom of Naples, now a prey to every kind of calamity, and containing all the seeds of insurrection, might be re-organized, and furnish fresh resources to the enemies of France. It is by means of the armistice, in a word, that men are raising in

Tuscany, and in the marshes of Ancona; that Austria is every where preparing new means of defence; that every where she is ameliorating her position, which perhaps was desperate, whilst the advantages of the republic are diminishing or disappearing.

The First Consul has already made to the love of peace a sufficiently great sacrifice of those advantages: if he should continue to derive no benefit from them, it would no longer be moderation, but weakness; it would no longer be the means of arriving at the conclusion of peace, but that of perpetuating the war. Perhaps in the judgment of statesmen the French government may have already too long delayed to avail itself of the contingency which was favourable to it; but it has only done so upon the positive assurances which had been given to it of a speedy and separate peace.

At this moment, when the two allied courts insist upon a joint negociation and a general peace, the French government is too well aware that so complicated a work is not to be accomplished in a few days, and it ought to avoid putting itself in a position which would be diametrically opposite to the acceleration of the negociations, by giving to the inimical powers, and principally to Austria, a real interest to prolong the discussions, in order daily to acquire the means of appearing with greater advantage in the field of battle, and consequently with greater pretensions at the congress.

It is with a view of avoiding, in part, so manifest an inconvenience, that France requires that the maritime armistice should be stipulated in such a manner as to be equivalent to the continental armistice, and as to place England, on its side, in the situation of being desirous of the conclusion of peace. The advantages which the republic can and ought to expect from the naval armistice are the free navigation of her ships, and the facilities necessary for her communications with the islands of France and Reunion, and with her American colonies; and although she should make use of it to send a few thousand men more to Egypt, do not the places belonging to the emperor daily acquire in like manner fresh strength upon the continent?

With respect to the victualling the harbours of the French republic itself, internal means of circulation are not wanting; and this object is but of small importance to it.—When the British government proposes that the harbours and places blockaded should only receive provisions for fourteen days, is it aware that the greater part of those establishments are still far from wanting provisions? and besides that, the season is drawing near which, by rendering a naval blockade almost always illusory, makes the proposed favour quite useless.

That if, besides, it be considered how little it is the interest of Great Britain, if it be sincerely desirous of peace, to prevent France from preserving and consolidating the small number which remain to her of foreign settlements, and how much England, by making new acquisitions of this nature, would augment still

farther the uneasiness and jealousy of Europe; and the disposition which it evinces not to see with indifference the unlimited extension of the power and commerce of England, it will be acknowledged, at the same time, that the advantages to be derived to the French republic from a maritime truce are admitted; that this truce would not be so eminently disadvantageous to England as her government appears to imagine.

The undersigned is, in consequence, directed to refer to the double proposition contained in the present note.

If a separate negociation and peace be the object, the armistice may be agreed to in the form in which it is proposed by the ministry of his Britannic Majesty.

If a joint negociation and a general peace be the object, the armistice must be stipulated in the manner in which it is proposed in the name of the French government, and as it will be subsequently detailed by the undersigned.

(Signed) Otto.

No. 29.

Lord Grenville to M. Otto.

Downing-street, Sept. 20, 1800.

Sir,

I inclose to you the answer to the last note which I have had the honour to receive from you.

You will there observe that his Majesty is very far from thinking it proper for him to accede to the principle which is again urged in that note as the foundation of a naval armistice.

While this fundamental difference subsists, there can be little reason to hope that any advantage could arise from discussing the details of such a measure.

The counter *projet* which I had the honour to transmit to you is considered here as going to the full extent of concession which can with any colour of reason be asked by France, or which could be admitted by this country, even in that view in which alone there can be any question of naval armistice.

If you are authorized to make any such new proposals as shall be really consistent with those principles which form the only admissible basis for such a transaction, I am confident you will not be unwilling, in a matter of so much importance, to transmit them to me in writing.

Should they then appear to his Majesty's government to afford any sufficient grounds for further discussion of this point, I shall very readily receive the King's commands for authorizing a proper person to converse with you on the subject of those communications. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Grenville.

No. 30.—Note.

The note inclosed in M. Otto's letter of the 16th instant has been laid before the King.

His Majesty has not seen in that paper any fresh suggestions on the subject of a naval armistice which can at all vary the answer transmitted to M. Otto on the 7th instant.

Neither his Majesty's known engagements to his allies, nor his desire, so recently expressed, to

contribute to the restoration of general tranquillity in Europe, will admit of his separating his interests from those of the powers with whom he is connected in the prosecution of the war; much less could he entertain the idea of consenting, for such a purpose, to any naval armistice; a measure which he has already declared to be totally inapplicable to a separate discussion of the interests of Great Britain and France.

This proposal being therefore one which the French government must have known that his Majesty could not accept, the supposed alternative professed to be offered to his Majesty's choice amounts to nothing more than to the simple renewal of a demand already rejected. No fresh inducement is stated which should now dispose his Majesty to consent to those conditions of armistice for joint negociation which he had before considered as wholly inadmissible.

From information received since the last communications on this subject took place, his Majesty has observed with equal surprise and concern that the orders for giving notice of the termination of the continental armistice must actually have been dispatched from Paris at the very time when the continuance of that armistice was proposed to his Majesty as the condition and inducement for a maritime truce. And if in addition to this circumstance his Majesty were to collect the present dispositions of his enemies from the terms respecting his conduct and views with which their recent communications with his allies are filled, the conclusion must be extremely unfavourable to the existence of any disposition to conciliation.

His Majesty is however still willing to wave all reference to these considerations, and to regulate his conduct by the motives which he has already explained. He still looks, therefore, to a naval armistice on suitable conditions, as to a sacrifice which he may be induced to make in order to prevent the renewal of hostilities on the continent, and thereby to facilitate those joint negociations for general peace which might perhaps be accelerated by such an arrangement, although they are by no means necessarily dependant on it.

But when it is required that the extent of the sacrifice which his Majesty is to make should be regulated neither by any fair standard of equality nor by the ordinary rules which govern such transactions; when, without any reference to the interests of his own people, he is called upon to proportion his concessions to the exaggerated estimates which his enemies have formed of the benefits derived to his allies from the continental armistice; and when, on such grounds as these, conditions are insisted on which even these could not warrant, it becomes necessary to state distinctly that his Majesty neither recognizes this principle, nor, if he did, could he agree in this application of it.

His Majesty is not, indeed, called upon to appreciate the relative advantages which the prolongation of the continental armistice might really afford to each of the belligerent powers. But even of those circumstances which are

enumerated by the French government as exclusively advantageous to Austria, many are evidently beneficial to both parties, and are so nearly to an equal extent.

If, during the interval of repose, which has already elapsed, the Austrian armies have been re-established, recruited, and reinforced, France has not been inattentive to the same measures. If the subsidies which his Majesty has furnished are applied by his ally to the formation or transport of magazines, France has appropriated to similar purposes the rigorous contributions exacted from those countries which the existence of an armistice has not exempted from that calamity. The places in the rear of the Austrian army may have been repaired; but the position of the French armies has also been strengthened, and even the blockaded towns may perhaps suffer more from the increased length of the blockade, than they can profit by any internal measures for improving their defences.

Into other points of comparison his Majesty forbears to enter. No part of the varied successes of the continental war appears to him to entitle his enemies to presume on any ascendant over the spirit of the Austrian armies.

But were the assertions of the French government in these respects better grounded than his Majesty conceives them to be, the principle itself would still be inadmissible.—It is impossible that his Majesty can admit that compensation is to be demanded from him for the extent of those advantages, whatever they might really be, which his ally might derive from the continuance of the armistice; yet even such compensation is in a great degree offered by his Majesty. In consenting to a naval armistice on such terms as have already been acceded to on his Majesty's part, he has made considerable sacrifices, and placed within the reach of his enemies great and obvious advantages, which their representation in vain endeavours to depreciate. He has thereby given to all Europe a strong pledge of his concern for the general welfare, and to his enemies a decided proof of pacific disposition.

But to yield to the present demand would be to sacrifice those means of present defence, and those pledges of future security, which have been acquired by such great and memorable efforts, and which he can never be expected to forego till the result of those negociations, in which he has declared his readiness to concur, shall have crowned his endeavours for the happiness of his people by the restoration of a safe and honourable peace.

(Signed) Grenville.

Downing-street, Sept. 20, 1800.

No. 31.

London, the 4th complementary Day, year 8. *(Sept.* 21, 1800.)

My Lord,

I received yesterday, at ten o'clock at night, the letter and the note which your excellency did me the honour to address to me; and I have learnt from them, with the deepest regret, that his Majesty and his ministry are not yet disposed to accede to the principles of conciliation contained

in the note which I had the honour to transmit to you on the 16th of this month.

It was not merely with a view to discuss those principles, but in order to propose to your excellency fresh means of reconciliation, that I felt it my duty to request, in my letter of the 16th, to have an interview with you; and I had every reason to hope that the explanations into which I should have entered would effectually have obviated the difficulties which are still opposed to the conclusion of the general armistice.

You desire, my lord, that I should give you those explanations in writing. They relate to two points, which in your first note are represented as being the most important: the power of altering the positions of the squadrons of the republic during the armistice, and the fate of the allies of Great Britain.

I am authorized to consent that the French ships of the line shall not go out of the harbours where they are at present; and if his Majesty insists upon his allies being included in the proposed armistice, I am authorized also to consent that they should enjoy the same advantages as those of the republic.

The intentions of the first consul are anew detailed in the *projet* which I have herewith the honour to inclose; and in order not to delay a communication of such importance, I defer until another opportunity my answer to your excellency's note.

I shall only observe, that even if the Austrian armistice should have been broken in this interval, it would be easy to make the respective armies resume their former positions in the event of his Majesty's acceding to the last proposals which have been made to him. I have the honour to be, with the most respectful consideration, &c.

(Signed) Otto.

No. 32.—*Projet.*

In consideration of its having been agreed that negociations for a general peace shall be immediately opened between the French republic and its allies on the one side, and his Imperial Majesty, his Britannic Majesty, and their allies, on the other side; and that the armistice which has already been concluded between the armies of the French republic and those of his Imperial Majesty may be prolonged, if an equivalent armistice should be concluded between the forces of the French republic and those of his Britannic Majesty, the two governments have agreed to conclude the said armistice upon the following conditions:

Art. I. All hostilities both by sea and land between the two nations shall be suspended, and shall not be renewed until after a month's notification prior to the end of the armistice. In all parts of the world the armistice shall not be broken without the express order of the contracting governments; and hostilities shall not be renewed until a month after the notification which may have been given by the general or commanding officer of one of the two nations to that of the other nation.

Art. II. Orders shall be immediately transmitted by the two governments to the commanding officers in the several parts of the world, directing them to act in conformity with this convention. Passports shall be given to the persons who shall carry out these orders; and the officers of his Britannic Majesty who shall travel through France for this purpose shall receive safe-conducts and the necessary facilities for accelerating their journey.

Art. III. All prizes made in any part of the world during the continuance of the armistice, by an officer having actually received the notification of this convention, shall be restored. And generally (whether this notification shall have been made or not) all prizes made in the Channel, or in the North Seas, after twelve days, to be computed from the exchange of the ratifications of this convention, shall be restored; and, in regard to this object, the terms shall be fixed for the other parts of the world conformably to the stipulations of the 22d article of the preliminaries of the last peace; whence it results, that, computing from the day of the said exchange, all trading vessels of either nation shall have the power of putting out to sea, and of navigating freely as before the war.

Art. IV. Malta and Egypt shall be assimilated to the places in Germany, which, although blockaded by the French army, have been permitted to enjoy the benefit of the continental armistice. Malta shall be furnished with provisions for fifteen days at a time, at the rate of ten thousand rations per diem. With regard to Egypt, six French frigates shall have the liberty of sailing from Toulon, of unlanding at Alexandria, and of returning without being searched, and without suffering any opposition during their passage, either from English ships or from those of the allies of Great Britain. An English officer of rank shall for this purpose embark on board one of the frigates, and shall travel through France on his way to Toulon.

Art. V. The blockade of Brest, of Toulon, and of every other French port, shall be raised; and all British captains shall receive instructions not to interrupt the trade of any vessel either entering therein or going out thereof. No ship of the line, however, of two or three decks, actually at anchor in the said ports, shall be at liberty to go out before the renewal of hostilities, for the purposes of changing its station; but frigates, sloops, and other small ships of war may freely go out and navigate, and in the event of their meeting at sea with ships belonging to his Britannic Majesty, they shall observe the customs established before the war.

Art. VI. The land forces in the pay of his Britannic Majesty shall not have the power of disembarking in any port of Italy during the continuance of the present armistice.

Art. VII. The allies of France, namely, Spain, the Batavian republic, and Genoa, shall participate in the benefit of the present armistice. (If his Britannic Majesty insist upon including his allies in the armistice, they shall enjoy the same advantages with those of France.)

Art. VIII. The present convention shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in the space of ten days, or sooner if it should be possible.

No. 33.

Hereford-street, Sept. 23, 1800. (*2 Vendemiaire*, 9.)

My Lord,

I have the honour to address to your excellency the answer to the note which you had the goodness to transmit to me on the 20th of this month.

(Signed) Otto.

No. 34.—Note.

During the whole course of the negociation with which the undersigned has been charged, he has had cause to regret that the want of more direct communication with his Majesty's ministry has rendered it impossible for him to give his official overtures the necessary explanations. This inconvenience is rendered still more striking by the result of his last communications, to which the note which he had the honour to receive on the 20th of this month is an answer.

The first part of this note appearing to intimate a doubt respecting the sincerity of the dispositions of the French government to begin negociations for a general peace, the undersigned cannot avoid entering into some details upon this subject, which will fully justify the conduct of the First Consul.

The proposed alternative of a separate peace, in the event of his Majesty's not accepting the conditions for a general armistice, far from evincing a want of sincerity, furnishes, on the contrary, the strongest proof of the conciliatory dispositions of the First Consul: it is a necessary consequence of the declaration made by the undersigned the 14th of this month. In effect, he has had the honour to apprise the British ministry, 'That if that armistice be not concluded before the 11th of September, hostilities will have been renewed with Austria, and that in that case the First Consul will no longer be able, with regard to this power, to consent to any except a separate and complete peace.'

That armistice was not concluded at the date fixed upon; it was therefore natural eventually to expect a separate peace with Austria, and, according to the same supposition, a peace in like manner, separate with Great Britain, unless it is thought that the calamities with which a great part of Europe has been for eight years past oppressed should be continued without other hope of termination than that of the complete destruction of one of the belligerent powers.

It is not thefore the French government which proposes to his Majesty to separate his interests from those of his allies; but having in vain attempted to unite them in a common centre, and finding them separated, in fact, by the refusal of England to lay down on the altar of peace special advantages of which France had already made a sacrifice, the First Consul has given a fresh proof of his dispositions, by pointing out another means of reconciliation which the course of events will bring about sooner or later.

In conformity with the advice which the undersigned had transmitted on the 4th of this month, notification was given of the cessation of the continental armistice at the term which had been fixed upon; but the counter *projet* of the British ministry, dispatched by the undersigned on the 8th of this month, having reached Paris on the 10th, and his Imperial Majesty having appeared to be convinced that his ally would not withhold his consent to an admissible armistice, the First Consul determined for eight days to retard the renewal of hostilities. Orders were immediately dispatched to the armies of Germany and Italy; and in the event of those orders arriving too late in the last mentioned country, and of the French generals having obtained success in consequence of any military operation, they are ordered to resume that position which they occupied on the precise day on which hostilities were recommenced.

The simple relation of these facts, will, without doubt, be sufficient to prove that the French government never can have intended to cover, by pretended negociations, a fresh attack upon Austria; and that, on the contrary, it has acted throughout the negociation with that frankness and loyalty which can alone ensure that re-establishment of general tranquillity which his Majesty and his ministry have so much at heart.

It would be in vain to look for proofs of a contrary intention in some expressions contained in the official communications of the French government to the allies of his Majesty—more especially if such proofs were attempted to be drawn from one of the last letters written to Baron Thugut, which the undersigned might have communicated himself, if he had found an opportunity; that letter would prove that the French government, always a friend to peace, appeared to complain of the intentions of Great Britain only, because it had every reason to believe them contrary to a solid system of pacification.

The undersigned has entered into these details only because, on the eve of negociations which may be entered upon, it is of importance to the councils of the two powers to be reciprocally convinced of the sincerity of their intentions, and because the opinion which they may have of that sincerity is the only pledge for the success of the negociations.

With respect to the second point in the note which the undersigned has had the honour of receiving, he is to refer to his letter of the 16th, in which he informed his excellency Lord Grenville that he was directed to give *satisfactory explanations* relative to the principal objections of the British government to the proposed armistice, and entreated him at the same time to facilitate the means of verbal communications with the ministry. It was therefore difficult to believe that the French government would adhere, without *any modification*, to its first overtures; for in that case it would have been quite useless to solicit for an interview, in order to give satisfactory explanations.

In speaking of the compensations requisite, in order to place

the naval armistice upon a footing with the continental truce, his Majesty's ministry think that there is some preponderance in the balance settled by the French government; a formal discussion upon this point would undoubtedly be misplaced. After the various successes of a war which has produced so many extraordinary events, it is difficult to doubt of the moral influence of those events upon armies, upon nations, upon governments themselves, and the deductions which may be drawn from it at present, appear to justify the opinion which the undersigned has felt it his duty to state. If there be any exaggeration in this opinion, it is shared with the enemies of the republic themselves, who have employed every effort to prolong the truce, and who have not scrupled to use the means of pretended negociations in order to gain time. The preliminaries signed by the Count de St. Julien, and disavowed by his court, are a memorable example of this; and the prolongation of the continental armistice must necessarily be considered as a sacrifice on the part of the republic, since every effort has been employed to extort its consent to it.

But even whilst his Majesty's ministry admit the existence of this sacrifice, they formally declare that an analogous sacrifice cannot be expected to be made on the part of his Majesty. It certainly does not become France to judge how far his Majesty's engagements with his allies may counteract his inclination in this respect; but France appears to have certainly an undoubted right to demand the price of the sacrifice which she has made, and which she is still willing to make. The First Consul has given to Europe repeated pledges of his pacific dispositions; he has never ceased manifesting them to the cabinets interested in this contest; and even although the hopes of the enemies of the French republic should be excited by his moderation, it shall always be the sole guide of his actions.

Notwithstanding this difference in the manner of viewing several questions accessory and preliminary to the proposed pacification, the undersigned cannot but congratulate himself on finding, in all the communications which he has hitherto had the honour of receiving, the same assurances of his Majesty's disposition to employ his efforts towards the re-establishment of the tranquillity of Europe; and he will neglect no opportunity of placing this disposition in its strongest light to his government.

(Signed) Otto.

Hereford-street, Sept. 22, 1800.

(1 Vendemiaire, year 9.)

No. 35.—Note.

Lord Grenville presents his compliments to M. Otto, and has the honour to send him herewith the official answer to his communication of the 23d instant.

He requests M. Otto to accept the assurances of his high consideration.

Downing-street, Sept. 25, 1800.

No. 36.—Note.

It is by no means the wish of the British government to prolong a written controversy on the circumstances to which the first part

of M. Otto's note of the 23d inst. principally relates; it is however necessary, in order to vindicate the accuracy of the former statement which the undersigned was directed to make, that the dates of those facts should, in reply to M. Otto's note, be more particularly detailed; but this will be done without adding any fresh comment upon them.

The first proposal made to his Majesty, on the part of France, for a naval armistice, grounded on that of the continent, was dated the 24th of August.

The notices for terminating the continental armistice were given by the French generals on the 27th and 29th of August; the orders for that purpose must therefore have been actually sent from Paris before the 24th.

His Majesty's answer was transmitted by the undersigned to M. Otto on the 29th, the very day on which the last of the notices was given in Germany. That answer referred to the Austrian armistice as still existing; and it was not till the 4th of September that the first intimation was received here of the measures taken in Germany for giving notice of its termination.—With respect to the letter of M. Talleyrand to the Baron de Thugut, to which M. Otto refers, it was also dated the 24th of August. The French government, so far from being at that time entitled to consider his Majesty's intentions as hostile to the re-establishment of a solid system of pacification, was then actually in possession of the notification given in his Majesty's name, through his ally, of his readiness to concur in immediate negociations for that very purpose.

It will be with real pleasure that his Majesty will see the conclusions which appeared to him to result from these facts disproved by the event. The best evidence which the French government can now give of the sincerity of its dispositions for peace will be found in the facilities it may afford for expediting both the commencement and the successful termination of that negociation into which the King and his ally the Emperor of Germany have already expressed their willingness to enter, and which can alone, by a general and comprehensive arrangement of the interests of all the parties concerned in this extensive war, afford to Europe the hope of solid and permanent tranquillity.

With respect to the supposed case, in which it is stated, that France would not agree to treat with Austria but for a separate peace, the fortune of war can alone decide on the means of realizing such a pretension; but whenever it shall be insisted on by France, after the experience of what has already passed, it will afford to all other powers, not a presumption only, but the painful and decided conviction, that the French government has no real desire to put a final and conclusive period to the calamities of Europe. No man who considers the past events of this contest with attention, or who is capable of judging with accuracy of the present situation of affairs, can believe that, if the present war is to be terminated only by a succession of separate

treaties between the different powers now engaged in it, any permanent or solid basis of general tranquillity could be established.

As his Majesty has, in compliance with M. Otto's wishes, authorized a proper person to confer with him respecting the different proposals for a naval armistice, it is unnecessary to add any thing here on that subject. This step affords a new proof of his Majesty's dispositions to bend himself to every reasonable facility which can contribute to a general pacification, and every part of his Majesty's conduct will be found conformable to those dispositions.

Downing-street, Sept. 25, 1800.

No. 37.—Note.

Downing-street, Sept. 24, 1800.

Lord Grenville presents his compliments to M. Otto, and has the honour to acquaint him, that, in consequence of his desire for an opportunity of conversing with a person of confidence on the part of this government, respecting the different proposals which have been made as to the conditions of a naval armistice, his Majesty has been pleased to give authority to Mr. Hammond to meet M. Otto for that purpose.

It is the sincere wish of his Majesty's government, that the result of their conversation on this subject may tend to facilitate the great work of a general pacification on a solid and permanent basis.

Lord Grenville requests M. Otto to be assured of his high consideration.

No. 38.—To Mr. Hammond.

Downing-street, Sept. 24, 1800.

Sir,

M. Otto having been empowered by the French government to negociate a convention for an armistice between this country and France, with a view to negociations for general peace; and having expressed an earnest desire to enter into verbal explanations on this subject with some person properly authorized on his Majesty's part; the King, willing to omit nothing which can contribute to the great work of restoring solid and permanent tranquillity to Europe, has been pleased to make choice of you for the purpose of meeting M. Otto, and of receiving from him such verbal communications as he may wish to make in addition to what has already passed in writing respecting the different *projets* proposed on either side for a naval armistice.

This letter will point out to you the reasons which induce his Majesty to consider M. Otto's second *projet* as unsatisfactory in all the material points in which it differs from the counter *projet* prepared here by his Majesty's command.

You will state to M. Otto his Majesty's decision in this respect, and you will enter without reserve into the discussion of the grounds on which it rests. His Majesty has no other object in view in this transaction than to contribute to the restoration of general peace. He is not unwilling for this purpose to sacrifice some present advantage, in the opinion that by so doing he consults the permanent interests of his people: but he

can neither consent, at the opening of a negociation for peace, to place himself in a condition of inferiority to his enemies, such as the result of the war in which he is engaged by no means warrants; nor does he think that the object of peace itself would be promoted or accelerated by rendering the intermediate situation of his enemies, under colour of an armistice, such as they might be desirous to prolong, rather than to terminate it by any admissible conditions of peace.

His Majesty sees, in the last *projet* of the French government, little progress towards an accommodation: it is indeed stated in M. Otto's letter to me of the 21st inst. that satisfactory explanations are there given of the two most important points which had been insisted on by his Majesty.

The admission of his Majesty's allies to partake in the same terms of armistice in which France claims to include her allies, is indeed not only an important but an indispensable condition of any such agreement; but there can be no ground for representing this equal and necessary arrangement as a concession on the part of France, rather than on the part of his Majesty. And with respect to the other point stated by M. Otto (that which relates to the French ships of war), the offer of France still falls very short both of the King's demand, and of what would be necessary even to assimilate the naval armistice to that of the continent. The article in its present shape is therefore so far from containing any facility which could soften or remove the other obstacles in the way of an amicable conclusion of this business, that it must still be regarded in justice as an unequal and inadmissible claim on the part of the King's enemies.

On other points of no less importance, the new *projet* adheres to the former demand, and even in one instance brings forward a fresh pretension which had not before been stated.

In examining in detail the several articles of the proposed convention, some verbal differences between the English counter *projet* and the second French *projet* are not intended to be here adverted to.

If the more important points of the negociation were satisfactorily adjusted, it would be necessary to make some remarks on these, and possibly also to propose, for the sake of precision, a few verbal alterations or additions to the original articles; but none of these appear likely in that case to create any serious difficulty.

It might be sufficient to include under this reserve the two variations made in the preamble of the convention.

But it may perhaps be more proper for you to state at this time the following observations respecting them, viz.

1. That the mention of the respective allies, in the form in which those words are introduced into the French preamble, seems to imply of necessity, not only that the negociations shall (as is the King's intention) be carried on with a view to a general peace alone, so as to include in the final adjustment all the allies on both sides, but also that those allies should immediately be called upon

to take part by their ministers in the proposed negociations—a question which his Majesty conceives may more conveniently be reserved to future discussion, instead of being prejudged by the terms of any separate agreement for an armistice between Great Britain and France.

2. The expressions used in the French *projet* respecting the continental armistice appear unbecoming towards the King's allies, and cannot therefore be agreed to by his Majesty.

3. The word '*equivalent*' there inserted, seems to assume, as the basis of the naval armistice, that principle of full compensation to which the King has already refused his consent.

It should in like manner be mentioned by you, that in the first article, the omission of the words '*Forces of*' seems to imply a more complete suspension of the state of war between the two powers than accords with the nature of an armistice, or is consistent with the conditions (particularly those respecting the transport of naval and military stores) on which his Majesty judges it necessary for him to insist.

In the remaining part of this article very material changes are made in the conditions offered by his Majesty. These are,

1. The extending the term of notice for the cessation of the armistice, from fourteen days to one month.

2. The requiring that this notice of one month should in all cases be given only in consequence of orders from the respective governments, and by the commanding officer of one country to the commanding officer of the other, in the different parts of the world respectively.

3. The total omission of the clause by which the continuance of the naval armistice was made to depend on that of the continent.

It is probable that the two first of these alterations are principally proposed in the same view which led to the omission of this last clause; and the effect of the whole would be, that if the armistice with Austria should at any period be terminated by France, his Majesty would still for some considerable time be restrained from assisting his ally.

The bare statement of such a condition is sufficient to show that it never can be admitted by his Majesty, who is bound by the spirit of his engagements to assist his ally immediately on the renewal of hostilities; and to whom no other inducement has or could be offered for acceding to a naval armistice, except that of preventing the renewal of hostilities on the continent.

The last clause in the English article must therefore be absolutely insisted on, and no variation can be admitted in the other parts of it which shall be inconsistent with the object of that stipulation.

The term of fourteen days is in fact longer than that which is provided in either of the two conventions of armistice in Italy and Germany, and appears fully sufficient for all the purposes which such a provision is fairly intended to answer; and as his Majesty enters into any stipulation for a naval armistice in the sole

hope of a speedy conclusion of the intended negociations, he does not think proper to bind himself for so long a period as a month, should he have the mortification of finding that his enemies refuse to adopt those principles of negociation on which alone he judges that permanent tranquillity can be restored to Europe.

The French government has in all its communications expressed the same hope and desire for the speedy conclusion of peace, and has even professed an anxiety to render this object more peculiarly interesting to his Majesty. There can therefore be no reason to wish on either side that the term of notice should be prolonged so much beyond the necessity of the case.

The third article of the counter *projet* was drawn with a reference to the corresponding articles in the preliminaries of peace in 1763 and 1783, from which it differs only by the more explicit statement of that which is understood to have been the established practice of the Courts of Admiralty on both sides with respect to such ships of war as should have made any prizes after having actually received notice of the cessation of hostilities.

The addition to this article proposed in the French *projet* is objectionable—

First, because there seems to be no necessity for explaining the general effect of a stipulation which has, in the practice of the two last negociations for peace, been found sufficiently distinct, and has fully answered the purpose intended by it.

Secondly, because the explanation there given is not a just conclusion from the premises. It is indeed true, that by the effect of this article ships clearing out directly from Great Britain or France might immediately, after the exchange of the ratifications, sail in full security, because they might carry out with them notice of the armistice; but the same thing would not be true of ships in other parts of the world, as these (under the express terms of this article) could not be entitled to restitution if captured, unless proof were given that actual notice of the armistice had been received by the captors, or unless the period assigned by this article for the part of the world where the capture took place had expired before the actual capture.

3. The expression of navigating freely as before the war might be construed to extend to the admission of the ships of one country into the ports of the other respectively; to which, for obvious reasons, the King would not think proper to agree. And these words are besides inconsistent, both with the stipulations on which his Majesty thinks it necessary to insist, respecting the transport of troops and naval and military stores, and even with those which France proposes as to the blockaded places.

The fourth article of the French *projet* still maintains the contradiction of professing to assimilate the blockaded places to those of Germany, and of applying to them at the same time conditions which are the very reverse of those adopted in the German armistice.

The manner in which that armistice is spoken of in this article affords another instance of ex-

pressions unnecessarily and improperly offensive to the King's allies.

There seems no reason for altering this paragraph of the counter *projet*, which is perfectly distinct, and conveys no implication injurious to either party.

The King cannot agree that 10,000 rations per diem shall be assumed as the consumption of Malta. If the fact be so, it will appear to the commissaries who will be named for that purpose, in conformity to those stipulations of the German armistice to which France professes the intention of assimilating this article.

But a still more material objection arises to the proposal respecting Egypt.

If the situation of the French army in that country were to become matter of discussion between the two governments, his Majesty and his allies have a right, on every principle of good faith as practised between civilized nations, to require that the French should evacuate Egypt on the terms stipulated in the convention of El-Arish; those stipulations having been ratified both by the Turkish government and by the French commanding officer; and his Majesty having also instructed his admiral commanding in those seas to accede to them as soon as they were known here. This demand would be made with the more reason, because even subsequent to the recommencement of hostilities in Egypt, (under circumstances to which his Majesty forbears to advert) an official engagement was entered into by General Kleber in his letter to the Kaimakan, dated the 10th of April, 1800, by which that general, then commanding in chief the French army in Egypt, and consequently possessing full powers to bind his government in this respect, formally undertook that the convention of El-Arish should be executed so soon as the King's acquiescence in it should be notified to him.

But when, instead of performing this engagement, the French government, under a pretence of assimilating Egypt to the blockaded places of Germany, requires that six frigates shall carry thither, without molestation or search, and even under the open protection of a British officer, whatever articles the French garrisons there may be most in need of, it is natural to ask by what article in the German armistice, Ulm or Ingolstadt are to receive in covered waggons as many troops, as much provisions, and as great a quantity of every species of arms, ammunition, and stores, as might be conveyed to Egypt in six French frigates? And this comparison is still more striking, when it is considered, that by the German armistice the blockaded places are expressly restrained from receiving, during the armistice, any thing which can supply additional means of defence: and on the other hand, that the proposals for the evacuation of Egypt originated on the part of the French themselves, who now desire to avail themselves of the benefit of an armistice to strengthen that very position which, by an agreement made in consequence of their own request, they have actually engaged to abandon.

This part of the French article

is therefore wholly inadmissible. It contains a pretension unjust in itself, injurious to his Majesty's interest, and repugnant both to the general principle of the negociation, and to that which is specified in the very beginning of the article itself: and it implies a breach of faith on his Majesty's part towards an ally to whom he is bound by a solemn treaty.

Besides all these considerations, his Majesty has no power to restrain, by such an engagement as is here proposed, the ships of the Ottoman Porte from resisting the admission of this supply into Egypt, unless his ally had acceded to the armistice, which, if it be concluded on such terms as these, there can be no reason to expect.

The manner in which this particular subject of Egypt is spoken of, both in the *projet* and in M. Otto's note of the 16th instant, makes it necessary that you should distinctly declare that the offer which was contained in the counter *projet* goes in this respect to the very utmost extent that his Majesty's regard for the interest of his subjects can admit of. And his Majesty is confident that no want of conciliation can justly be imputed to him on account of his having at once brought forward explicitly and without reserve the whole of those concessions which it appeared possible for him to make.

This observation applies equally to the remaining articles of the *projet*.

In the fifth article his Majesty finds himself obliged to insist that freedom of navigation there stipulated for on the part of his enemies shall not be extended to the transport of troops or of naval and military stores. The justice of this exception and its necessity are too obvious to require any farther explanations in addition to those contained in the official notes: and it follows as a consequence of this principle, as well as from the nature of the subject itself, that the restriction, as to the sailing of ships of war, would be wholly illusory, were it, as now proposed, confined to ships of the line only.

It would, indeed, neither be indifferent in practice, nor just in principle, that France should be enabled, during the armistice, to change the station of all her frigates; but when it is considered how much it is the usage of the French marine to employ those vessels for the transport of troops and military stores, the two parts of this article become so blended with each other that they cannot be separated; and his Majesty cannot depart from the latter without equally abandoning the former.

The naval supply of the articles which are here in question is indeed stated in one of M. Otto's notes to be a point of small moment to France. If it be so, she can with less reason insist on a point which can in this case only be insisted on with a view to affect those general principles which are connected with all the most important maritime interests of Great Britain.

The sixth article contains a new demand on the part of France, superadded to all the pretensions advanced in her first *projet*. It rests on no just or equitable principle; for, while France would restrain his Majesty from strength-

ening, by the addition of more troops, the forces of his allies in Italy, she reserves the power of augmenting her own armies there, or of assisting her allies elsewhere, precisely as it may suit her future plans of operations.

The French government now possesses, *de facto*, no means to prevent the transport of his Majesty's troops by sea; and it is not reasonable that it should acquire the right of doing so, by the terms of an armistice which conveys to his Majesty no fresh means of impeding the future operations of his enemies beyond those which are already in his power, but which even concedes to them considerable advantages of which they are not now in possession.

It remains only to speak of the alterations made in that article which regards the allies on both sides.

His Majesty's objections to the form proposed on the part of France for this article, were detailed in my answer to the first *projet*.

If France considers her allies in the light of independent powers, and is in the future negociations to treat on that footing respecting her own interests and theirs, it is necessary that this principle should equally be adhered to in the preliminary arrangements which precede the negociation. It has not appeared to his Majesty by the communication of any regular or official act, that the French government has any authority to treat in this respect for Spain or Holland. His Majesty, on his side, has received no such authority from his allies; and it would be inconsistent with good faith were he, without such authority, to engage in their name for an armistice with France in any other form than that which is usual in such cases, namely, that they shall be at liberty to accede to the convention if they think fit. In that form his Majesty is ready to admit the article as with respect to the allies of France, and in that form only can he agree to include his own allies in this engagement.

If the article were concluded in the terms now proposed by France, his Majesty would be bound by the obligations of good faith to observe the armistice towards Spain and Holland; while, on the other hand, he could have no reciprocal claim on those powers, grounded either in justice or in the law or practice of nations. Nor could he require the restitution even of a single merchant vessel captured by a Spanish or Danish ship of war.

Those powers, if regarded by France as independent, cannot be bound by her act; and must be admitted as contracting parties acceding by a regular diplomatic transaction to the terms of the armistice, before they can be considered as under any obligation to fulfil those terms.

These considerations are, indeed, so obvious, that it is not easy to imagine in what view the French government has proposed to alter the article from the form in which his Majesty had offered to consent to it.

I have now only to add, that should the armistice be concluded, his Majesty would think it necessary, for the purpose of accelerating the negociation (an object of which the French government has declared itself to be also

very desirous), to limit a period for its continuance beyond which it would not be his Majesty's intention, nor would it be consistent with the essential interests of his dominions, to extend it.

The power of doing this will be reserved to either party by the terms of the convention. Nor does this power result only from the articles as here proposed: it is equally reserved to both parties by the effect of the present French *projet*: and there is, therefore, no necessity for specifying in the convention itself either his Majesty's intention in this respect, or (still less) the precise period of such limitation.

But it may appear on his Majesty's part more consistent with that openness which his Majesty is desirous to observe in this whole transaction, that you should express this intention to M. Otto in this stage of the business, reserving to a subsequent period the formal notification to be duly made in his Majesty's name, agreeably to the terms of the convention.

You are at liberty to communicate to M. Otto, in the course of your discussions, the whole or any part of this letter, and to allow him to take either a copy or such extracts from it as he may wish.

(Signed) Grenville.

Mr. Hammond.

No. 39.

Downing-street, Sept. 25, 1800.

My Lord,

I have the honour to inform your lordship that, in obedience to his Majesty's commands, signified to me in your lordship's letter of yesterday, I have this morning had a conference with M. Otto, on the subject of the proposed armistice between Great Britain and France.

Having suggested to M. Otto whether it might not tend to facilitate the discussion, that we should read over the counter *projet* transmitted by your lordship to him on the 7th of this month, and the *projet* delivered by him on the 21st, in answer to it; and that I should state to him, from the instructions which I had received from your lordship, the objections on the part of his Majesty's government to the several articles of that *projet*, and M. Otto having acquiesced in this suggestion, we pursued regularly this course of proceeding.

As it does not appear necessary that I should enter into any detail of the conversation which took place between us on those parts of the *projet* which M. Otto conceived the French government would relinquish, it will be sufficient for me to observe on this part of the subject,

1st, That M. Otto conceived that the French government would, in forming a regular convention for an armistice, have no objection to adopting the preamble in the counter *projet* instead of that which was proposed in the French *projet*.

2dly, That concurring in the opinion that the phrase in the 4th article, "*appelée à jouir du benefice de l'armistice continental*," might be (for the same reasons which applied to particular passages of the preamble) liable to a construction offensive to his Majesty's allies, he doubted not that the French government would

consent to omit that phrase in the 4th article.

3rdly, That he doubted not that the French government would have no difficulty in agreeing to omit the concluding clause of the 3rd article, from the words "*d'où il resulte*," to the end.

With respect to the clause in the first article of the counter *projet*, by which the duration of the naval armistice is made to depend on the continuance of the continental armistice, M. Otto conceived that, by allowing the officers commanding the British forces to recommence hostilities as soon as the cessation of the continental armistice should be signified to them, too great a latitude was left to their discretion; and that it therefore seemed most advisable that, in that event, the cessation of the naval armistice should be signified from government to government, as would be the case whenever, for any reason, either Great Britain or France might think it for their interest that the naval armistice should cease. But upon my representation of the advantages which France, on the one hand, would derive from her local position and the facility of collecting its forces on any point which it might determine to attack, and the delay, on the other, which would necessarily occur in the receipt of the intelligence in England of the rupture of the armistice in any distant part of the territory of the allies, M. Otto agreed to refer this subject to future consideration.

We then proceeded to the 4th and 5th articles; on which M. Otto remarked, that they contained the only points to which his government attached much importance; and, such were its sentiments respecting them, that he conceived that it would not consent to any armistice of which they did not form a part. With respect to the calculation of the provisions for Malta at the rate of 10,000 rations per diem, M. Otto did not specify any data on which that calculation was founded, but remarked briefly, that the quantity of rations was not to be exactly apportioned to the precise return of the garrison, but that a certain number of rations, in proportion to their respective ranks, was to be allowed to the general and staff-officers; and that although a considerable number of the inhabitants had been sent from the forts occupied by the French troops, there still remained many for whose wants provision was to be made.—He was, however, of opinion that there might not be much difficulty in arranging this point in the manner proposed in the counter *projet*, founded on the stipulations in the German armistice relative to Ulm and Ingolstadt.

On the subject of that part of the fourth article of the French *projet*, which requires that six frigates should be allowed to sail from Toulon for Egypt, and be exempted from search, M. Otto read to me part of a despatch from M. Talleyrand, expressive of the interest which the whole French nation takes in that part of the army now in Egypt, and assigning the desire of contributing to the comfort and security of that army as the principal inducement to the conclusion of the armistice

on the part of the French government. M. Otto added, that he would not conceal from me that the reinforcement which France intended to send to Egypt amounted to 1200 men, and that the supply of military stores consisted chiefly of 10,000 muskets. The language of M. Otto in this part of our conversation, and of M. Talleyrand's letter, appeared to be so decisive and peremptory, that I was induced to inquire of him distinctly, whether I was to understand that this stipulation was a point from which the French government would not recede? M. Otto replied, that, in his opinion, the French government would not recede from it.

On my adverting to the variation in the 5th article between the counter *projet* and the French *projet*, by which the latter stipulates, that the French frigates and smaller ships of war should be allowed freely to sail from and return to the ports of France, which have hitherto been in a state of blockade, M. Otto remarked, that the motive which induced the French government to insist on this clause, was the desire of opening a secure mode of communication between France and her distant possessions. To this insinuation I replied, that if such was the sole object which France had in view, it might be as effectually attained by the employment of unarmed vessels as of ships of war.—M. Otto did not appear desirous of urging this point much farther, but concluded this part of the conversation by expressing his conviction, that the French government would insist upon this point, and considered itself as having gone to the utmost extent of sacrifice which could with justice be required from it, in consenting that the ships of the line should not alter their position. With respect to that part of the counter *projet* which restrains the conveyance by sea of naval or military stores, M. Otto is of opinion that the French government would agree to that restriction.

The sixth article in the French *projet*, although entirely new, was not considered by M. Otto as likely to be insisted upon by his government; but he declined giving any positive opinion to that effect, until he had had farther time for the consideration of its tendency.

M. Otto's principal objection to the form in which the article marked 6 in the counter *projet* is worded, was founded on an opinion, that unless Great Britain and France assumed the right of including their respective allies in the naval armistice, without waiting for their express concurrence in it, much delay would necessarily arise, and the two powers (Great Britain and France) might be involved in fresh hostilities in consequence of either of them deeming it expedient to attack the allies of the other. He afterwards intimated a persuasion, that the article might be amended by inserting a clause which should fix a specific period in which the allies of Great Britain or France should signify their accession to or dissent from the naval armistice.

Towards the close of our conversation, M. Otto acquainted me that he would state to me in writing the objections to the counter *projet* which he had received from your lordship, and his observations

on the objections that had been made by me to the *projet* which he had delivered.

I have now endeavoured to give your lordship a faithful account of the substance of my conference with M. Otto. The very ample instructions with which I was provided, and which (as I have mentioned in the beginning of this letter) I read to M. Otto, precluded me from adding many observations; and as I have promised to communicate to that gentleman extracts of such part of my instructions as relate to the 4th and 5th articles, the two essential subjects of difference between us, he will have the means of retracing in his recollection the precise grounds of the objections to his proposal which have occurred to his Majesty's government.

Before I conclude this letter, I cannot avoid mentioning, that in the course of our conversation, M. Otto threw out the most pointed assertions of the determination of France, in the event of the naval armistice not being concluded, to pursue the course of her victories in Germany and in Italy, and of the facilities that the conquest of Naples and Sicily (events which he regarded as speedy and inevitable) would afford to the French government of obtaining by force those objects relative to Egypt and Malta which it had expected to acquire through the naval armistice. Of these assertions, though frequently repeated, I judged it proper to take no notice, but to recall his attention to the subject immediately under discussion.

I have the honour to be, &c.

G. Hammond.

The right hon. Lord Grenville.

No. 40.

Hereford-street, 4 Vendemiaire, year 9. (Sept. 26, 1800.)

Sir,

I lose no time in sending you the substance of the observations which I had the honour of making to you upon the principal contested points; I most sincerely wish that your ministry may think them satisfactory. I beg of you, at the same time, to have the goodness to address to me, as was agreed upon between us, a copy of the reasonings to which these observations are in answer.

I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) Otto.

Mr. Hammond.

No. 41.

Citizen Otto having observed, in the remarks made to him by Mr. Hammond, three points only which appear to him to be really of a nature to retard the conclusion of the proposed armistice, reserved them for future consideration, and an answer in writing.

After having maturely reflected upon the object of the maritime truce, upon the actual position of France and her enemies, upon the influence which this negociation must have with regard to a general pacification, he feels it his duty to make the following observations upon the disputed points:—

1. The fourth article in granting 10,000 rations per diem to the garrison of Malta, has not only in view the effective troops of the republic, but all the persons attached to the garrison; and even the inhabitants of the place. The citizen Otto does not think that it is possible to diminish that quan-

tity; nevertheless, in order to remove, as much as possible, the objection which has been stated to him, and to accommodate himself, as much as possible, to the manner in which the subject is viewed by the English government, he consents to limit that estimate to the first month—a period necessary to afford to the respective commissaries the means of agreeing upon the amount which may be necessary for the support of the garrison of the place.

The second point contained in the fourth article, respecting the liberty of dispatching six frigates to Egypt, appears to have given still more uneasiness than the preceding one, and has given rise to a more animated discussion. Upon this subject citizen Otto cannot avoid again remarking, that, if the French government proposed to assimilate the places in Egypt to those of Ulm and Ingolstadt, it could only do so, and has in truth only done so, from the analogy that there is between those places with respect to the blockade; for, in every other respect, the comparison is inexact: in fact, nobody is ignorant that the places of Egypt are not, like Ulm and Ingolstadt, in want of being victualled, since they cannot be prevented from drawing from the surrounding countries all the subsistence they require; that, besides, those places are not blockaded in such a manner as to make it probable that they should fall into the hands of the enemies. By that comparison therefore, it could only be meant that there should be granted by the forces of the enemies advantages analogous to those which had been granted to the places in Germany, which advantages can only be ascertained by the special stipulations of the convention which it is proposed to conclude. The free passage of six frigates cannot add any considerable strength to the army of Egypt; it will only serve to prove to that army that the French government takes an interest in its fate, until it shall be definitively settled by a treaty of peace. In reviewing the circumstances which have followed the capitulation signed by Sir Sidney Smith, citizen Otto cannot percive the impropriety of such an arrangement relatively to the Porte? and he sees with regret, that the observations made to him by Mr. Hammond do not offer any adequate motive for relinquishing that demand, the acquiescence in which can alone establish any kind of analogy between the places of Egypt and those of Ulm and Ingolstadt.

2. The fifth article of the new *projet* differs in several respects from that of the counter *projet* of the British ministry; but it differs much more still from the first *projet* which citizen Otto had the honour of presenting, inasmuch as it admits that no ship of the line now at anchor in the ports of Brest and Toulon shall go out thereof during the continuance of the armistice. The French government is of opinion that this concession, and more especially in the present season, goes as far as it can go, and that by admitting that no armed vessel should go out of the said ports, they would leave those ports really in the same state in which they are at present: indeed, in a state even less favourable, since the

time is perhaps not far off when the British forces will not prevent those vessels from going out. All that citizen Otto can concede, with regard to this article, is, that no naval stores shall be imported by sea into the ports of Toulon and Brest; but he must insist upon the free egress of frigates and sloops. If this concession give to France the advantage of an effectual communication with her colonies, it is an equivalent to that derived from this armistice to the commerce of England; which, under the protection of this convention, can extend itself to all parts of the world, without being molested by French privateers.

That, besides, if a reference were made to the comparison between the continental armistice and the maritime truce, that comparison would be found to be entirely to the disadvantage of France. Upon the continent the French and Austrian armies reciprocally enjoy the same liberty of taking, within the line of demarkation, those positions which appear most advantageous to them: by the maritime armistice, on the contrary, England preserves alone the right of disposing of her squadrons, whilst the French ships of the line remain in their ports, and cannot enter into any hostile combinations against Great Britain.

3. The sixth article of the new *projet*, respecting the English troops which may be allowed to land in Italy, has been considered as a new pretension on the part of France, since she had made no mention of it in her first *projet*; but this pretension (if it can be called so) is only the natural consequence of a concession alike new, made by France, in offering to include in the armistice the allies of Great Britain. It would indeed be impossible to allow the King of Naples to enjoy advantages from this truce, and to leave him also the power of reinforcing and of preparing fresh means of attack against the republic.

Citizen Otto confines himself to these observations, which he deems of most importance. Other objections which have been made, and which in great measure relate to the form of drawing up the proposed convention, might be easily obviated.

No. 42.—Note.

Downing-street, Sept. 26, 1800.

Mr. Hammond is directed to acquaint M. Otto, that the observations contained in his note this day, received by Mr. Hammond, have been laid before his Majesty's government.

The King's servants regret that M. Otto's instructions are not sufficiently extensive to enable him to furnish the means of accommodation on those points which prevent the conclusion of a naval armistice.

The only object which his Majesty has had in view in this discussion has been repeatedly stated, as well as those considerations which appear to him necessary to limit the extent of the concessions which it is possible for him to make in this respect.

It is not conceived that any advantage can arise from a new statement of the same topics, especially as it is not doubted that M. Otto, in his report of the different arguments stated by Mr.

Hammond in their conference, will bring them in the fullest manner under the consideration of his government. In offering these concessions, his Majesty has given a strong proof of his willingness to make a considerable sacrifice of the particular interests of this country in order to facilitate those negociations for a general peace, in which he has expressed his readiness to concur. He still perseveres in the same dispositions, and will be willing to join in any proper steps to be taken for that purpose.

M. Otto.

No. 43.

Hereford-street, 6 *Vendemiaire*, (*Sept.* 28, 1800.)

Sir,

I have received the note which you did me the honour to address to me on the 26th, and I lost no time in forwarding the contents to my government: and also the observations contained in the piece which I have now the honour to return enclosed.

His Majesty's ministry have done justice to my intentions, in being persuaded that I would send to France a detailed and exact account of the conversation which I had the honour of having with you. I have done every thing in my power to make the First Consul acquainted with the whole extent of the observations which you were directed to communicate to me.

Whatever may be the result of this attempt of the two governments to re-establish the general tranquillity of Europe, I ought to congratulate myself for having been, to the ministry of his Majesty, the organ of the pacific dispositions of France; and for having been charged to transmit to my government the assurance of the equally conciliatory dispositions of his Majesty.

I have the honour to be, with the highest consideration,

(Signed) Otto.

To Mr. Hammond,
Under Secretary of State.

No. 44.

Hereford-street, 14 *Vendemiaire*, *Year* 9. (*October* 6, 1800.)

Sir,

Mr. George not being yet returned, I have the honour to address myself directly to you, to request that you will meet me in Park-place, or in any other place which you shall think proper to appoint. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Otto.

Mr. Hammond.

No. 45.

Downing-street, *Oct.* 8, 1800.

Sir,

In endeavouring to make, for the information of his Majesty's ministers, as accurate a representation as I could of the purport of the communication which you yesterday made to me verbally, I have felt so much anxiety lest, in an affair of so much importance, there should be any mis-statement on my part of what you said, that I cannot help expressing to you my earnest desire that you would send me a written minute of the substance of this answer in the same

manner as has been done in all the other stages of this discussion. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) George Hammond.
M. Otto.

No. 46.

Hereford-street, 16 *Vendemiaire. Year* 9. (*Oct.* 8, 1800.)

Sir,

I have received the letter which you did me the honour to address to me this morning, requesting that I would acquaint you in writing with the substance of the communication which I have been directed to make to you, the importance of the object to which it relates rendering you apprehensive lest you should not completely have seized the meaning of the communication, I hasten therefore to transmit the substance of it to you.

The last notes which were exchanged, and several important events which have completely changed the basis upon which the proposed armistice was to have been established, having put an end to the negociation on foot, I had the honour to inform you, that notwithstanding the circumstances which are opposed to the conclusion of a maritime truce, the First Consul is invariably disposed to receive any overtures relative to a separate negociation between France and Great Britain, and that the mode of such overture entirely depends upon the option of his Majesty. That when the king shall think proper to send for that purpose a plenipotentiary to Paris, I am authorized not only to consent to it, but to deliver to him the necessary passport. That if, on the contrary, his Majesty should prefer that the preliminary negociations should be begun at London, special powers will be sent to me for that purpose. I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) Otto.
Mr. Hammond.

No. 47.

Downing-street, *Oct.* 9, 1800.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday's date; and I am directed in return to acquaint you,

That his Majesty's government entirely agrees in the opinion there expressed, that all further discussion of the terms of a naval armistice would be superfluous, as the only object which it was proposed to his Majesty to secure by such an arrangement has in the mean time been made the ground of separate sacrifices required from his ally.

With respect to the proposal of opening negociations for a separate peace, his Majesty, retaining always the sincere desire which he has uniformly expressed for the restoration of general tranquillity in Europe, must at the same time renew his former declarations of an invariable determination to execute with punctuality and good faith his engagements with his allies; and must therefore steadily decline to enter into any measures tending to separate his interests from those of the powers who shall continue to make common cause with him in the prosecution of the war. I am, &c.

(Signed) George Hammond.
M. Otto.

APPENDIX.

Extract of a Note from Baron Thugut to M. Talleyrand, dated Vienna, the 11th of August, 1800.

The Emperor has ordered me, Sir, to convey to the First Consul, through your channel, the invitation for the immediate meeting of the respective plenipotentiaries, who with good faith and zeal are occupied in concerting, with as little delay as possible, the means of re-establishing general tranquillity, after which suffering Europe has long sighed in vain. His Majesty flatters himself, that through that measure his pacific wishes will be speedily accomplished with the more certainty, because the king of Great Britain, his ally, has just caused it to be declared to him, that he is ready, on his part, to concur in the same negociations; as it appears by the inclosed copy of the official note delivered here by lord Minto, his Britannic Majesty's envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary. It only remains, therefore, to agree upon the place at which the plenipotentiaries shall meet, which will doubtless be easily settled. In order to facilitate the intercourse of the plenipotentiaries with their respective governments, his Majesty thinks that it would be advisable to give the preference to some place nearly central, such as Schelstadt, Luneville, &c. or some other, with respect to which, in order to save time, the French government might come to an understanding directly with the British government. According to the declarations which, by his Majesty's express orders, I have now the honour to transmit to your excellency, and according to the equally pacific dispositions which his Britannic Majesty has testified, it will henceforward depend upon the French government alone to accelerate the happy moment of the restoration of repose to Europe, so cruelly mangled by a destructive war.

(Signed) Baron de Thugut.
M. Talleyrand.

Lord Minto's Note, inclosed in the above.

The undersigned, his Britannic Majesty's envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary, did not fail to transmit to his court all the communications which have been made to him by the Emperor's direction, by his excellency Baron Thugut, relative to the correspondence which has taken place between his Majesty the Emperor and the French government respecting overtures for peace. The undersigned has, in consequence, been directed to intimate the satisfaction which his Majesty has received from this mark of confidence on the part of his imperial and royal Majesty. The undersigned does not delay, after the authority which he has just received, to declare that his Britannic Majesty, desirous at all times of giving to the Emperor and to all Europe the clearest proofs of his perfect and cordial union with his imperial and royal Majesty, and of the value which he attaches to the constant preservation of the intimate concert and friendship which are so happily established between their crowns and their subjects, is disposed to concur with Austria in

the negociations which may take place for a general pacification, and to send his plenipotentiaries to treat for peace in concert with his imperial and royal Majesty, as soon as the intentions of the French government to enter into a negociation with his Britannic Majesty shall be known to him.

The undersigned eagerly seizes this occasion of renewing to his excellency the assurance of his most distinguished consideration.

(Signed) Minto.

Vienna, Aug. 9, 1800.

Convention for the Evacuation of Egypt, agreed upon by Citizens Dessaix, General of Division, and Poussielgue, Admimistrator-General of Finances, Plenipotentiaries of the Commander-in-Chief Kleber, and their Excellencies Moustafa Raschid Effendi Tefterdar, and Moustafa Rassiche Effendi Riessul Knitab, Ministers Plenipotentiaries of his Highness the Supreme Vizier.

The French army in Egypt, wishing to give a proof of its desire to stop the effusion of blood, and to put an end to the unfortunate disagreements which have taken place between the French republic and the sublime Porte, consent to evacuate Egypt on the stipulations of the present convention, hoping that this concession will pave the way for the general pacification of Europe.

I. The French army will retire with its arms, baggage, and effects, to Alexandria, Rosetta, and Aboukir, there to be embarked and transported to France, both in its own vessels and in those which it will be necessary for the sublime Porte to furnish it with; and in order that the aforesaid vessels may be the more speedily prepared, it is agreed, that a month after the ratification of the present convention, there shall be sent to the fort of Alexandria a commissary, with fifty purses, on the part of the sublime Porte.

II. There shall be an armistice of three months in Egypt, reckoning from the time of the signature of the present convention; and in case the truce shall expire before the aforesaid vessels to be furnished by the sublime Porte shall be ready, the said truce shall be prolonged till the embarkation can be completely effected, it being understood on both sides that all possible means will be employed to secure the tranquillity of the armies and of the inhabitants, which is the object of the truce.

III. The transport of the French army shall take place according to the regulations of commissaries appointed for this purpose by the sublime Porte and general Kleber; and if any difference of opinion shall take place between the aforesaid commissioners respecting the embarkation, one shall be appointed by Commodore Sir Sidney Smith, who shall decide the difference according to the maritime regulations of England.

IV. The forts of Cathic and Salachich shall be evacuated by the French troops on the 8th day, or at the latest on the 10th day after the ratification of this convention. The town of Mansoura shall be evacuated on the 15th day. Damietta and Balbey on the 20th day. Suez shall be eva-

cuated six days before Cairo. The other places on the east bank of the Nile shall be evacuated on the 10th day. The Delta shall be evacuated fifteen days after the evacuation of Cairo. The west banks of the Nile and its dependencies shall remain in the hands of the French till the evacuation of Cairo; and meanwhile, as they must be occupied by the French army till all its troops shall have descended from Upper Egypt, the said western bank and its dependencies will not be evacuated till the expiration of the truce, if it is impossible to evacuate them sooner. The places evacuated shall be given up to the sublime Porte in the same situation in which they are at present.

V. The city of Cairo shall be evacuated after forty days, if that is possible, or at the latest after forty-five days, reckoning from the ratification of the treaty.

VI. It is expressly agreed, that the sublime Porte shall use every effort that the French troops may fall back through the different places on the left bank of the Nile, with their arms and baggage, towards the head-quarters, without being disturbed or molested on their march in their persons, property, or honour, either by the inhabitants of Egypt, or the troops of the imperial Ottoman army.

VII. In consequence of the former article, and in order to prevent all differences and hostilities, measures shall be taken to keep the Turkish always at a sufficient distance from the French army.

VIII. Immediately after the ratification of the present convention, all the Turks and other nations, without distinction, subjects of the sublime Porte, imprisoned or retained in France, or in the power of the French in Egypt, shall be set at liberty; and, on the other hand, all the French detained in the cities and sea-port towns of the Ottoman empire, as well as every person of whatever nation they may be, attached to French legations and consulates, shall be also set at liberty.

IX. The restitution of the goods and property of the inhabitants and subjects of both sides, or the payment of their value to the proprietors, shall commence immediately after the evacuation of Egypt, and shall be regulated at Constantinople by commissaries appointed respectively for the purpose.

X. No inhabitant of Egypt, of whatever religion he may be, shall be disturbed either in his person or his property, on account of any connections he may have had with the French during their possession of Egypt.

XI. There shall be delivered to the French army, as well on the part of the sublime Porte as of the courts of its allies, that is to say, of Russia and of Great Britain, passports, safe conducts, and convoys, necessary to secure its safe return to France.

XII. When the French army of Egypt shall be embarked, the sublime Porte, as well as its allies, promise, that till its return to the continent of France it shall not be disturbed in any manner; and on his side, general-in-chief Kleber, and the French army in Egypt, promise not to commit any act of hostility during the aforesaid time, either against the fleets or against

the territories of the sublime Porte, and that the vessels which shall transport the said army shall not stop on any other coast than that of France, except from absolute necessity.

XIII. In consequence of the truce of three months stipulated above with the French army for the evacuation of Egypt, the contracting parties agree, that if in the interval of the said truce some vessels from France unknown to the commanders of the allied fleets, should enter the port of Alexandria, they shall depart from it, after having taken in water and the necessary provisions, and shall return to France with passports from the allied courts, and in case any of the said vessels should require reparation, these alone may remain till the said reparations are finished, and shall depart immediately after, like the preceding, with the first favourable wind.

XIV. The general-in-chief, Kleber, may send advices immediately to France, and the vessel that conveys them shall have the safe conduct necessary for securing the communication, by the said advices, to the French government, of the news of the evacuation of Egypt.

XV. There being no doubt that the French army will stand in need of daily supplies of provisions during the three months which it is to evacuate Egypt, and during other three months, reckoning from the day on which it is embarked, it is agreed, that it shall be supplied with the necessary quantities of corn, meat, rice, barley, and straw, according to a statement which shall be immediately given in by the French plenipotentiaries, as well for the stay in the country as for the voyage. Whatever supplies the army shall draw from its magazines, after the ratification of the present convention, shall be deducted from those furnished by the sublime Porte.

XVI. Counting from the day of the ratification of the present treaty, the French army shall not raise any contribution in Egypt; on the contrary, it shall abandon to the sublime Porte the ordinary leviable contributions which remain to it, to be levied after its departure, as well as the camels, dromedaries, ammunition, cannon, and other things which it shall not think necessary to carry away. The same shall be the case with the magazines of grain, arising from the contributions already levied, and the magazines of provisions. These objects shall be examined and valued by commissaries sent to Egypt by the sublime Porte, and by the commander of the British forces, conjointly with those of the general-in-chief Kleber, and paid by the former, at the rate of the valuation so made, to the amount of 3000 purses, which will be necessary to the French army, for accelerating its movements and its embarkation; and if the objects above mentioned do not amount to this sum, the deficit shall be advanced by the sublime Porte, in the form of a loan, which will be paid by the French government upon the bills of the commissaries appointed by general-in-chief Kleber to receive the said sum.

XVII. The French having expenses to incur in the evacuation of Egypt, it shall receive, after the ratification of the present convention, the sums stipulated in the

following order, viz. the 15th day and the 20th days, 500 purses; the 40th day, the 50th, 60th, the 70th, and 80th days, 300 purses; and finally, the 90th day, 500 purses. All the said purses, of 500 Turkish piastres each, shall be received in loan from the persons commissioned to this effect by the sublime Porte; and in order to facilitate the execution of the said disposition, the sublime Porte, immediately after the ratification of the convention, shall send commissaries to the city of Cairo, and to the other cities occupied by the armies.

XVIII. The contributions which the French shall receive after the date of the ratification, and before the notification of the present convention in the different parts of Egypt, shall be deducted from the amount of the 3000 purses above stipulated.

XIX. In order to facilitate and accelerate the evacuation of the places, the navigation of the French transport vessels which shall be in the ports of Egypt, shall be free during the three months truce from Damietta and Rosetta to Alexandria, and from Alexandria to Damietta and Rosetta.

XX. The safety of Europe requiring the greatest precautions to prevent the contagion of the plague from being carried thither, no person either sick, or suspected of being infected by this malady, shall be embarked; but all persons afflicted with the plague, or any other malady, which shall not allow their removal in the time agreed upon for the evacuation, shall remain in the hospitals, where they shall be under the safeguard of his highness the vizier, and shall be attended by the French officers of health, who shall remain with them until their health shall allow them to set off, which shall be as soon as possible. The eleventh and twelfth articles of this convention shall be applicable to them as well as to the rest of the army; and the commander-in-chief of the French army engages to give the most strict orders to the different officers commanding the troops embarked, not to allow the troops to disembark in any other ports than those which shall be pointed out by the officers of health as affording the greatest facility for performing the necessary, accustomed, and proper quarantine.

XXI. All the difficulties which may arise, and which shall not be provided for by the present convention, shall be amicably settled between commissioners, appointed for that purpose by his highness the grand vizier and the general-in-chief Kleber, in such a manner as to facilitate the evacuation.

XXII. These presents shall not be effectual until after the respective ratifications, which are to be exchanged in eight days; after which, they shall be religiously observed on both sides.

Done, signed, and sealed with our respective seals, &c. January 24, 1800.

Dessaix, general of division;
Poussielgue; plenipotentiaries of General Kleber.

And their excellencies
Moustafa Raschid Effendi Tefterdar, and
Moustafa Kassiche Effendi Riessul Knitar, plenipotentiaries of his highness the supreme vizier.

A true copy, according to the French part transmitted to the Turkish minister in exchange for their Turkish copy.

(Signed) Poussielgue.
Dessaix.
(Countersigned) Kleber.

Kleber, General-in-Chief of the Army of Egypt, to the Executive Directory of the French Republic.

Camp of Salachich, January 30.

I have signed, citizens directors, the treaty relative to the evacuation of Egypt, and I send you a copy of it. That which bears the signature of the grand vizier cannot reach this place for a few days, the exchange of signatures being to take place at El-Arisch.

I have given you an account in my former despatches of the situation in which this army was placed. I have informed you also of the negociations which General Bonaparte had commenced with the grand vizier, and which I have continued. Though at that time I had little dependance on the success of these negociations, I hoped that they would so far retard the march, and relax the preparations of the grand vizier, as to give you time to send me assistance in men or in arms, or, at least, orders respecting the disagreeable circumstances in which I was placed. I founded this hope of assistance upon my knowledge that the French and Spanish fleets were united at Toulon, and only wanted a favourable wind for sailing: they did indeed sail, but it was only to repass the Straits, and to return to Brest. This news was most distressing to the army, which learned, at the same time, our reverses in Italy, in Germany, in Holland, and even in La Vendée, without its appearing that any proper measure had been taken to arrest the course of the misfortunes which threatened even the existence of the republic.

Meanwhile the vizier advanced from Damascus. On another quarter, about the middle of October, a fleet appeared before Damietta. It disembarked about 4000 Janizaries, who were to be followed by an equal number, but time was not left for their arrival. The first were attacked, and completely defeated in less than half an hour: the carnage was terrible; more than 800 of them were made prisoners. This event did not render the negociations more easy. The vizier manifested the same intentions, and did not suspend his march any longer than was necessary for forming his establishments, and procuring the means of transporting his troops. His army was then estimated at 60,000 men; but other pachas were following him, and were recruiting his army with new troops from all parts of Asia, as far as Mount Caucasus. The van of this army soon arrived at Jaffa.

Commodore Sir Sidney Smith wrote me about this time, that is to say, some days before the debarkation of Damietta; and as I knew all the influence which he had over the vizier, I thought it my duty not only to answer him, but even to propose to him, as a

place for holding conferences, the ship which he commanded: I was equally repugnant to receiving in Egypt English or Turkish plenipotentiaries, or to sending mine to the camp of the latter: my proposition was accepted, and then the negociations assumed a more settled aspect. All this, however, did not stop the Ottoman army, which the grand vizier conducted towards Gaza.

During all this time the war continued in Upper Egypt, and the beys, hitherto dispersed, thought of joining themselves to Mourad, who, constantly pursued, and constantly defeated, alluring to his cause the Arabs and the inhabitants of the province of Bennissoeuf, continued to keep some troops together, and to give disturbance. The plague also threatened us with its ravages, and already was weekly depriving us of several men at Alexandria and other places.

On the 21st December, General Dessaix and citizen Poussielgue, whom I had appointed plenipotentiaries, opened the conferences with Sir Sidney Smith, on board the Tigre, to whom the grand vizier had given power to treat. They were to have kept on the coast between Damietta and Alexandria, but a very violent gale of wind having obliged them to get into the open sea, they remained out at sea for eighteen days: at the end of this time they landed at the camp of the vizier. He had advanced against El-Arisch, and had possessed himself, on the 30th December, of that fort. This success was entirely owing to the remarkable cowardice of the garrison, which surrendered without fighting, seven days after the attack. This event was so much the more unfortunate, as General Regnier was on his march to raise the blockade before the great body of the Turkish army had arrived.

From that moment it was impossible to hope to protract the negociations to any length. It was necessary to examine maturely the danger of breaking them off, to lay aside all motives of personal vanity, and not to expose the lives of all the Frenchmen intrusted to me, to the terrible consequences which farther delay would render inevitable.

The most recent accounts stated the Turkish army to amount to 80,000 men, and it must still have increased: there were in it twelve pachas, six of whom were of the first rank. Forty-five thousand men were before El-Arisch, having fifty pieces of cannon, and waggons in proportion: this artillery was drawn by mules. Twenty other pieces of cannon were at Gaza with the corps of reserve: the remainder of the troops were at Jaffa, and in the neighbourhood of Ramli. Active foraging parties supplied the vizier's camp with provisions: all the tribes of the Arabs were emulous of assisting this army, and furnished it with more than 15,000 camels. I am assured that the distributions were regularly made. All these forces were directed by European officers, and from 5000 to 6000 Russians were every moment expected.

To this army I had to oppose 8500 men, divided on the three points, Katich, Salachich, and Belbeys. This division was necessary, in order to facilitate our

communications with Cairo, and in order to enable us to grant assistance speedily to the post which should be first attacked: in fact, it is certain that they all might have been turned or avoided. This is what Elfi Bey has recently done, who, during the negociations, entered with his Mamalukes into the Charkie, in order to join the Billis Arabs, and to rejoin Mourad in Upper Egypt. The remainder of the army was distributed as follows: 1000 men, under the command of General Verdier, formed the garrison of Lesbe, and were employed to raise contributions of money and provisions, and to keep in obedience the country between the canal of Achmoun and that of Moes, blindly directed by the sheik Leskam. Eighteen hundred men were under the command of General Launsee, to supply with provisions the garrisons of Alexandria, Aboukir, and Rosetta, to restrain the Delta and the Batrira. Twelve hundred men remained at Cairo and Gaza, and they were obliged to furnish escorts for the convoys of the army; and, finally, 2500 men were in Upper Egypt on a chain of more than 150 leagues in extent: they had daily to fight the beys and their partisans. The whole formed 15,000 men. Such, in fact, estimating them at the highest, may be reckoned the number of the disposable combatants in the army.

Notwithstanding this disproportion of forces, I would have hazarded a battle, if I had had the certainty of the arrival of succours before the season of a debarkation. But this season having once arrived, without my receiving reinforcements, I should have been obliged to send 5000 men to the coasts. There would have remained to me 3000 men to defend a country open on all parts, against an invasion of 30,000 cavalry, seconded by the Arabs and the inhabitants, without a fortified place, without provisions, money, or ships. It behoved me to foresee this period, and to ask myself what I could then do for the preservation of the army. No means of safety remained; it would be impossible to treat, but with arms in our hands, with undisciplined hordes of barbarous fanatics, who despise all the laws of war: these motives affected every mind; they determined my opinion. I gave orders to my plenipotentiaries not to break off the negociations, except the articles proposed tended to the sacrifice of our glory or our security.

I finish this account, citizens directors, by observing to you, that the circumstances of my situation were not foreseen in the instructions left me by General Bonaparte. When he promised me speedy succours, he founded his hopes, as well as I did, upon the junction of the French and Spanish fleets in the Mediterranean: we were then far from thinking that these fleets would return into the ocean, and that the expedition of Egypt, entirely abandoned, would become a ground of accusation against those who had planned it. I annex to this letter a copy of my correspondence with the grand vizier, and with Sir Sidney Smith and my plenipotentiaries, and all the official notes sent on either side:

I annex also a copy of the reports which have been given relative to the capture of El-Arisch.

The French army, during its stay in Egypt, has engraved on the minds of the inhabitants the remembrance of its victories, that of the moderation and equity with which we have governed, and an impression of the strength and power of the nation by whom it was sent. The French name will be long respected, not only in this province of the Ottoman empire, but throughout all the East, and I expect to return to France with the army at the latest by the middle of June.

Health and respect,
Kleber.

Kleber, Commander-in-Chief, to the Divan of Cairo, and to those of the different Provinces of Egypt.

Head-quarters, Salachich, February 6.

You have for a long time known the constant resolution of the French nation to preserve its ancient relations with the Ottoman empire. My illustrious predecessor, General Bonaparte, has often declared it to you since the circumstances of the war have induced us to visit this country. He neglected no measure to dissipate the apprehensions which had been infused into the Porte, led as it was to conclude an alliance equally contrary to its interests and ours. The explanation sent by him to the court of Constantinople, failed in re-establishing so desirable an union; and the march of the grand vizier against Damascus having opened a more direct mode of communicating, he commenced negociations, and confided to me the task of terminating them, at the moment when affairs of superior interest obliged him to return to Europe. I have this day concluded them, and restore this country to the possession of our ancient ally. The re-establishment of the commerce of Egypt will be the first effect of the measure. The treaty shall be the first clause of a peace, which is become necessary to the nations of the west.

Sir Sidney Smith to Citizen Poussielgue, Administrator-General of the Finances.

On board the Tigre, March 8, 1800.

I lost not a moment to repair to Alexandria as soon as I could complete the provisioning of my ships, in order to inform you in detail of the obstacles which my superiors have opposed to the execution of the convention, such as I thought it my duty to agree to, not having received the instructions to the contrary, which reached Cyprus on the 22d of February, bearing date the 10th of January.

As to myself, I should not hesitate to pass over any arrangement of an old date, in order to support what took place on the 24th and 31st of January; but it would be only throwing out a snare to my brave antagonists, were I to encourage them to em-

bark. I owe it to the French army, and to myself, to acquaint them with the state of things, which, however, I am endeavouring to change. At any rate, I stand between them and the false impressions which have dictated a proceeding of this kind; and as I know the liberality of my superiors, I doubt not that I shall produce the same conviction on their minds that I feel myself, respecting the business which we concluded. A conversation with you would enable me to communicate the origin and nature of this restriction; and I propose that you should proceed on board an English frigate to the commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean, who has newly arrived, in order to confer with him on the subject.

I depend much on your abilities and conciliatory disposition, which facilitated our former agreement, in order again to support my reasonings respecting the impossibility of revoking what has been formally settled after a detailed discussion and a mature deliberation. I then propose, Sir, that you should come on board, in order to consult on what is to be done in the difficult circumstances in which we are placed. I view with calmness the heavy responsibility to which I am subject; my life is at stake—I know it; but I should prefer an unmerited death to the preservation of my existence, by exposing both my life and my honour.

I have the honour to be, with perfect consideration and high esteem, Sir, your very humble servant,

(Signed) Sidney Smith.

Letter from Citizen Poussielgue to Lord Keith.

On board the Constance, 13 Germinal (April 19).

My Lord,

At the moment of quitting Egypt to return to France, in virtue of the convention signed at El-Arisch, I learned at Alexandria the obstacles which your orders had raised to the execution of that convention, although it had already been partly carried into effect, with that good faith which the candour of the contracting parties must have inspired.

I resolved to proceed directly to you, my Lord, to request you to revoke your orders. I wish to explain to you all the motives that should induce you to adopt this measure; or, if you cannot consent to what I desire to solicit, that you will send me immediately to France, in order that the French government may treat directly with the English government on this affair.

The lives of 50,000 men are at stake, who may be destroyed without any motive, since, according to the solemn treaty made with the English, Russians, and Turks, all hostilities had terminated.

I have not powers *ad hoc* for the step I have taken; but there is no necessity for claiming what would be considered as a right between nations the least civilized. The demand appears to me so just and so simple, and besides so urgent, that I have not thought it necessary to wait for the orders of General Kleber, who, I am certain,

would not consent to the smallest modification of the treaty, though his fidelity in executing it has rendered his position much less advantageous.

At the moment we concluded the convention at El-Arisch, under the simple pledge of English good faith, we were far from suspecting that obstacles would be started by that same power, the most liberal of those with whom we had to treat.

For the rest, my Lord, I am not a military character, and all my functions have ceased. Two years of fatigue and sickness have rendered my return to my country indispensable. I aspire only to repose with my wife and children, happy if I can carry to the families of the French I left in Egypt, the news, that you have removed the only obstacle to their return.

(Signed) Poussielgue.

Lord Keith's Answer.

Minotaur, April 25.

I have this day received the letter which you have done me the honour to write. I have to inform you, that I have given no orders or authority against the observance of the convention between the grand vizier and General Kleber, having received no orders on this head from the King's ministers. Accordingly I was of opinion, that his Majesty should take no part in it; but since the treaty has been concluded, his Majesty being desirous of showing his respects for his allies, I have received instructions to allow a passage to the French troops, and I lost not a moment in sending to Egypt orders to permit them to return to France without molestation. At the same time I thought it my duty to my King, and those of his allies whose states lie in the seas through which they are to pass, to require that they should not return in a mass, nor in ships of war, nor in armed ships. I wished likewise that the cartel should carry no merchandize which would be contrary to the law of nations. I have likewise asked of General Kleber, his word of honour, that neither he nor his army should commit any hostilities against the coalesced powers; and I doubt not that General Kleber will find the conditions perfectly reasonable.

Captain Hay has received my orders to allow you to proceed to France with Adjutant-general Cambis, as soon as he arrives at Leghorn.

(Signed) Keith.

Kleber, Commander-in-Chief, to the Army.

Head-quarters at Cairo, 17th Ventose (March 8.)

Soldiers! behold the letter which I have received from the commander of the English fleet in the Mediterranean.

" *On board his Majesty's Ship the Queen Charlotte, June 8, 1800.*

" Sir,

" I inform you, that I have received positive orders from his Majesty, not to consent to any ca-

pitulation with the French troops which you command in Egypt and Syria, at least unless they lay down their arms, surrender themselves prisoners of war, and deliver up all the ships and stores of the port of Alexandria to the allied powers.

"In the event of this capitulation, I cannot permit any of the troops to depart for France before they have been exchanged. I think it equally necessary to inform you, that all vessels having French troops on board, and sailing from this, with passports from others than those authorized to grant them, will be forced by the officers of the ships which I command to remain in Alexandria: in short, that ships which shall be met returning to Europe, with passports granted in consequence of a particular capitulation with one of the allied powers, will be retained as prizes, and all individuals on board considered as prisoners of war.

(Signed) "Keith."

Soldiers! we know how to reply to such insolence by victories—prepare for battle.

(Signed) Kleber.

The general of division, chief of the staff,

(Signed) Damas.

Letter from General Menou to Sir Sidney Smith, informing him of the Assassination of General Kleber, and of his having taken upon him the chief Command.

J. Menou, General in Chief, to Sir Sidney Smith, Commander of his Britannic Majesty's Ship of War the Tigre.

Head-quarters at Cairo, 1 Messidor (June 19), Year 8, of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

Sir,

I have received the letter which you did me the honour of writing to me, under the date of the 9th of June, from on board the Tigre, off Rhodes. Since the French army is deprived of its leader, by the atrocious assassination of the General-in-chief Kleber, I have taken upon myself the command of it. Your allies the Turks, not having been able to conquer the French near Malarich, they have, to be revenged, made use of the dagger, which is only resorted to by cowards. A Janizary, who had quitted Gaza about forty-two days ago, had been sent to perpetrate the horrid deed. The French willingly believe the Turks only to have been guilty. The account of the murder shall be communicated to every nation, for all are equally interested in avenging it. The behaviour which you, Sir, observed, with regard to the convention concluded at El-Arisch, points out to me the road which I have to pursue. You demanded the ratification of your court: I must also demand that of the consuls who now govern the French nation, for any treaty that might be concluded with the English and their allies. This is the only legal way, the only one admissible in any negociations that may ever take place. As well as you, Sir, I abhor the flames of war; as well as you, I wish to see an end put to the misery which it has caused. But I shall never, in any point

whatever, exempt myself from what the honour of the French republic and of her arms requires. I am fully convinced that these sentiments must also be yours. Good faith and morality must prevail in treaties concluded between nations. The French republicans know not those stratagems which are mentioned in the papers of Mr. Mories. They know not any other behaviour than courage during the combat, magnanimity after the victory, and good faith in their treaties. One hundred and fifty Englishmen are prisoners of war here; had I followed only the dictates of republican magnanimity, I would have sent them back, without considering them as prisoners, for they were taken on the coast of Egypt, not with arms in their hands, and I am fully convinced that the consuls would have approved of it; but your allies have detained citizen and chief of brigade Baudet, adjutant of General Kleber, whose person ought to have been held sacred, as he had been sent with a flag of truce. Contrary to my principles and my inclination, I have, therefore, been forced to reprisals against your countrymen: but they shall be set at liberty immediately on the arrival of citizen Baudet at Damietta, who shall there be exchanged against Mustapha Pacha, and several other Turkish commissaries. If, Sir, as I have no doubt, you have some influence over your allies, this affair will soon be settled, which interests your honour, and evidently endangers one hundred and fifty of your countrymen. I have the honour to repeat to you, Sir, that with enthusiastic pleasure I shall see the termination of a war, which has, for so long a period, agitated the whole world. The French and English nations are destined mutually to esteem, not to destroy one another: but when they enter into negociations with each other, it must only be done on conditions which are equally honourable to both, and promotive of their welfare. Receive, Sir, the very sincere assurances of my esteem and high respect. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Abdallah Bey J. Menou.

Letter from Sir Sidney Smith to General Menou, Commander-in-Chief of the French Army in Egypt: originally written in French: dated Jaffa, June 22, 1800.

General,

I received this evening the letter which you did me the honour of writing to me on the 20th instant. At the instant when I expected to see General Kleber under the most favourable and satisfactory auspices, I learned with the liveliest concern and the most heartfelt sorrow his tragical fate. I immediately communicated the intelligence to the grand vizier and the Ottoman ministers, in the terms in which you announced to me that sad event; and nothing less than the certainty and detail with which you communicated it could have induced their excellencies to credit the information. The grand vizier has declared to me, formally and officially, that he had not the slightest knowledge of those who have been guilty of the assassination; and I am persuaded that his declaration is true and sin-

cere. Without entering into the particulars of this unfortunate event, I shall content myself with answering the articles of your letter that relate to our affairs.

If the grand vizier has detained in his camp the aid-de-camp Baudet, dispatched to him at Jebil-il-Illam, it was because his excellency did not think proper to suffer any person to quit his camp at the moment when he saw himself surrounded by his enemies. Baudet was detained at Jebil-il-Illam in the same manner as the Turkish officers destined to serve reciprocally with him as hostages, were detained at Cairo.

This aid-de-camp was sent to the Ottoman squadron to be exchanged, according to your desire; and during that interval his excellency the Captain Pacha having arrived here, the exchange was postponed in consequence of his absence from the squadron. When his excellency shall have joined the squadron, the exchange may be carried into effect, should you think proper, as the aid-de-camp Baudet is off Alexandria; but I cannot perceive why you make the release of one hundred and fifty English, who were shipwrecked at Cape Brulos, depend upon a transaction relating only to yourself and the Porte. I expect from your good faith and your justice, according to the regulations settled between both nations relative to the reciprocal exchange of our prisoners, which we are authorized to enforce, that you will allow Captain Buttal, his officers and crew, to return.

Your promises expressive of the hope of reciprocity on my part cannot apply to this circumstance, and I think it superfluous to offer you in return, the assurance of my good offices in favour of any person who may be reduced to the painful situation which I have myself experienced. I am convinced that the grand vizier will sanction with his generous and dignified approbation, all the humane proceedings which we may adopt with respect to one another. The tricks of warfare are unknown to us both; and while I shall continue to behave to you with the same candour and the same good faith which I have manifested to the present moment, I shall earnestly employ all my means to prevent any person on whom I may possess influence from pursuing a contrary line of conduct. Be assured that the hostile dispositions, which have been recently announced, and which have acquired extent and publicity, may be appeased by the opportunities furnished to both parties by the present circumstances of mutual correspondence and communication, and that we shall at length be united by the ties of sincere friendship. In the mean time, we shall prosecute hostilities against you with the means which we have hitherto employed against you, and we shall endeavour to render ourselves worthy of the esteem of your brave troops.

The hostilities which you have committed without waiting for Admiral Keith's answer, who was unacquainted with the convention concluded for the evacuation of Egypt, have furnished us with a rule for our conduct. I had not demanded of my court the ratification of the convention: I merely was desirous to remove some obstacles that might have opposed

the return of the French to their country.

As General Kleber did not, in the late preliminaries which were agreed to, give us to understand that it was necessary the treaty which was to have followed them, should be ratified by the consuls, this condition now introduced by you in your preliminaries, has the appearance of a refusal to evacuate Egypt, and the grand vizier has commissioned me to require of you on that head a clear and precise answer.

You wish, as I do, for a termination to the war which desolates the whole world. It is in your power to remove one of the obstacles in the way of peace, by evacuating Egypt according to the terms agreed upon with Gen. Kleber; and if you refuse, we shall exert all our means, and those of our allies, in order to compel you to accept conditions which may not prove so advantageous. I cannot suppress my regret at being forced to fulfil that duty; but the evacuation of Egypt being an object of so much interest to the cause of humanity, the mode of accomplishing it by correspondence and conference is still open.

As the admiral, under whose orders I am, is at a considerable distance, I am authorized to agree to such arrangements as the necessity of circumstances may dictate; and although, from the nature of events, I am not warranted in offering any new proposition, I am, however, ready and disposed to receive all those which you may think fit to make. I can declare to you officially, that I shall exert all my efforts to prevent any rash proceedings, and to oppose all vexatious measures, from whatever quarter they may arise.

I shall literally adhere to all the instructions of my court. I know its principles to be founded upon the most punctilious equity and the most perfect good faith. My conduct shall be conformable to its principles, and all my exertions shall be directed to the performance of my duty, by promoting its interests.

As it is not yet decided in what direction I am about to act, I beg you will transmit me your answer, in two despatches, the one addressed to Alexandria, and the other to Jaffa, at the camp of the grand vizier.

(Signed) Sidney Smith.

Menou, provisional General-in-Chief, to Citizen Bonaparte, First Consul of the Republic.

Head-quarters at Cairo, 14th Messidor (July 3).

Citizen consul, a horrible event, of which there are few examples in history, has provisionally raised me to the command of the army of the east. General Kleber was assassinated on the 25th of last month (June 14). A wretch sent by the aga of the Janizaries of the Ottoman army, gave the general-in-chief four stabs with a poniard, while he was walking with citizen Protain, the architect, on the terrace which looks from the garden of the head-quarters into the square of Esbekier. Citizen Protain, in endeavouring to defend the general, received himself six wounds. The first wound which Kleber received was mortal. He fell—Protain still lives. The ge-

neral, who was giving orders for repairing the head-quarters and the garden,* had no aid-de-camp with him, nor any individual of the corps of guards: he had desired to be alone: he was found expiring. The assassin, who was discovered in the midst of a heap of ruins, being brought to the head-quarters, confessed that he was solicited to commit this crime by the aga of the Janizaries of the Ottoman army, commanded by the grand vizier in person. This vizier, unable to vanquish the French in open warfare, has sought to avenge himself by the dagger, a weapon which belongs only to cowards. The assassin is named Soleyman-el-Alepi. He came from Aleppo, and had arrived at Cairo, after crossing the desert on a dromedary. He took up his lodging at the grand mosque Eleaser, whence he proceeded every day to watch a favourable opportunity for committing his crime. He had intrusted his secret to four petty sheiks of the law, who wished to dissuade him from his project; but who, not having denounced him, have been arrested, in consequence of the depositions of the assassin, condemned to death, and executed on the 28th of last month (June 17). I appointed to conduct the trial, a commission *ad hoc*. The commission, after conducting the trial with the utmost solemnity, thought it proper to follow the customs of Egypt in the application of the punishment. They condemned the assassin to be impaled, after having his right hand burnt; and three of the guilty sheiks to be beheaded, and their bodies burnt. The fourth, not having been arrested, was outlawed. I annex, citizen consul, the different papers relative to the trial.

At present, citizen consul, it would be proper to make you acquainted with the events, almost incredible, that have occurred in Egypt; but I must first have the honour of informing you, that General Kleber's papers not being yet in order, I can only inform you of those events by a simple reference to the date of the transactions. When circumstances are more favourable, I shall send you the details; but it is so necessary that you should know our situation, that I am determined to address to you the following simple journal:

Date of the Events which have occurred in Egypt from the Treaty of El-Arisch, inclusive.

1st. Treaty concluded at El-Arisch, on the 5th Pluviose, and ratified by the general-in-chief on the 8th of the same month, at the camp of Salachich.

2d. Conferences of Sebille Hallem, near Matharich. They continued from the 22d of Ventose to the 27th of the same month.

3d. The letter to Lord Keith, printed and announced to the army on the 27th, with the proclamation of the general-in-chief, Kleber.

4th. The rupture officially notified to the vizier on the 28th of Ventose.

5th. The battle of Matharich, or Heliopolis, gained on the 27th Ventose, over the army of the grand vizier, 60,000 strong—20 pieces of cannon taken.

* The head-quarters had been damaged by cannon-shot during the siege.

6th. The aid-de-camp Baudet sent on a parley during the action, was maltreated, and detained a prisoner, contrary to the rights of nations.

7th. Insurrection of Cairo on the 29th, six hours after the departure of the army. It was fomented by some Osmanlis, who had introduced themselves into Cairo after the convention of El-Arisch.

8th. Arrival of Nasif Pacha in this city on the 30th. He had escaped from the defeated army, and, making a great detour, entered Cairo by the gate Bab-el-Nass, called the gate of Victories.

9th. Arrival of the French army at Balbys on the 30th. The enemy, constantly pursued, kept flying before it.

10th. Surrender of the fort of Balbys on the 1st of Germinal—600 Turks prisoners of war—eight pieces of cannon taken.

11th. The affair of Coreid on the 2d Germinal.

12th. Arrival of the army at Salachich on the 3d. Taking of twelve pieces of cannon belonging to the grand vizier's camp, and an immense quantity of baggage abandoned by the enemy in his precipitate retreat across the desert, which he strewed with dead bodies. The number of men that perished from Salachich to Gaza, is estimated at 18,000—departure of the general-in-chief, Kleber, on the same day for Cairo.

13th. His arrival at Cairo on the 6th Germinal.

14th. First capitulation of Cairo agreed to on the 14th Germinal.—The Turks refuse to leave the place, and continue to fight.

15th. Arrival of Osman Bey-el-Oscar, and an officer of Nasif Pacha, on the 29th Germinal, on a parley. A mine dug by the French, blew up a large house, in which there were between 4 and 500 Osmanlis.

16th. Definitive capitulation for the evacuation of Cairo by the Turks, agreed to on the 1st Floreal (April 21).

17th. On the 2d, adjutant-general René, and citizen Tioch, officer of the staff, sent hostages for the execution of the capitulation, and exchanged in the square of Esbekier, against Osman Bey-el-Oscar and the Kiaya of Nasif Pacha. The Turks and the Osmanlis insult them in the city, and they are obliged to take refuge in a mosque, where Elfi Bey, who was entrusted to guard them, defended them against the attempts of the furious multitude.

18th. Departure of the Turks, to the number of 5000, on the 5th Floreal.

19th. Assassination of General Kleber on the 25th Prairial (June 14).

20th. Execution of the assassin and his accomplices, on the 28th of Prairial (June 17).

Peace was concluded with Mourad Bey during the siege of Cairo. The provinces of Girge and Assuan were ceded to him. He enjoys them under the title of prince governor for the French republic. It should be remarked, that during the battle of Heliopolis, Mourad Bey kept constantly on a height near the field of battle. He had said, that he would make no movement, and he kept his word. The tails of several Pachas have been taken at Matharich, Balbys, and Salachich. After the battle of

Heliopolis, the troops marched to retake Damietta, which had been given up to the Turks in consequence of the convention. Twelve hundred Osmanlis were killed there. The remainder fled by the lake of Menzale and the desert.

Present Situation of the French Army.

Ten millions have been imposed upon the city of Cairo to punish the revolt; all the arrears due to the army have been paid, and for the future their pay will be secured.—The fortifications of Cairo are completing; twelve forts surround the city at present; in fifteen days the whole will be completed; the arches of the grand aqueduct have been stopped, so that it is now impossible to pass from the bank of the river to the citadel; on the other side, the ramparts of the city are razed, and all the space between Fort Camin behind the head-quarters to Boulac is to be enclosed by a wall. The fortifications of Salachich are much increased: they will be finished before three weeks. —Lesbe, near Damietta, is finished, and towers are building on the different passes that go from the sea to the lake Menzale. The fort of Burlos will soon be finished, that of Rosetta is completed; Aboukir is entirely repaired: they are working with diligence at Alexandria. Our artillery is in the best condition, the works in the arsenal of Gizeh are in the greatest activity. I have established a depot of 500 horses at Gizeh, and also a park of reserve of 500 camels; many thousand Greeks have enrolled themselves in our service, and also 500 Cophts and Syrians. Seventy Turkish and Greek vessels have, since the rupture, of which they were ignorant, entered the ports of Alexandria and Damietta; they came after the evacuation; they have been retained as prisoners; the merchandize which they brought has served to pay the troops. A caravan of 10,000 slaves and 15,000 camels is arrived from Darfur and the Niger: it is at Syouth, which we have kept in our treaty with Mourad Bey. A caravan from Tor, and another from Yambo, are arrived here by Suez. I have given, and shall continue to give them, every support for the encouragement of commerce, which I wish to re-establish, and to endeavour to supply Arabia by way of Suez. I am organizing there a caravan, which will leave this every fifteen days; another caravan, coming from Tazanna, from Beled and Gezid, in in fifty days, is also arrived at Cairo. The institute is going to resume its sittings. The grand vizier is at Jaffa with about 7 or 8000 men; he has 2000 at Gaza, and 1000 at El-Arisch; Catieh is destroyed. If he should be able to recruit his army, and shall again attempt to pass the desert, we will go to receive him at Salachich; the troops are determined to beat him. The captain pacha is with twenty-four sail before Alexandria, Rosetta, and Damietta: they cruise from one port to the other: we reckon in this squadron eight Turkish ships of the line and two English; every where we are prepared, the army will combat till they die; happy if we can preserve to the republic a great colony, of which you have been the founder.

I cannot send you the names of those who have distinguished themselves: I may say they are the whole army. I shall not enter into these details until the papers of General Kleber are arranged. I shall confine myself to request of you, citizen consul, to confirm the promotions that have been made; these are the generals of division, generals of brigade, and all the subordinate ranks. Many brave men have been killed and many wounded: they are all worthy of your attention. You know my respect and devotion: both the one and the other are unbounded.

Abd. J. Menou.

Convention between his Britannic Majesty and the Emperor of the Romans, signed at Vienna, June 20, 1800.

His Majesty the Emperor of the Romans, king of Hungary and Bohemia, and his Majesty the king of Great Britain, have judged that it was conformable to the interest of their crowns, and to the good of the common cause, to concert with each other on the best manner of giving effect to the union of their efforts against the common enemy in the present campaign. In consequence of which, the Baron de Thugut, grand cross of the order of St. Stephen, his imperial Majesty's minister of conferences, and commissary general and minister plenipotentiary in his provinces of Italy, Istria, and Dalmatia, &c. and the right honourable Gilbert Lord Minto, peer of Great Britain, one of his Britannic Majesty's most honourable privy council, and his envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the court of Vienna, being furnished on the part of their aforesaid Imperial and Britannic Majesties, with the powers requisite for discussing and arranging this important object; the said plenipotentiaries, after having respectively exchanged their full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

I. In order to relieve the pressing necessities of the finances of his Imperial Majesty, under the enormous expenses already incurred, and which remain to be incurred during the present campaign, his Britannic Majesty shall advance to his above-mentioned Imperial Majesty, by way of loan, the sum of 2,000,000*l.* sterling. This sum shall be divided into three parts, and paid at three different periods, preferably in specie; so that the first third of 666,666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* shall be paid in the first days of the month of July; the second third of the like sum in the first days of September; and the remaining third in the first days of the month of December.

II. During the whole continuance of the war, and during the six months which shall follow the conclusion of a peace between Austria and France, his Imperial Majesty shall not be bound to pay any interest upon the sum of two millions advanced, as stipulated in the preceding article, Great Britain consenting to take this charge upon her own account until the period above mentioned. But on the expiration of the term of six months after the conclusion of peace, his Imperial Majesty shall pay for the future to the British

government, or to the individuals who shall be pointed out by the British government, an annual rent or annual rents, making altogether the amount of the interest of the two millions advanced, which interest shall be calculated at the same rate as the interest of the loan made on account of the British government in the present year. His Imperial Majesty shall moreover pay annually to the British government the sum of 20,000*l.* at two periods, that is to say, 10,000*l.* every six months, which sum shall be employed in the successive purchase and reduction of the principal of the two millions, according to the method adopted by the British government in its own loans.

III. Their Imperial and Britannic Majesties mutually promise each other to carry on the war against the French republic, during the present campaign, with all possible vigour; and to employ in it all their respective means by land and sea, concerting together, as occasion shall require, on the most advantageous manner of reciprocally employing their forces by land and sea to the support of their operations against the common enemy. His Imperial Majesty shall be careful to complete his armies of Germany and of Italy, in proportion to the losses which they have sustained, in order always, as far as possible, to act against the common enemy with the same number of effective men, conformably to the statements which his Imperial Majesty caused to be confidentially communicated to the British government on the opening of the campaign.

IV. The Bavarian troops, those of Wurtemburg, and the Swiss regiments in the pay of Great Britain, shall be at the disposal of his Imperial Majesty, to form a part of his army in Germany, and to be employed there in operations against the enemy, in conformity to the conventions and capitulations concluded on this subject by the king of Great Britain. His Britannic Majesty shall take the necessary measures for the farther reinforcement of the army of his Imperial Majesty in Germany, by as great a number as possible of German and Swiss troops.

V. Their Imperial and Britannic Majesties engage, during the whole continuance of the present convention, not to make a separate peace with the French republic, without the previous and express consent of each other. They engage likewise, not to treat with the enemy, nor to receive from him any overtures either for a private peace, or for a general pacification, without making, mutually, communications of them with openness, and acting in every respect in perfect concert.

VI. The duration of the present convention is fixed for the term of one year, to be computed from the 1st of March, 1800, until the end of February, 1801. From the month of December, and immediately after the acquittal of the last payment of the stipulated advances, the two high contracting parties shall enter into deliberation and confidential explanation upon the determinations that they may think necessary to adopt for the future, according to circumstances, and their mutual convenience.

VII. The present convention shall be ratified in due form by

their Imperial and Britannic Majesties, and the respective ratifications shall be exchanged at Vienna in the space of six weeks, or sooner, if possible.

In witness whereof, we, the undersigned, furnished with the full powers of their Imperial and Britannic Majesties, have in their names signed the present convention, and have affixed thereunto the seal of our names.

Done at Vienna the 20th of June, in the year 1800.

(L.S.) Le Baron de Thugut.
(L.S.) Minto.

Treaty between the King of Great Britain and the Elector of Mentz.

Be it known to all whom it may concern, that as his Electoral Highness of Mentz, as a member of the empire, and agreeably to his attachment to its constitution, participates in the war which the German empire has been forced to declare against France, for defending and maintaining its constitution, and the integrity of its territory; and as his Highness is convinced of the necessity for gaining this salutary purpose, not only of employing all the forces which the laws of the empire require of every state under the title of contingents, but also of using still greater means, the sooner to procure an honourable and lasting peace, which the occupation of a considerable part of the electoral territories on the side of France, and the repeated invasion of the remaining territories of his Electoral Highness by the same power, as well as the exhausted state of his resources, effected by his extraordinary exertions for the good of the armies fighting in Germany for the general cause, did not allow his Electoral Highness to do to the extent he might have wished, his Electoral Highness has applied to his Britannic Majesty (likewise engaged in war with the same enemy, in consequence of the attack made by France), inviting his Majesty to assist his Electoral Highness in the execution of these measures, in a manner that might be thought the most effective. As his Britannic Majesty on his part entertains similar sentiments with his Electoral Highness, and wishes to give him a proof of his friendship, and of his desire to promote the just and salutary object he has in view, his Majesty has nominated Mr. Wickham his minister plenipotentiary and commissioner, to adjust the points relating to this important object; and his Electoral Highness, on his part, has nominated Count Spaur, his privy counsellor, for the same purpose, who having exchanged their full powers, have agreed on the following articles:

Art. 1. His Electoral Highness of Mentz offers to form a corps of 3464 men, infantry as well as cavalry (but so that the latter shall not constitute above one-eleventh part of the whole corps), which is to be left at the disposal of his Britannic Majesty, to be employed by him in any part of Europe he should wish it: and that for so long as his Majesty shall take an active share in the war at present carrying on on the Continent, and for three years, if after the expi-

ration of that time, or sooner, fortunate events should procure to Europe the enjoyment of a solid and lasting peace. In the latter case, viz. if a continental peace should be effected before the expiration of the three years, his Britannic Majesty shall be at liberty to dispense with the service of that corps, having made known to his Electoral Highness his resolution, three months before hand, during which period the salary and other wages of the troops shall continue to be paid on the same footing, and in the same manner, as stipulated in the subjoined articles.

Art. 2. The whole corps, as well as the general appointed by his Electoral Highness for its command, shall be under the orders of that general-in-chief of the united armies whom his Britannic Majesty shall mention for that purpose. They shall, in every particular, be treated upon the same footing as the troops of the power in whose army they shall act. The said corps shall be entirely independent of those troops which his Electoral Highness has besides to furnish to the army of the empire as a contingent.

Art. 3—12. To defray the expenses of raising and equipping them, his Britannic Majesty pays for every exercised and equipped horseman 80 dollars banco, and for every equipped and exercised foot soldier 30 dollars banco, the banco dollar at 4*s*. 9$\frac{3}{4}$*d*. The corps shall march eight days after it shall have been requested.

As from the interrupted communication between England and the continent, the negociations of the present treaty have been greatly protracted, the pay of the troops shall commence from the 28th of January of the present year. The whole maintenance of the corps shall be on the same footing as that of the Imperial armies. In case his Britannic Majesty should think it advisable to dispense with the service of this corps, he will pay the subsidies for the remaining time of the duration of the treaty, on the basis of the treaty of subsidies with Hesse-Cassel, of the 10th of April, 1793, and over and above one month's pay and emoluments. The deserters from the troops of Mentz shall be delivered up, and such of the troops as shall be made prisoners of war are to be exchanged in the same manner as other troops in English pay. His Electoral Highness will always keep the number of the troops complete. The British commissary may frequently review the troops, and demand reports of their state. His Britannic Majesty pays 30 rix-dollars banco for every recruit, to recomplete the corps, deserters excepted. Artillery, and other warlike stores, that shall be lost before the enemy, are to be replaced at the expense of his Britannic Majesty.

Art. 13. His Electoral Highness promises not to enter into negociations with France, as long as the present treaty shall be in force, unknown to his Britannic Majesty, but shall communicate to his Majesty, or to the commissioners authorized by him for that purpose, all communications and proposals made to him on that head.

In case the present article should not be observed, his Britannic

Majesty shall no longer consider himself bound to fulfil such other engagements which would still remain to be executed, and will be fully authorized to consider as null and void every thing agreed upon in the present treaty. His Britannic Majesty on his part, promises, during the term of the present treaty, not to conclude a peace with France, without including in it his Electoral Highness, and regulating his interest by means of it.

Art. 14. His Britannic Majesty promises to be mindful of the security of the territories and possessions of his Electoral Highness, and as far as depends on him, and the circumstances of the war and the good of the general cause shall allow it, to direct military operations in such a manner that the states of his Electoral Highness, at present occupied by his own troops, or those of the united armies, be covered, and, as much as possible, spared. Should, nevertheless, notwithstanding the measures taken for that purpose, any part of the above-mentioned states of his Electoral Highness be attacked by the enemy, in consequence of the present treaty, his Britannic Majesty, conjointly with his allies, will concert measures to procure his Electoral Highness an indemnification proportionate to the loss which one or other of the provinces may have suffered by such attack.

Art. 15. To give to his Electoral Highness a still greater proof of his friendship, and of his sincere participation in the welfare of the electorate, his Britannic Majesty will proceed in the same manner with respect to the other possessions of his Electoral Highness, so as the same shall be reconquered and wrested from the hands of the enemy; and will, conjointly with his allies, actively intercede, on the conclusion of a general peace, that the Electoral House be restored to the possession of the estates which it enjoyed at the commencement of the present war, such as they were at that time.

Art. 16. The corps stipulated in the present treaty may be increased to 6000 men, by means of an augmentation of the expenses for raising and equipping the troops, as well as the pay and other emoluments, to be calculated on the basis of the present treaty, in proportion to the increase of men which the high contracting powers may agree upon.

Art. 17. The conditions and articles of the present convention shall be communicated to his Imperial and Royal Majesty, the Roman Emperor. He shall be at liberty to join in it, as far as the nature of the different articles agreed upon shall permit, as well as in all alterations and additions that might hereafter be made by the high contracting parties.

Art. 18. The ratifications of the present treaty shall be exchanged within four weeks, or sooner, if possible. In testimony thereof, the underwritten have signed, and affixed their seals to the present treaty.

(Signed) W. Wickham.
Henry Count Spaur.

Done at Psora, near Donaueschingen, April 30, 1800.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Merry, the British Minister at Copenhagen, to Count Bernstorff.

Copenhagen, April 10, 1800.

The importance which the Danish court must necessarily attach to the event which happened in the month of December last, in the neighbourhood of Gibraltar, between some frigates of the King and the frigate of his Danish Majesty, named Haufersen, commanded by captain Van Dockum, and the orders which, in consequence, have been sent me by my court upon this point, impose upon me the painful duty of repeating to you, in writing, the complaint which I had the honour to make to you upon this point by word of mouth, in the audience which you had the goodness to grant me for this purpose three days ago.

The facts of this affair are in themselves very simple, and I think that we are already agreed on them. The facts are, that the English frigates met the Danish frigate in open sea, having under her a convoy of vessels. The English commander, thinking it proper to exercise the right of visiting this convoy, sent on board the Danish frigate, demanding from the captain his destination. The latter having answered, that then he was going to Gibraltar, it was replied, that since he was going to stop in that bay, no visit should be paid to his convoy, but that if he did not mean to cast anchor there, the visit should be paid. Captain Van Dockum then informed the officer who went on board him, that he would make resistance to such a step. Upon this answer, the English commander made the signal for examining the convoy. A boat from the Emerald frigate was proceeding to execute this order: a fire of musquetry from the Danish frigate fell upon them, and one of the English sailors was severely wounded. This frigate also took possession of a boat of the English frigate the Flora, and did not release it till after the English commander had given Captain Van Dockum to understand, that if he did not immediately give it up, he would commence hostilities. The Danish frigate then went with her convoy into the bay of Gibraltar. There some discussion took place on this affair, between Lord Keith, admiral and commander-in-chief of his Majesty's naval forces in the Mediterranean, and Captain Van Dockum, whom Lord Keith could not but consider as personally responsible, and guilty of the injury done to one of his Majesty's subjects, not thinking it possible that this captain could have been authorized by instructions from his court. To clear up this point, Admiral Keith sent an officer to Captain Dockum to entreat him to shew, and to explain the nature of his instructions; but he said to the officer, that they were in substance, that he should not permit his convoy to be visited, and that, in firing upon the boats, he had only discharged his orders. The same captain afterwards made a similar reply, upon his word of honour, in speaking with Lord Keith, and in the presence of the governor of Gibraltar; but he pro-

mised at the same time to appear before the judge, and to give security for his appearance; and upon this promise he was told that he might return on board. Having entered his boat he sent a letter to the admiral, in which he refused to give the necessary security. These discussions were terminated by a declaration which Lord Keith made to Captain Van Dockum, that if he failed to surrender himself, thus wishing to frustrate justice, the affair should be represented to his court.

Such, sir, is the state of facts which have given rise to the complaint that I am commissioned to urge to the Danish government. I flatter myself that you will find it correct, and conformable to what is stated in the correspondence between Lord Keith and Captain Van Dockum, of which, as you did me the honour to tell me, you are in possession.

The right of visiting and examining merchant ships in the open sea, of whatever nation they may be, and whatever may be their cargoes and destination, is considered by the British government as the incontestable right of every nation at war—a right founded on the law of nations, and which has been generally admitted and recognized. It follows, therefore, that the resistance of a commander of a ship of war, offered by a power at amity, must necessarily be considered as an act of hostility, and such as the King persuades himself cannot be enjoined to the commanders of the ships of war of his Danish Majesty in their instructions. His Britannic Majesty, therefore, entertains no doubt, that his Danish Majesty will have felt much displeasure at hearing of this violent and insupportable conduct on the part of an officer in his service; and the King is persuaded of the alacrity with which his Danish Majesty will afford him that formal disavowal and that apology which he has so good a right to expect in such a case, together with a reparation proportioned to the nature of the offence committed.

I am specially commissioned, sir, to demand of you this disavowal, apology, and reparation. The confidence which I must feel in the known justice of his Danish Majesty, leads me to hope that this simple and amicable representation will be sufficient to obtain it with that dispatch which so important a case requires; but I must not at the same time conceal from you, that, great and sincere as is the desire of the King, my master, to maintain and cultivate the most strict harmony and friendship with the court of Denmark, nothing shall induce him to depart from this just demand.

(Signed) Anth. Merry.

Reply of the Danish Minister to the above Note of Mr. Merry.

Both custom and treaties have no doubt conferred on the belligerent powers the right of searching neutral vessels, not under convoy, by their ships of war, &c.; but as this right is not a natural one, but merely conventional, its effects cannot be arbitrarily extended beyond what is agreed to and conceded, without violence and injustice. But none of the maritime

and independent powers of Europe, as far as the undersigned has observed, have ever acknowledged the right of permitting neutral ships to be searched, when escorted by one or several ships of war; and it is evident they could not do so without exposing their flag to degradation, and without forfeiting a certain essential proportion of their own rights.

Far from acquiescing in these pretensions, which at present are no longer acknowledged, most of those powers have been of opinion, since this question has been stirred, that they ought to hold out an opposite principle in all their conventions respecting objects of this nature, in conformity with a number of treaties concluded between the most respectable courts of Europe, which contain proofs of the propriety of adhering to that principle.

The distinction attempted to be established between ships with and without convoy, is moreover equally just and natural—for the former cannot be supposed to be in the same predicament as the latter.

The search insisted upon by the privateers or state ships of the belligerent powers, with respect to neutral bottoms not accompanied by convoy, is founded on the right of acknowledging their flag, and of examining their papers. The only question is to ascertain their partiality and the regularity of their instructions. When the papers of these ships are found in strict order, no farther examination can be legally enforced; and it is consequently the authority of the government, in whose name these documents have been drawn up and issued, that procures for the belligerent power the required security.

But a neutral government, in escorting by the armed ships of the state, the commercial ships of the subject, thereby alone holds out to the belligerent powers a more authentic and positive pledge than that which is furnished by the documents with which these ships are furnished. Nor can a neutral government, without incurring dishonour and disgrace, admit, in this respect, the least doubt or suspicion, which must be as injurious to that government as they would be unjust on the part of those who should entertain or manifest them.

And if it were to be admitted as a principle, that the convoys granted by a sovereign do not secure ships of his subjects from being visited by the state ships or privateers of foreigners, it would follow that the most formidable squadron should not have the right of relieving from a search the ships entrusted to its protection, if that search was exacted by the most pitiful privateer.

But it cannot be reasonably supposed that the English government, which has uniformly, and on the most just grounds, shewn a marked jealousy for the honour of its flag, and who in the maritime wars, in which it has taken no part, has nevertheless asserted with vigour the rites of neutrality, would ever consent, should such circumstances occur, to an humiliating vexation of that nature; and the King of Denmark reposes too much confidence in the equity and loyalty of his Britannic Majesty to harbour a suspicion that it is his intention to arrogate a right which,

under similar circumstances, he would not grant to any other independent power.

It seems sufficient to apply to the fact in question, the natural result of these observations, in order to make it evident, that the captain of the King's frigate, by repulsing a violence which he had no right to expect, has done no more than his duty; and that it was on the part of the English frigates, that a violation of the rights of a neutral sovereign, and of a power friendly to his Britannic Majesty, has been committed.

The King had hesitated to signify any formal complaint on this head, as long as he regarded it as a misconception which might have been done away by amicable explanations between the respective commanders of the naval force which the two governments kept up in the Mediterranean; but seeing himself, much to his regret, disappointed in that hope, he has only to insist on the reparation that is due to him, and which the justice and the friendship of his Britannic Majesty seem justly to be called upon to secure to him.

(Signed) C. Bernstorff.

Note delivered by Lord Grenville to Count Wedel Jarlsberg, his Danish Majesty's Minister, respecting the Capture of the Freya Frigate.

The undersigned, his Majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, has had the honour to lay before the King the note which he received yesterday from Count Wedel Jarlsberg, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary from the King of Denmark.

It was with the greatest surprise and concern that his Majesty received the first accounts of the transaction to which that note relates. Studiously desiring to maintain always with the court of Copenhagen those relations of friendship and alliance which had so long subsisted between Great Britain and Denmark, his Majesty has, during the whole course of his reign, given repeated proofs of these dispositions, which he had flattered himself were reciprocally entertained by the government of his Danish Majesty. And notwithstanding the expressions made use of in Count Wedel's note, his Majesty cannot even yet persuade himself that it is really by the orders of the King of Denmark, that this state of harmony and peace has been thus suddenly disturbed, or that a Danish officer can have acted conformably to his instructions, in actually commencing hostilities against this country, by a wanton and unprovoked attack upon a British ship of war, bearing his Majesty's flag, and navigating the British seas.

The impressions which such an event has naturally excited in his Majesty's breast have received additional force from the perusal of a note, in which satisfaction and reparation are claimed as due to the aggressors from those who have sustained this insult and injury.

His Majesty, allowing for the difficulty in which all neutral nations were placed by the unprecedented conduct and peculiar character of his enemy, has, on many occasions, during the present war,

forborne to assert his rights, and to claim from the Danish government the impartial discharge of the duties of that neutrality which it professed a disposition to maintain. But the deliberate and open aggression which he has now sustained cannot be passed over in a similar manner. The lives of his brave seamen have been sacrificed, the honour of his flag has been insulted, almost in sight of his own coasts; and these proceedings are supported by calling in question those indisputable rights, founded on the clearest principles of the law of nations, from which his Majesty never can depart, and the temperate exercise of which is indispensably necessary to the maintenance of the dearest interests of his empire.

The undersigned has, in all his reports to his Majesty, rendered full justice to the personal dispositions which he has uniformly found on the part of count Wedel, to remove all grounds of misunderstanding between the two countries. He cannot, therefore, now forbear to urge him to represent this matter to his court in its true light, to do away those false impressions, under which (if at all) a conduct so injurious to his Majesty can have been authorized, and to consult the interests of both countries, but especially those of Denmark, by bearing his testimony to the dispositions with which his Majesty's government is animated; and by recommending to his court, with all that earnestness which the importance of the occasion both justifies and requires, that these dispositions may, in so critical a conjuncture, find an adequate return: and that a speedy and satisfactory answer may be given to the demand which his Majesty has directed to be made in his name at Copenhagen, both of reparation for what is past, and of security against the repetition of these outrages.

In order to give the greater weight to his Majesty's representations on this subject, and to afford at the same time the means of such explanations respecting it, as may avert the necessity of those extremities to which his Majesty looks with the greatest reluctance, his Majesty has charged lord Whitworth with a special mission to the court of Denmark, and that minister will immediately sail for his destination.

That court cannot but see in this determination a new proof of the king's desire to conciliate the preservation of peace with the maintenance of the fundamental rights and interests of his empire.

(Signed) Grenville.

July 30, 1800.

Extract from the official Note transmitted by Lord Whitworth to Count Bernstorff.

August 21, 1800.

The English minister supports the principles which had been established in the first note, and says, that if the principle be once admitted, that a Danish frigate may legally guarantee from all search six merchant ships, it follows naturally, that that same power, or any other power whatever, may, by means of the smallest ship of war, extend the same protection to all the commerce of

the enemy, in all parts of the world; it will only be necessary to find in the whole circle of the universe a single neutral state, however inconsiderable it may be, well disposed enough towards our enemies to lend them its flag, and to cover all their commerce, without running the least risk; for when examination can no longer take place, fraud fears no discovery. In the note which the count de Bernstorff has just transmitted the undersigned perceives with pain, that far from wishing to satisfy the just demand of the king his master, the Danish government still persists in supporting, not only the principle upon which it founds its aggression, but also the right of defending it by means of arms. In this state of things, the undersigned has no other alternative than to perform strictly his duty, by insisting anew on the satisfaction which the king his master requires, and by declaring to M. de Bernstorff, that, in spite of his sincere desire to be the instrument of the reconciliation of the two courts, he shall be obliged to leave Copenhagen with all the English mission in the space of a week, reckoning from the day of the signing of this note, unless, in the interval, the Danish government shall adopt counsels more conformable to the interests of the two countries, and above all, to those of Denmark, with whom his Majesty has constantly desired, and still desires, to live in terms of friendship and alliance. The undersigned, therefore, has the honour to repeat to the count de Bernstorff, that he is enjoined to quit Copenhagen with the king's mission in a week, unless a satisfactory reply be given before the expiration of that term.

He requests the count de Bernstorff to accept the assurances of his most distinguished consideration.

Extract from the Reply of Count Bernstorff.

August 26.

If Lord Whitworth thinks to destroy the force of the arguments developed in that note (note to Mr. Merry, of the 19th April) by the reflection, that, by the right of guaranteeing from search merchantmen, under the convoy of a ship of war, the least powerful neutral state would acquire the faculty of covering with impunity, with its flag, an illicit commerce—the undersigned entreats him to observe, that the government which should degrade itself to the point of lending its flag to such a fraud, would by that conduct pass the bounds of neutrality, and would in consequence authorize the belligerent power, to the prejudice of which the fraud had been committed, to adopt measures which ordinary circumstances would not admit. The state which neglects its duties exposes itself, without doubt, to the risk of losing its rights; but the suspicion of degrading conduct would be as injurious to the government which should not deserve it, as it would be little honourable to the government which should advance it without foundation; but this cause cannot exist between Denmark and Great Britain. The English government is not ignorant, without doubt, that the Danish officers who

command convoys are personally responsible that the cargoes of the ships belonging to those convoys do not contain articles prohibited by the laws of nations, or by the treaties subsisting between Denmark and the belligerent powers; and it is easy to feel that there must be incomparably more difficulty in eluding the vigilance of the officers than the researches of those who pretend to exercise on these ships a right, as odious in its principle, as delusive in its effect. The essential difference between the principles of the two courts introducing into this discussion particular difficulties, there does not appear to be a more proper mean of removing them, than by having recourse to the mediation of a third power; and the king hesitates the less in proposing to his Britannic Majesty the mediation of the Emperor of Russia, as that monarch, the friend and ally of both sovereigns, will certainly have nothing more at heart than to conciliate them, and to prevent a fatal misunderstanding. The undersigned does not doubt that Lord Whitworth will see in the proposition a new proof of the moderation of the king, and of his desire to preserve the friendship of his Britannic Majesty. The king would the more regret seeing him quit Copenhagen, because his Majesty had considered his mission as a pledge of the conciliatory intentions of the court of London, and because he had flattered himself that his personal dispositions would contribute to the accelerating an accommodation, for which he has offered him, and still offers him, the greatest facility.

Bernstorff.

Reply of Lord Whitworth.

August 27.

Lord Whitworth requests the Count de Bernstorff to observe, that if he does not animadvert upon the arguments he has made use of upon this occasion, it is because he thinks he shall render a much more essential service to his court, as well as to that of Copenhagen, by abstaining from all that might remove them from the object which both ought to have equally at heart. With respect to the mediation which the Count de Bernstorff proposes as the most proper means of doing away the difficulties of this discussion, the undersigned thinks he can reply with certainty, that, in spite of the apparent misunderstanding which may have existed between the two courts, there is no sovereign in Europe to whom the king would refer himself, with respect to his dearest interests, with more confidence, than the emperor of Russia; no one is more ready than the undersigned to do justice to the loyalty and zeal of that sovereign for the good cause. But he believes that, in a similar case, it would be useless to recur even to that intervention, however respectable it may be; and that the court of Denmark, introducing into the discussion the same frankness as the court of London, and the same desire of preventing speedily all objects of fatal misunderstanding, will find out the means of effecting this object without difficulty.

Whitworth.

Preliminary Convention between the Courts of Copenhagen and

London, signed at Copenhagen, August 29, 1800.

Their Danish and Britannic Majesties, animated with an equal desire, by a friendly accommodation, to prevent any disagreeable consequences from following the difference which has arisen between the crowns, from the result of the rencontre between the Danish frigate La Freya and some English ships of war, and to re-establish, in all their extent, the ties of friendship and confidence which have long united them, have, for that purpose, named and appointed, as their plenipotentiaries, his Danish Majesty, the Count de Bernstorff, his chamberlain and secretary of state for foreign affairs; and his Britannic Majesty, Lord Whitworth, knight of the order of the Bath; who, after having interchanged their credentials, have agreed on the following articles:

Art. I. The question, with regard to the right of searching neutral ships, sailing under convoy, shall be referred to a future discussion.

II. The Danish frigate La Freya, and the vessels which were under her convoy, shall be instantly released, and the said frigate shall find in the ports of his Britannic Majesty, every thing necessary for her repair, according to the usage followed among friendly and allied powers.

III. To prevent similar rencontres from breeding disputes of a similar nature, his Danish Majesty shall suspend his convoys till the ulterior explanation upon this point shall have given rise to a definitive treaty.

IV. If it should come to pass, however, that any rencontres of the same kind should take place before the instructions to prevent them shall have had their effect, they shall not be productive of any serious consequences; and the arrangement of whatever may result from them shall be considered as comprehended in the object of the present convention.

V. This convention shall be ratified in three weeks, to be counted from the day on which it is signed, or sooner, if possible.

In faith of which, we, the undersigned plenipotentiaries of their Danish and Britannic Majesties, have signed, in their names, and in virtue of our powers, the present convention, and have affixed to it seals bearing our arms.

Done at Copenhagen, this 29th day of August, 1800.

(Signed) Whitworth. (L. S.)
C. Bernstorff. (L. S.)

Circular Letter addressed by the Spanish Minister to the Foreign Ministers at the Court of Spain, relative to a Violation of the Right of Neutral Flags, alleged to have been committed by the English at Barcelona.

Sir,

I have the honour of communicating to you a copy of the memorial which the king my master has desired me to transmit to his minister at Stockholm, in order to be delivered to the minister of his Swedish Majesty. The principles which are there established, and the event which gave rise to them, are of such a nature as must interest all the commercial nations

of Europe, and particularly neutral princes. His Majesty is already persuaded, that your government will consider the affair under the same point of view, and he flatters himself that it will concur in effacing, as far as possible, from the annals of this war, an action so destructive to that confidence and hospitality which the flags of neutral powers ought to enjoy.

I renew to you, Sir, on this occasion, assurances of my consideration and esteem; and am, Sir, yours, &c.

(Signed) Chevalier d'Urquijo.

At St. Ildephonso,
September 17, 1800.

Letter to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of his Swedish Majesty, on the same Subject.

Sir,

The king, my master, has seen, with the liveliest indignation, by a report made by the consul of his Swedish Majesty, at Barcelona, to the captain-general of Catalonia, containing a declaration of Captain Rudbart, of the Swedish galliot Hoffnung, that on the 4th of September last, in the afternoon, two English ships and a frigate forced the said captain, after having examined his papers, and found them regular, to take on board English officers, and a considerable number of sailors, and to suffer himself to be towed, in the evening, by several English boats, as far as the road of Barcelona, and under the cannon of the batteries: that the English, having compelled the said captain and his crew to be silent, by holding a pistol to his breast, took possession of the rudder, and at nine in the evening, by means of the said galliot, and the boats which surrounded it, made an attack on two frigates under Spanish colours, which were there at anchor, and which having no reason to suspect that a friendly and neutral vessel could conceal enemies on board, and thus serve to favour a most treacherous attack, were in a manner surprised, and forced to surrender. For the other particulars, and the violence exercised by the English in the Swedish vessel, I refer to the declaration of the captain, hereto annexed.

The king, my master, cannot consider this event but as interesting, and wounding the rights of all the powers of Europe, England excepted; and in particular as an insult of the highest magnitude to the flag of his Swedish Majesty. It is evident, indeed, that the belligerent powers, in admitting neutral ships into their roads and ports, wish to soften the scourge of war, and to maintain those commercial relations between one nation and another, which their mutual wants require. Every thing then that tends to render this navigation subject to suspicion and danger, equally wounds the rights and interests of all nations. But, in the present case, the rights and honour of the Swedish flag have been violated, in a manner so insulting, that few such instances are to be found in the maritime history of Europe. This action, should it remain unpunished, would tend to embroil two friendly nations, to annihilate their commercial relations, and to make the flag which should suffer it, to be considered as a secret auxiliary of the hostile power, and thus force Spain to pursue those

measures, which the interests of its subjects, and the security of its ports, would require.

The king, my master, however, has ordered me to convey to his Swedish Majesty an account of this grievous insult offered to his flag: and not doubting of the resentment he will feel on account of a proceeding so base and disloyal, on the part of the naval officers of his Britannic Majesty, he expects that the court of Stockholm will require of the English ministry, in the most urgent manner, that the officers who have rendered themselves culpable on this occasion shall be severely punished, and that the two Spanish frigates, surprised and carried from the road of Barcelona, by a stratagem so contrary to the rights of nations and the rules of war, shall be immediately restored, with their cargoes, as being illegally captured by means of a neutral vessel, which served as an instrument in the hands of the assailants.

His Catholic Majesty thinks himself so much better founded to consider the success of this remonstrance as certain, since the English government itself cannot dissemble, that its enemies, by following this example, might employ neutral vessels in the like manner, to infest its harbours, and to occasion great damage in all its ports. But if, contrary to all expectation, the steps taken by his Swedish Majesty, to obtain from the court of London reparation for the insult offered to his flag, as well as restitution of the two frigates, should not be attended with success before the end of this year, his Majesty will see himself obliged, though with regret, to pursue, in regard to the Swedish flag, such measures of precaution as may in future protect his ports and harbours from an abuse so dangerous, and so insulting, as that which has been lately committed by the English.

I have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) The Chevalier d'Urquijo.

At St. Ildephonso,
September 19, 1800.

Note transmitted by the Swedish Ministry to the Minister of his Catholic Majesty at Stockholm, in Answer to the Representations of the Spanish Court; dated Ildephonso, September 17, 1800.

His Swedish Majesty has understood, with the utmost concern, the violence used by some officers of the English navy, towards a merchant ship from Swedish Pomerania, by employing the same in a hostile enterprise against two frigates in the road of Barcelona.

He perfectly accords with his Catholic Majesty with respect to the light in which this new abuse of power is to be considered, and the common danger which such examples must occasion both to neutral and belligerent powers. His Majesty will therefore immediately make remonstrances to the court of London, to which he is equally induced by his friendly connections with the Spanish court, and the violation of the neutrality of his flag.

In these remonstrances, which will have for their first object the rights of the Swedish flag and of Swedish subjects, his Catholic Majesty will certainly admit it to be right that the king should consi-

der himself as the principal party; but while he attends to his own interests, he will not neglect those of Spain. Justice requires that what has been obtained in an unjustifiable manner shall be restored. His Majesty will demand, but without answering for the consequence of this measure. He will, when it shall be time, make confidential communications to the Spanish court, with respect to the dispositions which the English government shall manifest on the subject; but the justice of his Catholic Majesty will undoubtedly leave to him the free choice of the forms and means to be employed in this negociation, nor attempt to limit any precise time or mode of restoration. Spain and all Europe are acquainted with the long process which Sweden has carried on in London on the subject of restoration, and there can be no reason to expect that speedier justice will be done in a cause which requires restitution to be made to an enemy.

In the mean time his Swedish Majesty cannot consider himself as liable to any kind of responsibility with respect to an affair, to the causes of which he was an entire stranger. According to the statement of the Spanish court itself, it was, under the circumstances with which it took place, not supposed that the Swedish government and nation were involved in it. It would be much to be lamented, should the injustice of a third power be able to break connections which several direct discussions during the war have not altered. Unfortunate events of this nature have frequently taken place, and some as if they were peculiar to the Spanish ports. A Swedish ship, which was taken in the harbour of Passage itself, a second Swede plundered and entirely destroyed by the French in Alicant, and several others taken by the French privateers at the entrance of the harbour of Malaga, have occasioned his Swedish Majesty to make friendly representations and remonstrances to the court of Spain, to procure respect and security to the trade of his kingdom. His Majesty would have been happy to have then seen the same energy with which it now makes complaints; but the fruitlessness of his remonstrances never induced him to pass the bounds of that moderation and candour, which should be cultivated by friendly courts, and to which his Majesty trusts the court of Spain will return, when it shall have carefully inquired into the true causes of the different accidents which have occasionally taken place in its ports.

The undersigned, chancellor of the court, has the honour to make the present representations to the Chevalier de la Huerta, envoy extraordinary from his Catholic Majesty, as an answer to his communication of the 17th of September, and avails himself with pleasure of the opportunity to express his esteem, &c.

(Signed) F. Von. Ehrenheim.

Drottningholm,
October 22, 1800.

Note from the Swedish Minister for Foreign Affairs to the Minister of his Prussian Majesty at Stockholm, on the Subject of the Affair at Barcelona.

Having stated to the king the manner in which his Prussian Majesty has viewed the memorial of the court of Spain, on the subject of an insult offered to the Swedish flag by the English, the undersigned, chancellor of the court, has been commanded to express to M. de Tarach, the grateful acknowledgments of his Majesty for the constant attention which the court of Berlin has shewn to the interests of the neutral flags, and the full confidence which he reposes in the mode in which they are regarded by that court. The king has viewed with surprise the public responsibility to which the court of Spain has called Sweden upon this occasion, and the menaces which it has thereto added: notwithstanding all the vexations to which neutral flags have been exposed during the present war, this is the most oppressive proceeding which they have yet experienced. Being thus incessantly placed between the offence and the reparation, they must soon be dragged into a concern in the war, or cease to appear on the seas where it is carried on. These truths, involving consequences so important to the other neutral powers, as well as to Sweden, his Swedish Majesty could not, in general, take upon himself any share of responsibility for the improper use which the belligerent powers may make of the Swedish vessels which they may seize upon. This principle appears to his Swedish Majesty so well founded, that he flatters himself the court of Berlin will give it all the support which justice and the common interest appear equally to demand; and it has been hitherto respected amidst all the outrages which have been committed on both sides, without which the war must have become general. Had the Ottoman Porte, Russia, and England, attached such responsibility to all the flags in the port of Alexandria; had they claimed the restitution of Egypt from the respective governments, because their merchant vessels had been compelled to carry French troops to take that country by surprise; and had they used the same forms of application, and insisted on the same peremptory terms and conditions, all commerce, all neutrality, must have been at once annihilated. His Majesty, therefore, conceived that the violence offered to the Swedish flag at Barcelona, was not to be treated in any other manner than that of which he had previously to complain, and he reserves to himself the privilege of demanding reparation for the injuries done to his subjects, or his flag, at such opportunity, and by such means, as the particular situation may afford. His Majesty, however, ought not to conceal, that, in the present case, the injury which has thence resulted to a friendly power gives him so much the more uneasiness, as he regards the capture made by the English as very illegal, and he is anxiously desirous of being able, by his representations, to contribute to its restitution. His Majesty will certainly make every exertion to effect an arrangement, upon which the continuance of amicable relations between Sweden and Spain is unexpectedly made to depend; but he cannot, at present, take those steps with

respect to the two frigates which he has not hitherto taken with respect to his own convoys, nor give the court of Spain any better hopes than he has himself.

The undersigned embraces this occasion, &c.

D'Ehrenheim.

Reply of the Spanish Minister to the Note transmitted to him by the Swedish Minister, Oct. 22.

Stockholm, Dec. 29, 1800.

Sir,

I have this moment received from my court an answer to the despatches, in which I communicated the first steps I had taken with his Swedish Majesty, when I had the honour to present my first note on the subject of the outrage of which the English were guilty in the road of Barcelona.

The king, my master, has observed with regret the coldness with which the Swedish court has received the complaint, while it has confined itself to feeble and indecisive measures, from which it does not even indulge the hope of any advantage. This view of the matter shews the small interest with which Sweden is prepared to act in the business. I cannot conceal from you, Sir, that this inactivity, which is observed in the applications of the court of Sweden to that of London, might afford room to believe that this negociation will be connected with other objects of private interest which demand temporising measures, incompatible with that energy and zeal which his Catholic Majesty expected to see displayed by his Swedish Majesty, in regard to an affair, which, as it involves the honour of his flag, would have afforded him an occasion to prove to Europe the warm part he takes in the interest of the maritime powers, as well as to testify the value he puts upon the good understanding which hitherto has prevailed between the two courts. In pursuance of a new order from my court, I repeat, and formally insist upon what I demanded in my last note of the 17th of October. I fondly flatter myself, that his Swedish Majesty will adopt far more active measures than the contents of your note allowed me to hope. It is not probable that you will expose Swedish ships to all the severity of the measures which circumstances require to be exercised against suspected vessels, and whose conduct might be considered as connived at, unless the Swedish court receives from England the most ample reparation respecting the affair of Barcelona.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) The Chevalier de Huerta.

Declaration issued by the Prussian Commandant on his entering Ritzebuttel.

By the express supreme command of his Majesty the King of Prussia, Frederic William III. my most gracious master, it is hereby made known that the march of the troops intrusted to my command, forming a part of the combined army of observation, employed in the protection of the neutrality of the north of Germany, and the temporary occupation of the bailiwic of Ritzebuttel, and the village of Cuxhaven, by these troops, has

been caused by a misunderstanding which had happened with respect to a Prussian ship. Though after several fruitless requests and amicable attempts had been made, this misunderstanding is now happily done away, yet as the marching of troops, rendered necessary by the inefficacy of these requests and amicable attempts in the beginning, had once been ordered, and already commenced, his Majesty must have deemed it the more expedient to let it be continued, for the purpose of occupying the bailiwic of Ritzebuttel, to prevent similar events, and henceforth to watch himself over the maintenance of the neutrality, and over the security (agreeably to the principles of neutrality) of this place, so important for all states situated within the line of demarcation. This is the sole object of the arrival of the troops intrusted to my command. As their commanding officer, I shall therefore be particularly solicitous in maintaining public tranquillity and security, especially with respect to relations of neutrality; and in vigorously protecting the civil branches of the Hamburgh government of this place, as well as all other inhabitants and strangers arriving here, with all their rights, legal relations, affairs, business, and property, wherever it may be requisite; but principally commerce and navigation, which shall not in the least be injured or restrained, but, on the contrary, better secured and preserved in their tranquil and undisturbed course, without, however, making the least alteration in the constitution and public measures of the place; on the other hand, every person must behave in a peaceable, quiet, and proper manner to the King's troops under my command; otherwise he will have to ascribe to himself the disagreeable consequences which will inevitably arise from a contrary behaviour.

(Signed) Wedell,
Colonel and commander of the royal Prussian regiment of infantry, von Schladen.

Russian Edict.

In consequence of the order of his excellency Chevalier Popoff, major-general commandant at Riga, of the 28th instant (August), it is hereby made known to your honourable senate, that his Imperial Majesty, after having received the account of the violent behaviour of the English against Denmark, and also that one of their fleets had passed the Sound, by which, the passage being blocked up, may have great influence on the whole trade of the Baltic seas, he has been pleased to order, that, for the security against any disadvantage that may arise to the Russian commerce, so long as the real intention of the English court shall be unknown, there shall be laid a sequestration upon all property belonging to the English; and that it be observed, in the strictest manner, that none thereof be transported out of Russia without permission of his Majesty; that, however, no part of the property be taken away from them, nor themselves be disturbed in their business; according to all

which, every one is to govern himself in the most particular manner.

(Signed) Schwart, secretary,
Given at Riga Senate-house,
the 29th of August, 1800.

Notice published in the Petersburgh Gazette of the 10th of September.

Several political circumstances inducing his Majesty the emperor to think that a rupture of the friendship with England may ensue, an army, consisting of five corps, is, on this account, to be collected, by his Majesty's supreme command, under the orders of the general of cavalry von der Pahlen, viz. near Goldingen, under the command of general baron Springporten, of four regiments of horse, six of infantry, four battalions, and 45 field-pieces; near Lemsel, under the command of the general of cavalry, Prince Alexander of Wirtemberg, three regiments and five squadrons of horse, and six regiments and four battalions of foot; near Rumfer, under his imperial highness the grand duke Czarevitsch Constantine Pavlovitsch, four regiments of horse, six regiments and four battalions of foot, and 45 pieces of artillery; near Coporie, under the grand duke and successor to the throne, Alexander Pavlovitsch, three regiments and eleven squadrons of horse, all the regiments of guards, and 33 pieces of ordnance; near Arensburg, under lieutenant-general Tuschkow, three regiments of infantry, three squadrons of horse, and 21 pieces of cannon.

Letter from the Russian Ambassador at Berlin, to the Russian Consul at Hamburgh.

September 22.

I have this moment received a letter from M. Count Rostopschin, in which his excellency mentions, that his Imperial Majesty, our gracious monarch, has been pleased to take off the embargo on English ships, and on the property of Englishmen in Russia.

Refusal of the Emperor of Russia to receive an Ambassador from the Emperor of Germany.—(From the Petersburgh Gazette of October 15.)

According to advices received from the privy counsellor, M. de Kalistchew, it has been made known that the emperor of Germany intended to send an extraordinary embassy to the court of his Imperial Majesty, to offer excuses for what happened at Ancona; and for this purpose he had named the prince of Auersperg, a lieutenant-general of the armies, and knight of the golden fleece, as his ambassador. It has not, however, pleased his Imperial Majesty either to accept the embassy or the ambassador, particularly in the person of the prince of Auersperg, who, during the journey of her Imperial Highness the grand duchess Alexandra Pavlovna, allowed himself to offer her several indignities (grossiertés). His Majesty orders that no answer shall be returned to this notification.

Substance of the Declaration of the Emperor of Russia relative to an armed Neutrality by Sea.

That on mounting his throne he found his states involved in a war, provoked by a great nation, which had fallen into dissolution; that conceiving the coalition a mere measure of preservation, this motive induced him to join it; that he did not at that time think it necessary to adopt the system of an armed neutrality on sea for the protection of commerce, not doubting but that the sincerity of his allies, and their reciprocal interests, would be sufficient to secure the flag of the northern powers from insult. But that being disappointed in this expectation by the perfidious enterprises of a great power, which had sought to enchain the liberty of the seas by capturing Danish convoys, the independence of the maritime powers of the North appeared to him to be openly menaced. He consequently considers it a measure of necessity to have recourse to an armed neutrality, the success of which was acknowledged in the time of the American war.

Extract from the Petersburgh Court Gazette of the 7th of November, 1800.

Whereas we have learned that the island of Malta, lately in possession of the French, has been surrendered to the English troops; but as it is yet uncertain whether the agreement entered into on the 30th of December, 1798, will be fulfilled, according to which, this island, after capture, is to be restored to the order of St. John of Jerusalem, of which his Majesty, the emperor of all the Russias, is grand-master, his Imperial Majesty being determined to defend his rights, has been pleased to command that an embargo shall be laid on all English ships in the ports of his empire till the above-mentioned convention shall be fulfilled.

Order of the Emperor of Russia laying an Embargo on English Vessels.—(From the Court Gazette.)

Petersburgh, Nov. 18 *and* 23.

The crews of two English ships in the harbour of Narva, on the arrival of a military force to put them under arrest, in consequence of the embargo laid on them, having made resistance, fired pistols, and forced a Russian sailor into the water, and afterwards weighed anchor, and sailed away; his Imperial Majesty has been pleased to order that the remainder of the vessels in that harbour shall be burned.

His Imperial Majesty having received from his chamberlain, Italinskoi, at Palermo, an account of the taking of Malta, has been pleased to direct that the following note shall be transmitted to all the diplomatic corps residing at his court by the minister presiding in the college for foreign affairs, Count Rostopschin, and the vice-chancellor, Count Panin.

" His Majesty, the emperor of all the Russias, having received the circumstantial account of the

surrender of Malta, by which it is fully confirmed that the English generals, notwithstanding repeated representations of his Imperial Majesty's minister, and the ministers of the King of the Two Sicilies, have taken possession of Valetta and the island of Malta in the name of the King of Great Britain, and hoisted the English flag alone; his Majesty sees with just displeasure such a breach of good faith, and has resolved that the embargo laid on all the English vesssels in the Russian harbours shall not be taken off till the conditions of the convention concluded in the year 1798 shall be punctually fulfilled."

Letter from Mr. Shairp, relative to the British Prisoners in Russia.

Various reports having been circulated respecting the unfortunate British subjects now in Russia, I send you the following authentic information:

The persons of the British merchants have hitherto remained unmolested; and what ready money they had in their possession has not been seized; but their warehouses are sealed, and all their property is under sequester. All the British ships and their cargoes are seized by the Russian government. The captains and crews are marched into the interior of the country, in companies of one captain and ten or twelve seamen. They are distributed in above a hundred different towns, at one hundred to one thousand miles distance from the capital. The Russian government allows for their subsistence daily five copecks in money (about three halfpence), a small measure of rye flour, and one of buck wheat.

My brother and some other British merchants at St. Petersburgh, advanced about forty thousand rubles (a ruble is about half-a-crown) for their better accommodation, from which he furnished every captain with two hundred rubles for the use of himself and ten men, and bought for every man a sheep's-skin coat, a fur cap, a sash, a pair of gloves, some warm shoes, and two pair of gloves, some warm shoes, and two pair of stockings. Kibitkas, or common carts of the country, are bought for most of the captains and some old men; the rest walk, and the peasants furnish horses for the baggage. On the 21st of November, fifty captains and five hundred sailors were thus dispatched from St. Petersburgh, and the remainder were daily setting off on their melancholy journey.

Stephen Shairp,
Consul-general of Russia.
No. 73, Gower-street,
Nov. 17, 1800.

Note from the Governor of Cadiz to the English Admiral.

The affliction which carries off, in this city and its environs, thousands of victims, and which threatens not to suspend its ravages until it has cut off all who have hitherto escaped, being calculated to excite compassion, it is with surprise that I see the squadron, under the command of your excellency, come to augment the consternation of the

inhabitants. I have too exalted an opinion of the humanity of the English people, and of yours in particular, to think that you would wish to render our condition more deplorable. However, if, in consequence of the orders your excellency has received, you are inclined to draw down upon yourself the execration of all nations, to cover yourself with disgrace in the eyes of the whole universe, by oppressing the unfortunate, and attacking those who are supposed to be incapable of defence; I declare to you, that the garrison under my orders, accustomed to behold death with a serene countenance, and to brave dangers much greater than all the perils of war, know how to make resistance, which shall not terminate but with their entire destruction. I hope that the answer of your excellency will inform me, whether I am to speak the language of consolation to the unfortunate inhabitants, or whether I am to rouse them to indignation and vengeance.

May God preserve your excellency.

Thomas de Morla.

October 5, 1800.

The vessels employed in the blockade have not, till now, prevented the fishers from exercising their harmless industry. It must excite astonishment, that your excellency should deprive us of this small comfort.

Answer to the above by the Commanders-in-Chief of the Sea and Land forces of his Britannic Majesty, forming the Expedition before Cadiz.

On board his Britannic Majesty's Ship the Foudroyant, off Cadiz, October 5.

We have had the honour of receiving your excellency's letter of this date, in which you describe to us the deplorable state of this city. We are deeply afflicted at this calamity, though we have good reason to believe that its effects have been much less disastrous.

We are not ignorant that a great number of his Catholic Majesty's vessels are armed, in order to join the naval forces of the French, and to be employed in prolonging the troubles which afflict all the nations of Europe, disturb public order and destroy the happiness of individuals. We have received orders from our sovereign to use every effort to defeat the projects of the common enemy, by endeavouring to take or destroy the ships of war which are in the harbour and arsenal of Cadiz.

The number of troops intrusted to our command leave but little doubt as to the success of the enterprise. We are little disposed to multiply unnecessarily the evils inseparable from war. Should your excellency consent to give up to us the vessels armed or arming, in order to act against our king, and to prolong the misfortunes of neighbouring nations, your crews and officers shall be at liberty, and our fleet shall withdraw; otherwise we must act conformably to the orders which have been given to us, and your excellency cannot attri-

bute to any other than yourself the additional evils which you fear.

We have the honour to be, with respect, &c.

R. Abercromby.
Keith.

A frigate will remain in the harbour, to wait for the answer of your excellency, that there may be no delay.

Reply to the Commanders of his Britannic Majesty's Sea and Land Forces.

When I represented to your excellencies the melancholy condition of this city, with the view of engaging your humanity, not to aggravate it by acts of hostility, I could not have supposed that my request would have been regarded as the effect of fear or weakness. Unfortunately I find that your excellencies have misinterpreted my expressions, since they have led to a proposal as insulting to the person to whom it is addressed, as it is but little honourable to those who have made it. Your excellencies will take this as sufficient information that you must make more suitable propositions, if you intend that they shall be accepted.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Thomas de Morla.

October 6, 1800.

Proclamation of the Consuls of the Republic to the French.

Paris, March 7.

Frenchmen,

You are desirous of peace: your government are desirous of it with still greater ardour. Their first wishes, their persevering measures, have been for peace. The English minister repels it: the English minister has betrayed the secret of his horrible system of politics. To ravage France, to destroy her marine and her ports; to efface her from the map of Europe, or to degrade her to the rank of a secondary power; to keep all the nations of the continent divided, in order to get possession of the commerce of all, and to enrich herself by their spoils; it is to obtain these frightful successes, that England is prodigal of gold, profuse of promises, and that she multiplies intrigues.

But neither the gold, nor the promies, nor the intrigues of England, will chain to her views the powers of the continent. They have heard the wish of France; they know the moderation of the principles that guide her; they will listen to the voice of humanity, and the powerful voice of their interest.

Were it otherwise, the government which has not feared to offer and solicit peace, will remember that it is for you to command it. To command it, we must have money, iron and soldiers.

Let all make haste to pay the tribute which they owe to the common defence; let the young citizens march. It is no longer for factions—it is no longer for the choice of tyrants, that they are going to arm; it is for the guarantee of all that is most dear to them: it is for the honour of France; it is for the sacred interests of humanity and of liberty. Already have the armies resumed that attitude; the promise and the

presage of victory; at the sight of them—at the sight of the whole nation united in the same interests and the same wishes, do not doubt, Frenchmen, that you will have any more enemies upon the continent. The First Consul has promised peace; he will go and conquer it at the head of those warriors whom he has more than once led to victory. With them he will know how to find again those fields still full of the remembrance of their exploits; yet in the midst of battle, he will still invoke peace, and he swears to fight only for the happiness of France, and the repose of the world!

Letter written by the General-in-Chief of the Army of St. Domingo to the Authorities Civil and Military, and all other Citizens of the City of Cayes, and Instructions given to the Deputies sent by him to the said City, Bearers of the said Letter.

Leogane, 20th Messidor (10*th of July*), 8*th Year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.*

Toussaint Louverture, General-in-Chief of the Army of St. Domingo, to the Magistrates of the People, and all the French Citizens of the Department of the South, Civil and Military.

I avail myself of the opportunity of citizen Vincent, chef de brigade, director general of the fortifications of the colony, sent by the French government to be an eye witness of the events and calamities of the civil war produced by the conduct of the evil-disposed, and the enemies of public tranquillity. I join to him a deputation of two citizens, Arrault, and Cesar, the late member of the civil tribunal of the South, in consequence of the orders which I have received from government, and the confidence which it reposes in me to restore peace and tranquillity. These citizens will communicate to you my mode of thinking, and will assure you that I am disposed to grant to people of every description a general amnesty, to pardon and forget the past, provided they shall return to order, and that all men deceived or led astray shall return into the bosom of their families, and that all the cultivators forced to leave their houses shall rejoin their respective habitations.

It is my duty to inform you of some passages in the letter of the minister of marine and colonies, of which the following is an extract:

"A strong government has succeeded an executive power, feeble and divided.

"I depend on your zeal and your fidelity. Inform the troops under your command that the time of schisms is past. Unite all around the new social compact of the French people.

"The rank of general-in-chief, with which the republic has honoured you, and which the new government has confirmed, is the first of the military militia. It requires prudence and moderation. Use your influence, your talents, to calm all hatred; stifle all resentment, and be great by the good which you do.

"The First Consul places confidence in you. You will show yourself deserving of it by restoring peace in the fine colony of St. Domingo, which interests the whole nation in so many points of view.

"The government expects that the first advices, which you shall dispatch, will announce, that by your cares and your prudence peace has been re-established at St. Domingo.

(Signed) "Forfait.

"Toussaint Louverture."

(A true copy.)

In conformity with humanity, which is always my guide, and the letter of the minister, I protest to you that I have forgot and pardon every thing. I hold out my arms to receive you: should you still resist my call, it is no longer my fault.

An immediate answer, *yes* or *no*.

Health to the French republic.

Toussaint Louverture.

Convention between the Generals-in-Chief of the French and Imperial Armies in Italy, with the Alterations made in it.

I. There shall be an armistice and suspension of hostilities between the army of his Imperial Majesty and that of the French republic in Italy, till an answer shall be received from the court of Vienna.

II. The imperial army shall occupy all the country between the Mincio, Fosca-Mestre, and the Po; which includes Mantua, Peschiera, and Borgo-Forte: and from thence the left bank of the Po, and on the right bank the town and citadel of Ferrara.

III. The imperial army shall in like manner hold Tuscany and Ancona.

IV. The French army shall occupy the countries comprehended between the Chiusa, the Oglio, and the Po.

V. The country between the Chiusa and the Mincio shall not be occupied by either army. The imperial army may procure provisions from a part of the duchy of Mantua. The French arms may procure provisions from a part of the Brescia.

VI. The citadels of Tortona, Alessandria, Milan, Turin, Pizzhigitone, Arona, and Placentia, shall be delivered up to the French army between the 16th and 20th of June.

VII. The citadels of Coni, Ceva, Savona, and the city of Genoa, between the 16th and 24th.

VIII. Fort Urbino shall be given up on the 26th of June.

IX. The artillery of the garrisons shall be classed in the following manner:—All the Austrian heavy artillery and foundries shall appertain to the Austrian army; the artillery of Italians, Piedmontese, and French calibres and foundries to the French army. The provision shall be divided—one half to be at the disposal of the commissary of ordnance of the Austrian army, and one half at that of the French.

X. The garrisons shall march out with military honours, and shall repair with their arms and baggage, by the shortest road to Mantua.

XI. The Austrian army shall direct its march to Mantua, in three

columns, by Placentia: the first between the 16th and 20th; the second between the 20th and 24th; and the third between the 24th and 26th.

XII. General St. Julien of the artillery, de Brun of the engineers, Telsiege, commissary of provisions, citizen Dejean, counsellor of state, and Daru, inspector of reviews, adjutant-general Leopold Stobenzett, and the chief of brigade Mosset, are named commissioners, in order to provide for the details of the execution of the present convention, either for the formation of inventories, or to provide for subsistence and conveyances.

XIII. No individual shall be ill-treated on account of having rendered any services to the Austrian army, or for his political opinions. The Austrian commander shall release every individual who shall have been arrested in the Cisalpine republic for his political opinions.

XIV. Whatever may be the answer of the court of Vienna, neither of the two armies can renew the attack without giving ten days notice.

XV. During the armistice neither army shall send detachments to Germany.

Done at Alessandria, the 16th June 1800.

(Signed) Alex. Berthier.
Melas.

Preliminaries of Peace between France and Austria.

His Majesty the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia, &c. and the First Consul of the republic, in the name of the French people, equally animated with the desire of putting a term to the evils of the war, by a prompt, just, and solid peace, have agreed upon the following preliminary articles:

Art. 1. There shall be peace, friendship, and good understanding between his Majesty the Emperor and King, and the French republic.

Art. 2. Until the conclusion of a definitive treaty, the armies, both in Italy and Germany, shall respectively remain in the position in which they are, without extending their positions more to the south of Italy. On his side, his Imperial Majesty engages to concentrate all the forces he may have in the states of the Pope, in the fortress of Ancona; to put an end to the extraordinary levy which is making in Tuscany; and to prevent all debarkation of the enemies of the French republic at Leghorn, or any other point of the coasts.

Art. 3. The treaty of Campo Formio shall be taken as the basis of the definitive pacification, excepting however the changes become necessary.

Art. 4. His Imperial Majesty does not oppose the French republic keeping the limits of the Rhine, such as they were agreed upon at Rastadt, *i. e.* the left bank of the Rhine, from the spot where the Rhine leaves the territory of Switzerland, to the point where it enters the territory of the Batavian republic; and engages moreover to cede to the French republic the sovereignty and property of Frickthal, and all that belongs to the house of Austria between Zurzach and Basle.

Art. 5. The French republic is

not understood to keep Cassel, Kehl, Ehrenbreitstein, and Dusseldorff.—These places will be razed, on condition that there shall not be raised on the right bank of the Rhine, and for the distance of three miles, any fortifications, either in stone-work or in earth.

Art. 6. The indemnities which his Imperial Majesty the Emperor and King is to have in Germany, in virtue of the secret articles of the treaty of Campo Formio, shall be taken in Italy; and therefore it shall be reserved until the definitive treaty, to agree on the position and the quota of the said indemnities: nevertheless it shall be established as the basis, that his Imperial Majesty the Emperor and King shall possess, besides the country which had been granted to him in Italy by the treaty of Campo Formio, an equivalent to the possession of the Archbishopric of Saltzburg, the rivers of the Inn and the Sabra, and the Tyrol, comprising the town of Wasserbourg, on the left bank of the Inn, within a circuit of 3000 toises, and the Frickthal, which he cedes to the French republic.

Art. 7. The ratification of the present preliminary articles shall be exchanged at Vienna before August 15.

Art. 8. Immediately after the exchange of the ratifications, the negociations for a definitive peace shall continue; both sides shall agree upon a place for negociation; the plenipotentiaries shall be there in twenty days at the latest, after the exchange.

Art. 9. His Majesty the Emperor and King, and the First Consul of the French republic, reciprocally engage, on their word of honour, to keep the present articles secret till ratification.

Art. 10. The powers of M. de St. Julien being contained in a letter from the Emperor to the First Consul, the full powers, invested with the usual formalities, shall be exchanged with the ratification of the present preliminaries, which shall not bind the respective governments till after the ratification.

We, the undersigned, have agreed upon and signed the present preliminaries at Paris, the 8th of July, 1800.

(Signed) Count de St. Julien.
C. M. Talleyrand.

Armistice concluded at Steyer, the 25th of December, 1800.

Army of the Rhine.—The General of Division, Chief of the Staff, to the Minister of War.

Head-quarters at Steyer, Dec. 26, 9th Year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

Citizen Minister,

The Archduke Charles has proposed an armistice to the general-in-chief, by announcing to him that the Emperor had sent a courier to M. de Cobentzel, with orders to sign a peace.

The general-in-chief, considering that the line of the Traun and the Inn was forced, that we were advanced one hundred leagues before the other armies, and were already near the rear-guard of the Austrian army in Italy; that consequently, M. de Bellegarde could avail himself of the possession of

Saltzburg and Inspruck, as the two grand openings by which he could send troops to join those that were left in the Tyrol, and by attacking our rear with these, might cut off our communication with the Traun; for these reasons he thought proper to agree to a suspension of arms, which procuring great advantages for us, would put us in a condition to learn the movements of the army of Italy, of which we had as yet heard no account.

The character of the Archduke Charles, and his well-known loyalty, gave us sufficient assurances of the Emperor's desire to put an end to the war. He was also impelled to it by the deplorable condition of his army; which having, in the course of twenty days, lost seventy leagues of territory, twenty-five thousand prisoners, twelve or fifteen thousand in killed or wounded, one hundred and forty pieces of cannon, and immense magazines, was no longer able, nor could it be able in three months, to hinder our army from conquering all Austria, and dictating laws in the capital. But, in order to effect this without danger, it would have been necessary for the army of Italy to be already in possession of the defiles of Carinthia.

Besides, the general-in-chief was of opinion, that to stop in the most brilliant victories was conformable to the character of moderation by which the First Consul manifests himself to Europe.

I have the honour to present you with a copy of the convention of the armistice. The Emperor immediately entered into a treaty; and our line running along the Danube to the mountains of the Tyrol, putting us in possession of Kufstein, Schœrnitz, Braunau, &c. will enable us to recommence the war with great advantages, and, above all, with great security. Health and respect.

(Signed) Dessolles.

ARMISTICE.

His Majesty the Emperor and King wishing to treat immediately for peace with the French republic, whatever the determination of his allies may be; the generals-in-chief of the French army and of the Imperial army in Germany, desirous of putting a stop, as far as is in their power, to the evils inseparable from war, have agreed to treat for an armistice and suspension of arms; for this purpose they have respectively charged with special powers the following persons, viz. the general-in-chief Moreau has authorized the general of brigade, Victor Faneau Lahorie, and his Royal Highness the Archduke Charles, Major Comte de Grime, and Colonel Wairother de Vetal, of the staff, who have agreed to the following conditions:

Art. 1. The line of demarcation between the portion of the Gallo-Batavian army in Germany, under the orders of General Augereau, in the circles of Westphalia, the Upper Rhine, and Franconia, as far as Bayersdorf, shall be specially determined upon between that general and the general of the Imperial and royal army opposed to him. From Bayersdorf that line passes to Harlard, Nuremberg, Neumarck, Parsberg, Laver, Stadtamdoff, and Ratisbon, where it crosses the Danube, along the right bank of which it extends to

the Erlaph, and then proceeds to the source of that river; passes through Markgamingen, Kogelback, Goulingen, Hammox, Monlerg, Leopoldstein, Heissomach, Vorderenberg, and Leoben; runs along the left bank of the Muhr to the spot where that river crosses the way from Saltzburg to Klagenfurt, which it pursues to the Spiritat; then goes through Brixen to Botzen, and at last reaches Bormio in the Valteline, where it joins the army of Italy.

Art. 2. Chauchard's map of Germany shall regulate any differences that may arise concerning the line of demarkation.

Art. 3. Upon the rivers which shall separate the two armies, the destruction or the preservation of bridges shall be regulated by particular arrangements, according to what may be judged useful either for the wants of the armies, or for those of the communes. The generals-in-chief of the respective armies shall either be acquainted with those objects, or shall leave it to the generals commanding in those places to settle them. The navigation of the rivers shall be free, as well to the armies as to the people of the country.

Art. 4. The French army shall not only occupy exclusively all the points of the above line of demarcation; but, in order to place a continued Interval between both armies, the line of the advanced posts of the imperial and royal army shall, with the exception of the Danube, be distant at least one German mile (four English ones) from that of the French army.

Art. 5. With the exception of the safeguards, or those of the police, which shall be sent into the Tyrol by the two respective armies, and in equal numbers, but which shall be as few as possible, there shall remain no other troops of his Imperial Majesty within the compass of the line of demarcation. Those which are now in the Grisons, the Tyrol, and in Carinthia, must retire immediately, by the route of Klagenfurt to Pruck, in order to join the Imperial army in Germany, without their being able to proceed towards Italy.

They shall set out from the places where they are as soon as they hear of the present convention; and they shall march on foot, at the rate of one German post and a half per day.

The general-in-chief of the French army of the Rhine is authorized to ensure the execution of this article, by means of persons deputed by him to follow the march of the Imperial troops as far as Pruck.

The Imperial troops which may have occasion to withdraw from the Upper Palatinate, from Swabia or Franconia, shall go the shortest way to the line of demarcation.

The execution of this article must not be delayed, under any pretence whatever, beyond the necessary time, allowing for the distances.

Art. 6. The fortresses of Kufstein, Schœrnitz, and the points of permanent fortification in the Tyrol, shall be given up as a security to the French army, to be restored in the same state in which they are found at the conclusion and ratification of peace, should it follow this armistice without the resumption of hostilities.

The defiles of Fintlitermunz, Naudert, and the other fortifica-

tions of the Tyrol, shall be surrendered to the disposition of the French army.

Art. 7. The magazines in that country belonging to the Imperial army are left at their disposal.

Art. 8. The fortress of Wurtzbourg, in Franconia, and the place of Braunau, in Bavaria, shall be also given up to the French army, to be restored according to the same conditions as the fortresses of Kufstein and Schœernitz.

Art. 9. The troops, both those belonging to the empire and those of his Imperial and royal Majesty, which occupy the places, shall evacuate them; that is to say, the garrison of Wurtzburgh on the 4th of January, 1801; that of Braunau on the same day; and those in the fortresses of Tyrol on the 8th of January.

Art. 10. All the garrisons shall march out with the honours of war, and repair with their arms and baggage by the shortest way to the Imperial army. Nothing shall be taken away by them with respect to artillery and stores of all kinds, with the exception of necessary subsistence for them on their march beyond the line of demarcation.

Art. 11. Deputies shall be sent respectively appointed to ascertain the state of the places in question; but it is clearly understood that any delay of their's shall not retard the evacuation.

Art. 12. The extraordinary levies ordered in the Tyrol shall be immediately disbanded, and the inhabitants sent back to their homes.

The order and execution of this disbandment shall not be retarded under any pretext.

Art. 13. The general-in-chief of the army of the Rhine being desirous to give on his part to his royal highness the Archduke Charles an unequivocal proof of the motives which have determined him to demand the evacuation of the Tyrol, declares, that with the exception of the fortresses of Kufstein, Schœernitz, and Fintlitermunz, he will confine himself to having in the Tyrol safeguards or guards of police, agreed to in the 5th article, for the purpose of securing the communications. He will also at the same time furnish the inhabitants with all the facilities in his power for their subsistence, and the French army shall not interfere in any respect with the government of the country.

Art. 14. The portion of the territory of the empire, and of the states of his Imperial Majesty in the Tyrol, is put under the protection of the French army, for the purpose of maintaining the right of property and the actual forms of government. The inhabitants of these countries shall not be molested on account of any services rendered by them to the Imperial army, nor for any political opinion, or for having taken an active part in the war.

Art. 15. In consequence of the above-mentioned arrangements—there shall be between the Gallo-Batavian army in Germany and that of the Rhine, and the armies of his Imperial Majesty and of his allies in the Germanic empire, an armistice and suspension of arms, which shall not be of a less duration than for thirty days. At the expiration of this delay, hostilities shall not be resumed until after a notice of fifteen days, to date from the hour in which the notifi-

cation of the rupture shall be made known; and the armistice shall be indefinitely prolonged until the notice of rupture.

Art. 16. No corps or detachment, either of the army of the Rhine or of that of his Imperial Majesty in Germany, shall be sent to the respective armies in Italy, as long as there shall be no armistice between the French and the Imperial armies in that country. The violation of this article shall be considered as an immediate rupture of the armistice.

Art. 17. The general-in-chief of the army of the Rhine shall transmit, with the utmost dispatch, the present convention to the generals-in-chief of the armies, Gallo-Batavian, in the Grisons, and of Italy, with the most pressing invitation, particularly to the commander-in-chief of the army of Italy, to conclude, on his part, a suspension of hostilities.

There shall be afforded, at the same time, every kind of facility for the passage of officers and couriers whom his highness the Archduke Charles may think it necessary to send, either to the places which are to be evacuated, or to the Tyrol, and in general to the country comprehended within the line of demarcation during the armistice.

Done at Steyer, the 25th of December, in the 9th year.

(A true copy)

Dessolles, the general of division, and chief of the general staff.

Treaty concluded between the French and Batavian Republics.

The Batavian and French Republics, willing to settle some disputed points between them amicably and reciprocally advantageous to the two contracting powers, have appointed to come to an agreement on these several subjects, that is to say, the executive directory of the Batavian republic, Citizen Schimmelpennick, its ambassador extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the French republic, and the First Consul of the French republic, Citizen Talleyrand, minister for foreign affairs, who, after exchanging their full powers, have agreed to the following articles:

Art. 1. The French republic abandons, cedes, and transfers to the Batavian republic all its pretensions and all its rights, of whatever nature they may be at present, or might be hereafter, of every denomination, to the *bons* of every kind possessed within the extent of the Batavian republic, or upon its inhabitants, by the French emigrants and those of the countries united to France. The French clergy, and those of the nine united departments, forming ci-devant Belgium; the Elector Palatine, as proprietor of Ravenstein, Megen, and other places; the house of Zalsback, comprising the seigniory of Bonmer; the house of Salm, comprising the seigniory of Anholt, in the canton of Zutphen; and in general on all the property (*biens*) of all the other princes and barons of the empire, who, having possessions in Holland before the present war,

have lost there, in consequence of the war, all pretensions to the exercise of their rights, and to the enjoyment of their properties.

The little city of Husser, situated in the isle of Betau, on the left bank of the Rhine, and its territory, comprising Melbergen and Hulhuysen, as also some villages in the country of Kuyck, contained within the territory of the Batavian republic, constitute part of the present cession.

The renunciation of ecclesiastical properties (*biens*) agreed to in favour of the Batavian republic, shall extend equally in proportion as the reform shall be effected on those which depend upon the four new departments acquired on the left bank of the Rhine, and which are situated on the Batavian soil, and also upon all the rights which might appertain to the French republic on the said territory in consequence of the definitive union of these same four departments, in such a manner that it shall not afford any pretence for any repetition whatever.

The present concession involves in it, to the advantage of the Batavian republic, the abandonment of the rents and revenues in arrear, and now due out of the properties of which this transaction assures it the right and possession.

Art. 2. The French republic, in transferring from the French to the Batavian republic the occupation and possession of all the properties (*biens*) and rights which belong to the Elector Palatine, and all the other princes and barons of the empire with whom it has been at war, and which are situated within the extent of the Batavian republic, promises and engages farther, on a general peace with the empire, to procure for it the abandonment of the absolute and irrevocable property by the parties interested, to interpose for this purpose its good offices, and to employ for this effect all the means which it shall use to secure for itself the free and peaceable possession of such countries as it shall think fit to retain.

Art. 3. The cession of the seigniory of Ravenstein, stipulated in the first article, comprises only the part of it within the Batavian territory.

Art. 4. The present cession carries with it the whole of the rights belonging to the French republic within the extent of the Batavian possessions, with the exception of the house of France at the Hague, which formerly belonged to the French legation.

Art. 5. In consideration of the concessions stipulated by the preceding articles, the Batavian republic shall pay to the French republic after the exchange of the respective ratifications of the present treaty, and in the terms agreed upon between the two governments, a sum of 6,000,000 francs.

Art. 6. The present transaction shall not take effect until after having been ratified by the contracting parties, and the ratification shall be exchanged at Paris with the least possible delay, reckoning from the 15th Nivose (4th January). This delay shall not exceed a fortnight.

In faith of which, we the undersigned minister plenipotentiary of the Batavian republic, and ambassador extraordinary of the

French republic, by virtue of our full powers, have signed the present treaty, and thereunto put our respective seals.

Done at Paris, January 4, 1800, 6th year of Batavian liberty.

R. J. Schimmelpennick.
Ch. M. Talleyrand.

Additional Article.

The countries, such as Ravenstein, the villages and communes, the sovereignty of which is transferred by the present treaty to the Batavian republic, are ceded, and receded under the title of account upon the territorial indemnity promised to the Batavian republic by the 16th article of the treaty of the Hague; the two republics proposing to come to an agreement upon the means of arriving at a complete extension of the 16th article of the treaty of the Hague.

Ch. M. Talleyrand.
R. J. Schimmelpennick.

Convention between Russia and the Porte, respecting the Ex-Venetian Islands.

In the name of the Almighty God!

Those countries which were originally subject to the republic of Venice, and which afterwards fell into the hands of the French, having been since delivered from their yoke, by means of the united fleets of Russia and the sublime Porte, aided by the supreme Arbiter of victory, and approved by the unanimous wishes and efforts of the inhabitants, his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, and his Majesty the Ottoman Emperor, being resolved to observe those principles of justice, moderation, and disinterestedness, the practice of which they solemnly promised in their treaty of alliance, and as the dignity of the two courts requires that a promise publicly made should be executed by both parties, they have agreed to establish in the said countries such a form of government as may leave no grounds of apprehension for the repose and safety of the states of the sublime Porte, notwithstanding its vicinity, and which may at the same time accord with the habits, usages, religion, and wishes of the inhabitants. To accomplish this salutary work, his Majesty the Emperor of Russia has named as his plenipotentiary and envoy extraordinary to the Ottoman Porte, the high and noble Vassily Tamara, knight of the order of St. Ann, of the first class, commander of the sovereign order of St. John of Jerusalem; and his Majesty the Ottoman Emperor, the illustrious and estimable Ismet Bey and Ahmed Alif Reis-Effendi: who, after exchanging their full powers, have agreed on the following articles:

Art. 1. The said Ex-Venetian isles shall form a republic, which shall be governed by the notables of the country, and which, like Ragusa, shall be as a vassal under the protection of the Porte, and shall acknowledge its superiority. Russia guarantees the integrity of this republic.

Art. 2. These isles, which are Corfu, Cephalonia, Cerigo, Maure, Ithaca, &c. shall be called "The Seven United Islands," and shall enjoy the same privileges as Ragusa. The two powers shall ratify

the new constitution of the republic, after it shall have been accepted.

Art. 3. The inhabitants of the said isles shall enjoy the same privileges in Turkey as the Ragusans. They shall have in that country their own consul, and their ships shall be protected from the corsairs of the states of Barbary.

Art. 4. The republic shall pay every year to the Porte 75,000 piasters, which it shall send, as Ragusa does, by a solemn embassy; and in consequence of this tribute the subjects of the new states shall in Turkey be exempted from every other imposition.

Art. 5. In case of necessity, Russia and the Porte shall send to these isles during the present war, but not beyond that period, the troops and vessels requisite for their defence.

Art. 6. The ships of the republic may in future navigate freely by the Black Sea under their new flag.

Art. 7. First, the Ex-Venetian countries, such as Prevesa, Parga, Vonitz, and Butrinto, which are situated on the continent and border on Albania, shall hereafter belong to the Porte, and the Christians of those countries shall be subject to a Turkish commandant, as well as those of Wallachia and Moldavia. The Mahometans shall not be allowed to purchase there any property. The Raja princes of these Ex-Venetian countries shall be at liberty to rebuild their churches, and for two years they shall be exempt from all imposition, and shall pay hereafter to the Porte only what they before paid to Venice.—Secondly, as a testimony of the friendship which unites his Majesty the Emperor of Russia to his Majesty the Ottoman Emperor, and at the same time to show how much the former is interested in the happiness of the Sublime Porte and its allies, he promises to employ his good offices to cause his allies and the other powers, who shall be invited for that purpose when a general peace takes place, to accept and guarantee every thing contained in the 2d, 5th, 7th, and 8th articles of this convention, and every thing that relates to the political existence of these islands.

Art. 8. The present convention shall be ratified within the course of two months.

Done at Constantinople, March 21, 1800.

(Signed) Esseid Ibrahim Ismet Bey.
Ahmed Alif Reis-Effendi.
V. Tamara.

Speech of his Swedish Majesty to the Diet, assembled at Norkoping, March, 19.

High and well-born, noble and well-born, reverend, worthy, well-learned, noble born, wise, respectable, brave and honest, good lords, and men of Sweden.

With the utmost pleasure I see you this day assembled, for the first time, before my throne, convinced that I may confide my cares for the welfare of faithful subjects in their bosom. Eight years have now elapsed since the last diet: it was then when my deceased father addressed you for

the last time from this throne, and expressed his pleasure to be King of a faithful people, whom he had called together to consult with them in confidence and harmony on the affairs of the kingdom, and this at a time when a fanatical fury convulsed almost every country, which afterwards laid waste and destroyed some of them in the most licentious and inhuman manner, and dissolved even the most sacred ties and connections.

He also said, that few in a similar station would expose themselves to the ferments which are often occasioned by large assemblies—"But I," these were his own words, "did not dread them, relying on your attachment, and on the frankness with which I shall lay before you the affairs on which we must deliberate; and if your confidence meets mine, the general good can only result from it, the kingdom will become strong, and gain the esteem and veneration of foreign nations." He then expressed his sincere love for his people, and his hopes that, at the conclusion of the diet, he might be able, with similar pleasure, to communicate his satisfaction on the harmony which guided your deliberations. He then did not think his death to be so near, which he had so often braved on the field of battle against the enemies of his country, but which he had no reason to expect from some of his own treacherous subjects.

It is a melancholy and painful duty to me, that, on addressing my faithful subjects for the first time from the throne, I must renew the recollection of a crime which ought to have remained unknown, and considered impossible in this country. This recollection however, would excite still more horrid sensations within me, had I not the consolation of being surrounded by faithful subjects, who, as much as myself, abhor such a crime, and who still bewail the loss of a just and gracious king and father. The happiness, honour, and independence of the kingdom were the objects of his endeavours; and we must hope that the purity of his intentions is no longer misconceived; the time in which we live, and the events which we have witnessed, must convince us more and more of the wisdom of his measures, and the sincerity of his endeavours. As I have inherited the throne of my father, together with his love for his people, I wish to experience from you the same fidelity and attachment for me, which you have shewn for him; and that that harmony might reign among you, during the diet, to the maintenance of which he has so often admonished you, as without it an independent country cannot exist.

Thus reminding you, my faithful subjects, of the fulfilment of your duties and connections, with respect to myself and you, I ought not to forget the vast extent of the difficulties concerning me. On ascending the throne from which so many great kings have governed Sweden, I had reason to fear that I might not be able to fulfil my sacred duties as I wished it; but when I considered, on the other hand, my sincere endeavours to do justice to those duties, since I have prayed for the assistance and the grace of the Almighty, and hope more and more to be convinced that I reign over subjects

who, as well as myself, without any private views, make the welfare of the country the sole object of their endeavours; who voluntarily meet me in supporting the kingdom with every thing requisite for repairing the breach, which, if not speedily remedied, might undermine its welfare—I have in that conviction, in the course of the last three years, faced with intrepidity all difficulties and obstacles, in searching myself after the means, by useful arrangement and strict economy, to increase the revenues of the kingdom, in full confidence thus to discover the genuine source for the stability and the dignity of an independent country.

The revenues and expenses together with the wants of the state, I have caused to be estimated, that they may this day be laid before the members of the diet, to prove what I have been able to effect for the benefit of the empire, and what farther measures may be necessary for fulfilling our first and mutual endeavours to ameliorate and fix the standard of the price of money. The low course of exchange, arising from the pressing debts of the empire, have always thwarted my best designs and plans for the welfare of the state. Every individual feels this oppressive evil, more or less, but the government feels it more sensibly; for it has not only diminished the revenues of the state, but opened a wide field to selfishness and usury, than which nothing can operate more prejudicially to the fellow-citizens of greedy speculators, who ought to be shunned and detested by every honest man.

Two oppressive and disastrous years have not a little contributed to the present high prices of corn and provisions; and the state, as much as the individual, has felt the deficiency of crops, and other heavy losses. I shall, nevertheless, find great consolation in any efficacious means to enable me to succour my distressed subjects, and to furnish them with farther proofs of my solicitude for their welfare.

I have thus purposely called this diet, to advise with you how to obviate the existing evils, and how to prevent similar ones in future. To effect this important end, it is necessary that I should be crowned king of Sweden, in order to cement the sacred bonds of union in the most solemn manner, which ought ever to unite the sovereign with the nation. I conceived the most propitious period for this solemnity would be that after the birth of my beloved son Gustav, the fruit of my happy union with my beloved consort. I want words to express to you the joy I felt, on seeing the throne of Sweden, by the grace of the Most High, still more fortified than before; and this happy sensation was mixed with the natural satisfaction of being a father. And if I this day recall those unspeakable sensations to my bosom, it is in the fond hope, the perfect conviction, that my beloved and faithful subjects here assembled partake them with their prince.

When I gave a name to my son, which in so many respects must be dear to us and our common country, I was in great hopes to educate him in such a manner as to render him worthy of that name; that, whenever I shall be no more, he may render his people happy.

I shall ever represent to him the great destiny of Providence, in order that, from his infant days, he may be impressed with the great importance of his future duty: and that he may never forget that he is born and destined to reign over a free, integral, or self-subsistent nation, and to promote its happiness; thus to enjoy the only, but the greatest consolation which a sovereign can wish for his manifold troubles and cares. I shall moreover assure him, that he will have to reign over a faithful nation, always submissive to the laws of the country; and which, by its trust in God, by its faith, sincerity, harmony, and unity, constitutes a great people.

Since I have opened to you, in this solemn place, the inmost of my thoughts and principles, with sincerity and confidence, I have reason to expect that you, my faithful subjects, will answer my wishes. Be assured that, when in your deliberations with me, unity, harmony, and sincerity, shall be found to reign, we may expect from the grace of God, that this diet will terminate to the welfare of the empire. Then shall I think myself amply rewarded for all my past care and solicitude; and who among you will not feel within himself the lively satisfaction of having laboured and contributed to the real prosperity of his country.

Convinced that you, as faithful Swedish subjects, worthy of your ancestors, partake of my sentiments, I wish that the heavenly grace and blessing of the Almighty God may attend your deliberations, and remain with royal grace and good will, your affectionate, &c.

His Majesty having ended his address, baron Ehrenheim read the articles proposed by the King as the subjects of the deliberations, which principally relate to the regulation of the finances, the amendment of several civil laws, and to measures of economy and police.

Convention between the French Republic, and the United States of America.

The Chief Consul of the French republic, in the name of the French people, and the President of the United States of America, equally animated with a desire to put an end to the differences which have arisen between the two states, have respectively named their plenipotentiaries, and have given them full powers to negociate concerning these differences, and to terminate them; that is to say, the Chief Consul of the French republic, in the name of the French people, has nominated, as plenipotentiaries of the said republic, citizens Joseph Bonaparte, late ambassador of the French republic at Rome, and counsellor of state; Charles Peter Claret Fleurieu, member of the National Institute, and of the Board of Longitude, counsellor of state, and president of the section of marine; and Peter Lewis Roederer, member of the National Institute, counsellor of state, and president of the section of the interior; and the President of the United States of America, by and with the advice and consent of the senate of the said states, has nominated, as their plenipotentiaries, Oliver Elsworth, chief-justice of the United States; William Rich-

ardson Davie, late governor of South Carolina, and William Vans Murray, resident minister of the United States at the Hague:

Who, after having exchanged their credentials, and long and maturely discussed the respective interests of the two states, have agreed to the following conditions:

1st. There shall be a firm, inviolable, and universal peace, and a true and sincere friendship between the French republic and the United States of America, as well as between their countries, territories, cities, and towns, and between their citizens and inhabitants, without exception of persons or places.

2d. The minister plenipotentiary of the two parties not being able, for the present, to come to an agreement with regard to the treaty of alliance of the 6th of February, 1778, the treaty of friendship and commerce of the same date, and the convention under date of the 14th of November, 1778; nor, likewise, with regard to the indemnities mutually due or reclaimed; the parties will negociate ulteriorly upon those points at a convenient time; and till they have come to a definitive agreement, the said treaties and convention shall have no effect, and the relations of the two states shall be regulated as follows:

3d. The vessels belonging to government, which have been taken on both sides, or may be taken before the exchange of the ratifications shall be restored.

4th. The property captured and not yet definitively condemned or which may be captured before the exchange of the ratifications, except contraband merchandize destined for an enemy's port, shall be mutually restored upon the following proofs of property, viz.

On both sides the proofs of property, with regard to merchant-vessels, armed, or not armed, shall be a passport in the following form:

"To all those to whom these presents may come, be it known, that freedom and permission have been granted to ——, master or commander of the ship called ——, of the city of ——, of the burden of —— tons, or thereabout, at present in the port and harbour of ——, and bound for ——, laden with ——; that after his ship has been visited, and before his departure, he shall make oath before the officers authorized for that purpose, that the said ship belongs to one or more of the subjects of——, whose agreement shall be subjoined at the bottom of the passport; likewise, that he will observe, and make be observed by his crew, the maritime ordinances and regulations; and he shall deliver a list signed and attested by witnesses, containing the names and surnames, the births, places and residences, of the persons composing the crew of his ship, and of all those who shall embark with him, whom he shall not receive on board without the permission of the authorized officers; and in every port or harbour he shall enter with his ship, he shall show the present permission to the officers authorized for this purpose, and shall give them a faithful account of what has happened during his voyage; and he shall carry the colours, arms, and ensign [of the French republic, or of the United States] during his said voyage.—

In witness whereof we have signed this paper, have made it be countersigned by ——, and have affixed to it seals bearing our arms.

"Given at ——, the year of our Lord ——."

And this passport shall of itself be sufficient, notwithstanding all regulations to the contrary. It shall not be required that this passport be renewed or revoked, whatever number of voyages the vessel may make, at least if she has not touched at her own port during the course of a year.

With regard to the cargo, the proofs shall be certificates containing an account of the place from which the vessel has sailed, and that to which she is bound; so that prohibited and contraband goods may be distinguished by certificates, which certificates shall have been made by the officers of the place from which the vessel shall have sailed, in the usual form of the country; and if these passports, or certificates, or either of them, have been destroyed by accident, or seized by violence, the want of them may be supplied by all the other proofs of property admissible according to the general usage of nations.

For other than merchant ships, the proofs shall be the commission which they bear.

This article shall take effect from the date of the signature of the present convention; and if, after the date of the said signature, property shall be condemned, contrary to the spirit of the said convention, before this stipulation is known, the property thus condemned shall, without delay, be restored, or paid for.

Art. 5. The debts contracted by one of the two nations to individuals of the other, or by individuals of the one to individuals of the other, shall be paid, or their payment shall be sued for, as if there had been no misunderstanding between the two states; but this clause shall not extend to indemnities claimed for captures or condemnations.

6th. The commerce between the two parties shall be free; the vessels of the two nations, and their privateers, as well as their prizes, shall be treated, in the respective ports, as those of the most favoured nations; and in general the two parties shall enjoy in the ports of each other, in what respects commerce and navigation, all the privileges of the most favoured nations.

7th. The citizens and inhabitants of the United States shall be allowed to dispose, by testament, gift, or otherwise, of their property, real and personal, possessed in the European territories of the French republic; and the citizens of the French republic shall have the same power with regard to real and personal property possessed in the territories of the United States, in favour of such persons as to them shall seem good. The citizens and inhabitants of one of the two states who shall be heirs to property, real or personal, situated in the other, shall succeed *ab intestato*, without there being occasion for letters of naturalization, and without it being possible for the effect of this stipulation to be denied or disputed under any pretext whatsoever; and the said heirs, whether by will or *ab intestato*, shall, in both nations, be free from every tax. It is stipulated

that this article shall, in nowise, infringe the laws which are now in force in the two nations, or which may hereafter be enacted against emigration; and likewise, that, in case the laws of one of the two states should limit the rights of foreigners to real property, it shall be lawful to sell such property, or to dispose of it otherwise, in favour of the inhabitants or citizens of the country in which it is situated; and the other nation shall be at liberty to establish similar regulations.

8th. In order mutually to promote the operations of commerce, it is agreed, that if (which the Lord forbid!) war should break out between the two countries, there shall be allowed, mutually, to the merchants and other citizens, or respective inhabitants, six months after the declartion of war, during which period they will have the permission to retire with such goods and effects as they may be able to carry off, or to sell the whole, agreeably to their own option, without the interposition of any restraint. Not only their goods, much less their persons, can be seized on during the prescribed period of six months. On the contrary, they shall be furnished with passports, to secure their safe return home. These passports shall avail them as guarantees against every insult and seizure on the part of privateers, who may attempt to capture their goods or their persons; and if, within the term above mentioned, they should sustain from any of the parties, their fellow-citizens, or abettors, any damage or injury, either in their persons or property, they shall receive complete satisfaction thereof.

9th. The debts due by the individuals of one or the other nation to the individuals of the other, shall not, in any case of hostility or national disagreement, be sequestrated or confiscated, no more than the deposits that are placed in the public funds, or in the houses of public or private bankers.

10th. The two contracting parties may appoint, for the protection of commerce, commercial agents, who shall reside in France and in the United States. Each party may point out the spot where they may wish their agents to be placed. Before any agent can exercise his functions, he must be received in the usual forms by the party among whom he is to reside; and when he is received and provided with his *exequatur*, he shall enjoy the rights and privileges that are to be enjoyed by the most favoured nations.

11th. The citizens of the French republic shall not pay in the ports, harbours, creeks, islands, districts, or in any part of the United States, any higher imposts on entries of whatsoever nature or denomination, than those that are or must be paid by the most favoured nations: and they shall enjoy all the rights, liberties, privileges, immunities, and exemptions, as far as regards trade, navigation, and commerce, whether in passing from any one of the ports to the other of the said United States, or in going thither or coming from thence, or whether they be destined for any other part of the world, provided the above-mentioned powers are participants, or may participate

therein. And, reciprocally, the citizens of the United States shall enjoy within the territory of the French republic in Europe the same privileges, immunities, &c. &c. not only with regard to their persons and property, but also as to what relates to trade, navigation, and commerce.

12th. The citizens of the two nations may convey their ships and merchandize, excepting always contraband goods, into any port belonging to the enemy of the other country. They may navigate and trade, in full freedom and security, with their merchandize and ships, in the country, ports, &c. of the enemies of either party, without encountering any obstacle or control: and not only pass directly from the ports and fortresses of the enemy above mentioned into neutral ports and fortresses, but, moreover, from any place belonging to an enemy into any other appertaining to another enemy, whether it be or be not subjected to the same jurisdiction, unless these ports or fortresses be actually besieged, blockaded, or invested.

And in case, as it often happens, that vessels sail for a fortress or port belonging to an enemy, without knowing that they are besieged, blockaded, or invested, it is provided that every ship that shall be found in such circumstances shall veer off from such harbour or fortress, without being exposed to be detained or confiscated in any part of its cargo (unless it be contraband, or that it be proved that the said ship, after having been apprized of the said blockade, &c. had attempted to enter into such harbour,) but it shall be empowered to go into any other port or harbour it may deem convenient. No ship belonging to either nation, that enters into a port or fortress before it be really put in a state of siege or blockade by the other, shall be prevented from sailing out with its cargo.

13th. In order to regulate what is understood by contraband during war, under that head are to be comprised gunpowder, salt-petre, petards, matches, balls, bullets, bomb-shells, pistols, halberts, cannon, harnesses, artillery of all sorts, and, in general, all kinds of arms, and implements for the equipment of troops. All the above-mentioned articles, whenever they shall be found destined for an enemy's port, shall be declared contraband, and justly exposed to confiscation. But the ship with which they were freighted, as well as the rest of the cargo, shall be regarded as free, and in no manner shall be vitiated by the contraband goods, whether they belong to many or to one and the same proprietor.

14th. It is stipulated by the present treaty, that free ships shall likewise ensure the freedom of goods, and that all things on board shall be reckoned free belonging to the citizens of one of the contracting parties, although the cargo, or part of it, should belong to the enemies of the two; it being understood, nevertheless, that contraband goods will always be excepted. It is likewise agreed, that this freedom shall extend to the persons of those who shall be found on board the free ships, although they should be enemies to one of the two contracting parties; and it shall not be lawful

to take them from the said free ships, at least if they are not soldiers, and actually in the service of the enemy.

15th. It is agreed, on the other hand, that all goods found put by the respective citizens on board ships belonging to the enemy of the other party, or to their subjects, shall be confiscated without distinction of prohibited or non-prohibited, and, likewise, if they belong to the enemy, to the exception always of effects and merchandizes which shall have been put on board the said ships before the declaration of war, or even after the above declaration, if it could not be known at the moment of lading; so that the merchandizes of the citizens of the two parties, whether they are contraband or otherwise, which, as has been said, shall have been put on board a vessel belonging to an enemy before the war, or even after the declaration of war, when it was not known, shall in no wise be subject to confiscation, but shall faithfully and *bonâ fide* be restored, without delay to their proprietors, who shall claim them; it being, nevertheless, understood that it is unlawful to carry into the enemy's ports any goods which are contraband. The two contracting parties agree that two months having elapsed after the declaration of war, their respective citizens, from whatever part of the world they come, shall not be allowed to allege the ignorance in question in the present article.

16th. Merchant-ships belonging to the citizens of either of the two contracting parties, where they would wish to enter the ports of the enemy of one of the two parties, if voyage or cargo give just cause of suspicion, the said ships shall be obliged to exhibit on the high seas, as well as in harbours or roads, not only their passports, but likewise their certificates, proving that these effects are not of the same kind as those contraband articles specified in Article 13 of the present convention.

17th. And to avoid captures upon frivolous suspicions, and to prevent the mischief which results from them, it is agreed, that when one of the two parties shall be at war, and the other neutral, the vessels of the neutral party shall be furnished with passports similar to those specified in Article 4, so that it may thus appear that the vessels belong truly to the neutral party. These passports shall be valid for any number of voyages; but they shall be renewed every year, if the vessel returns home during the course of a year.

If these ships are laden, they shall be furnished not only with the passports above mentioned, but likewise with the certificates described in the same article, so that it may be known whether any contraband merchandize is on board. There shall not be demanded any other document, notwithstanding all usages to the contrary: and if it does not appear by these certificates that there is any contraband merchandize on board, the vessels shall be allowed to proceed on their voyages. If, on the contrary, it appears by these certificates that the vessels have contraband merchandize on board, and the master offers to deliver them up, the offer shall be accepted, and the ship shall be left

at liberty to proceed on her voyage, at least if the quantity of contraband merchandize is not too great to be conveniently taken on board a ship of war or privateer: in that case, it shall be lawful to take the ship into a harbour, there to deliver the said merchandize.

If a ship is found without the passport or the certificates thus demanded, the affair shall be examined by the judges, or competent tribunals; and if it appears, by other documents or proofs admissible by the usage of nations, that the ship belongs to the citizens of the neutral party, she shall not be condemned, but shall be set at liberty with her cargo, the contraband goods excepted, and shall be at liberty to proceed on her voyage.

If the captain, named in the passport of the ship, should die, or cease to command her, from any cause, and another is appointed in his stead, the ship and her cargo shall not be less secure, and the passport shall remain in all its force.

18th. If the ship of the citizens of either are met on the coast, or on the high seas, by any ship of war or privateer of the other, to prevent all disorder, the said ships of war or privateers shall keep out of cannon-shot, and shall send their boats to the merchant-vessel they shall meet: it shall not be lawful for more than two or three to go on board, and to ask the master to produce the passport concerning the property of the ship, drawn out according to the formula prescribed in Article 4, as well as the certificates above mentioned with regard to the cargo. It is expressly agreed, that the neutral shall not be obliged to go on board the visiting vessel, there to produce his papers, or give any information whatever.

19th. It is expressly agreed by the parties, that the above stipulations with regard to the conduct to be held on the sea by the cruisers of the belligerent party to the traders of the neutral party, shall not apply but to vessels sailing without convoy; and in case the said ships shall be convoyed, the intention of the parties being to pay all respect due to the protection of the flag carried by ships belonging to the nation, it shall not be lawful to visit them. But the verbal declaration of the commandant of the escort, that the vessels under his convoy belong to the nation whose flag he carries, and that they have nothing contraband on board, shall be considered by the respective cruisers as fully sufficient; the two parties reciprocally engaging not to admit under the protection of their convoys any vessels carrying prohibited goods to an enemy's port.

20th. Where vessels shall be taken or stopped under pretence of carrying some contraband article to the enemy, the captors shall give a receipt of the papers of the ship which he shall retain, which receipt shall be joined to a correct invoice of the said papers: it shall not be permitted to force nor to break open drawers, chests, trunks, boxes, bales, or vases, found on board of the said ship, nor to carry off the least article of the effects before the cargo has been disembarked in presence of the competent officers, who shall make an inventory of the said ef-

fects: they cannot in any manner be sold, exchanged, or alienated, at least till, after a legal process, the competent judge or judges have passed sentence of confiscation (always excepting, however, the ship and other articles which she contains).

21st. That the ship and cargo may be watched over with care, and to prevent waste, it is determined, that the master, captain, or supercargo, of the captured vessel shall not be removed from on board, either while the ship shall be at sea, after having been taken, or during the proceedings which take place against her, her cargo, or something relating to her.

Where the ship belonging to the citizens of either of the parties shall be taken, seized, or detained, to be tried, her officers, passengers, and crew, shall be treated with humanity: they shall not be imprisoned, nor stripped of their clothes, nor of money for their private use, which must not exceed for the captain, supercargo, or mate, 500 dollars each, and for the sailors and passengers 100 dollars each.

22d. It is farther agreed, that in all cases the tribunals established for prize causes in the countries to which the prizes shall be conducted, shall alone be competent to take cognizance of them; and whatever judgment the tribunal of one party pronounces against any ship or merchandize, or property claimed by citizens of the other, the sentence shall make mention of the reasons or motives which have led to this judgment, an authentic copy of which, together with all the proceedings relating to it, shall be delivered upon demand, without delay, to the captain or agent of the said ship, upon his paying the fees.

23d. And to provide more effectually for the safety of the citizens of the two contracting parties, and to prevent the injuries they might have to fear from the ships of war or privateers of each other, all commanders of ships of war, or of privateers, and all other citizens of one of the two parties, shall abstain from doing any damage to the citizens of the other, and from offering any insult to their persons. If they do the contrary, they shall be punished, and held to give, in their persons and property, satisfaction and reparation, with interest, for the injury, of whatever kind it may have been.

For this purpose, all captains of privateers, before receiving their commissions, shall enter into an obligation, before a competent judge, to give a guarantee, at least, by two responsible sureties, who shall have no interest in the said privateers, and each of whom, as well as the captain, shall engage particularly and indefeasibly for the sum of 7000 dollars, or 36,820 francs; and if the said vessels carry more than 150 sailors, or soldiers, for the sum of 14,000 dollars, or 73,640 francs, which shall serve to compensate for the injuries or damages which the said privateers, their officers, crews, or any of them, shall have done or committed during their cruise, contrary to the conditions of the present convention, or to the laws and instructions which ought to be the rule of their conduct; in addition to which, the said commissions

shall be revoked and annulled, in all cases where there has been any aggression.

24th. When the ships of war belonging to the two contracting parties, or those which their citizens may have armed as privateers, shall be admitted to take their prizes into the ports of one of the two parties, the said ships, whether public or private property, as well as their captors, shall not be obliged to pay any duties, either to the officers on the spot or to the judges, or any other authorities whatever. The above-mentioned prizes, when they enter the ports or harbours of one of the two parties, cannot be seized or stopped; and the officers of the place cannot take any cognizance of the validity of such prizes, which shall be at liberty to go out and sail, without any control, to such places as the captain of such ships shall show them to be bound to. It is uniformly to be understood, that the stipulations of this article shall not be extended beyond the privileges of the most favoured nations.

25th. All privateers, bearing commissions from a state or prince at war with one or the other nation, shall not fit out their ships in the ports of one or the other nation, nor there sell their prizes; neither shall they be permitted to purchase more provisions than what may be necessary to enable them to make the nearest harbour of that state or prince from whom they have received their commission.

26th. It is moreover agreed, that none of the contracting parties, not only shall not admit pirates into their ports, harbours, or towns, nor shall they permit any of the inhabitants to receive, protect, or conceal them in any manner; but, moreover, that a just punishment shall be inflicted on such of the inhabitants who may be guilty of such offences. The ships belonging to such pirates, together with the goods taken by them, and carried into the ports of one or the other nation, shall be seized upon wherever they may be found, and restored to their owners, or their agents or factors, duly by them authorized; provided always they shall have proved, before a competent tribunal, their right of property.

And if after the said effects should have passed by sale into other hands, and it appears that the captors were, or might have been, so informed, and it should also be proved that the said effects had been carried off by pirates, they shall, nevertheless, be, in like manner, restored.

27th. Neither of the two nations shall participate in the fisheries of the other on its coasts, nor disturb it in the rights which it now enjoys, or may enjoy, on the coasts of Newfoundland, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, or in any other place whatever on the coast of America, to the north of the United States. But the whale-fishery shall be open to both nations in all parts of the globe.

This convention shall be ratified on both sides in full and due form, and the ratifications shall be exchanged within the space of six months, or sooner, if possible.

In testimony whereof, the respective plenipotentiaries have

signed the above articles, both in the English and French languages, and have thereto affixed their seals, declaring, moreover, that their signature in both languages shall not be adduced as a precedent, and shall nowise prove disadvantageous to either party.

Done at Paris, the 8th Vendemaire, 9th year of the French republic, 30th September, 1800.

(Signed) Joseph Buonaparte, C.P.
Fleurieu, Roederer.
Oliver Elsworth.
W. R. Davie.
W. V. Murray.

(A true copy.) C. M. Talleyrand.

Treaty of Amity and Commerce between the King of Prussia and the United States of America.

His Majesty the King of Prussia, and the United States of America, desiring to maintain, on a stable and permanent footing, the connections of good understanding, which have hitherto so happily subsisted between their respective states, and for this purpose to renew the treaty of amity and commerce concluded between the two powers, at the Hague, on the 10th of September, 1785, for the term of ten years, his Prussian Majesty has nominated and constituted as his plenipotentiaries, the Count Charles William de Finkenstein, his minister of state, of war, and of the cabinet, knight of the orders of the Black Eagle and the Red Eagle, and commander of that of St. John of Jerusalem; the Baron Philip Charles d'Alvensleben, his minister of state, of war, and of the cabinet, knight of the orders of the Black Eagle and of the Red Eagle, and that of St. John of Jerusalem; and the Count Christian Henry Curt de Haugwits, his minister of state, of war, and of the cabinet, knight of the orders of the Black Eagle and of the Red Eagle; and the President of the United States has furnished with their full powers John Quincy Adams, a citizen of the United States, and their minister plenipotentiary at the court of his Prussian Majesty:

Which plenipotentiaries, after having exchanged their full powers, found in good and due form, have concluded, settled, and signed the following articles:

Art. 1. There shall be in future, as there has been hitherto, a firm, inviolable, and universal peace, a sincere friendship, between his Majesty the King of Prussia, his heirs, successors and subjects on the one part, and the United States of America, and their citizens, on the other, without the exception of persons or places.

Art. 2. The subjects of his majesty the King of Prussia may frequent all the coasts and countries of the United States of America, and reside and trade there, in all sorts of produce, manufactures, and merchandize, and shall pay there no other or greater duties, charges or fees whatsoever, than the most favoured nations are or shall be obliged to pay. They shall also enjoy, in navigation and commerce, all the rights, privileges, and exemptions, which the most favoured nation does enjoy, submitting themselves, nevertheless, to the established laws and

usages, to which are submitted the citizens of the United States and the most favoured nations.

Art. 3. In like manner the citizens of the United States of America may frequent all the coasts and countries of his Majesty the King of Prussia, and reside and trade there, in all sorts of produce, manufactures, and merchandize, and shall pay in the dominions of his said Majesty, no other or greater duties, charges, or fees whatever, than the most favoured nation is or shall be obliged to pay; and they shall enjoy all the rights, privileges, and exemptions in navigation and commerce, which the most favoured nation does or shall enjoy; submitting themselves, nevertheless, to the established laws and usages to which are submitted the subjects of his Majesty the King of Prussia, and the subjects and citizens of the most favoured nations.

Art. 4. More especially, each party shall have a right to carry their own produce, manufactures, and merchandize, in their own or any other vessels, to any parts of the dominions of the other, where it shall be lawful for all the subjects and citizens of that other freely to purchase them, and thence to take the produce, manufactures, and merchandize of the other, which all the said citizens or subjects shall in like manner be free to sell there, paying, in both cases, such duties, charges, and fees only, as are or shall be paid by the most favoured nation. Nevertheless, his Majesty the King of Prussia and the United States, respectively, reserve to themselves the right, where any nation restrains the transportation of merchandize to the vessels of the country of which it is the growth or manufacture, to establish against such nation, retaliating regulations; and also the right to prohibit in their respective countries the importation and exportation of all merchandize whatsoever, when reasons of state shall require it. In this case, the subjects or citizens of either of the contracting parties shall not import or export the merchandize prohibited by the other. But if one of the contracting parties permits any other nation to import or export the same merchandize, the citizens or subjects of the other shall immediately enjoy the same liberty.

Art. 5. The merchants, commanders of vessels, or other subjects or citizens of either party, shall not, within the ports or jurisdiction of the other, be forced to unload any sort of merchandize in any other vessels, nor receive them into their own, nor to wait for their being loaded longer than they please.

Art. 6. That the vessels of either party, loading within the ports or jurisdiction of the other, may not be uselessly harassed, or detained, it is agreed, that all examinations of goods, required by the laws, shall be made before they are laden on board the vessel, and that there shall be no examination after; nor shall the vessel be searched, at any time, unless articles shall have been laden therein clandestinely and illegally; in which case the person by whose order they were carried on board, or who carried them without order, shall be liable to the laws of the

land in which he is; but no other person shall be molested, nor shall any other goods, nor the vessel, be seized or detained for that cause.

Art. 7. Each party shall endeavour, by all the means in their power, to protect and defend all vessels and other effects belonging to the citizens or subjects of the other, which shall be within the extent of their jurisdiction by sea or by land; and shall use all their efforts to recover, and cause to be restored to the right owners, their vessels and their effects, which shall be taken from them within the extent of their said jurisdiction.

Art. 8. The vessels of the subjects or citizens of either party, coming on any coast belonging to the other, but not willing to enter into port, or who entering into port are not willing to unload their cargoes or break bulk, shall have liberty to depart, and to pursue their voyage, without molestation, and without being obliged to render any account of their cargo, or to pay any duties, charges or fees whatsoever, except those established for vessels entered into port, and appropriated to the maintenance of the port itself, or of other establishments for the safety and convenience of navigators; which duties, charges, and fees, shall be the same, and shall be paid on the same footing, as in the case of subjects or citizens of the country where they are established.

Art. 9. When any vessel of either party shall be wrecked, foundered, or otherwise damaged on coasts or within the dominions of the other, their respective citizens or subjects shall receive, as well for themselves as for their vessels and effects, the same assistance which would be due to the inhabitants of the country where the damage happens, and shall pay the same charges and dues only as the said inhabitants would be subject to pay in a like case: and if the operations of repair shall require that the whole or any part of the cargo be unloaded, they shall pay no duties, charges, or fees, upon the part which they shall reload and carry away.—The ancient and barbarous right to wrecks of the sea shall be entirely abolished with respect to the subjects or citizens of the two contracting parties.

Art. 10. The citizens or subjects of each party shall have power to dispose of their personal goods within the jurisdiction of the other, by testament, donation, or otherwise; and their representatives, being subjects or citizens of the other party, shall succeed to their said personal goods, whether by testament or *ab intestato*, and may take possession thereof, either by themselves or by others acting for them, and dispose of the same at their will, paying such dues only as the inhabitants of the country wherein the said goods are, shall be subject to pay in like cases. And in case of the absence of the representative, such care shall be taken of the said goods as would be taken of the goods of a native in like case, until the lawful owner may take measures for receiving them. And if question should arise among several claimants, to which of them the said goods belong, the same shall be decided finally by the laws and judges of the land wherein the

said goods are. And where, on the death of any person, holding real estate within the territories of the one party, such real estate would, by the laws of the land, descend on a citizen or subject of the other, were he not disqualified by alienage, such subject shall be allowed a reasonable time to sell the same, and to withdraw the proceeds, without molestation, and exempt from all rights of detraction on the part of the governments of the respective states. But this article shall not derogate in any manner from the force of the laws already published, or hereafter to be published by his Majesty the King of Prussia, to prevent the emigration of his subjects.

Art. 11. The most perfect freedom of conscience and of worship is granted to the citizens or subjects of either party, within the jurisdiction of the other; and no person shall be molested in that respect, for any cause other than an insult on the religion of others. Moreover, when the subjects or citizens of the one party shall die within the jurisdiction of the other, their bodies shall be buried in the usual burying grounds, or other decent and suitable places, and shall be protected from violation or disturbance.

Art. 12. Experience having proved, that the principle adopted in the twelfth article of the treaty of 1785, according to which free ships make free goods, has not been sufficiently respected during the two last wars, and especially in that which still continues, the two contracting parties propose, after the return of a general peace, to agree either separately between themselves, or jointly with other powers alike interested, to concert with the great maritime powers of Europe, such arrangements and such permanent principles as may serve to consolidate the liberty and the safety of the neutral navigation and commerce in future wars. And if, in the interval, either of the contracting parties should be engaged in a war, in which the other should remain neutral, the ships of war and privateers of the belligerent power shall conduct themselves towards the merchant-vessels of the neutral power as favourably as the course of the war then existing may permit, observing the principles and rules of the law of nations, generally acknowledged.

Art. 13. And in the same case of one of the contracting parties being engaged in war with any other power, to prevent all the difficulties and misunderstandings that usually arise respecting merchandize of contraband, such as arms, ammunition, and military stores of every kind, no such articles carried in the vessels, or by the subjects or citizens of either party, to the enemies of the other, shall be deemed contraband, so as to induce confiscation or condemnation, and a loss of property to individuals. Nevertheless, it shall be lawful to stop such vessels and articles, and to detain them for such length of time as the captors may think necessary to prevent the inconvenience or damage that might ensue from their proceeding, paying, however, a reasonable compensation for the loss such arrest shall occasion to the proprietors; and it shall farther be allowed to use in the service of the

captors the whole or any part of the military stores so detained, paying the owners the full value of the same, to be ascertained by the current price at the place of its destination. But in a case supposed of a vessel stopped for articles of contraband, if the master of the vessel stopped will deliver out the goods supposed to be of a contraband nature, he shall be admitted to do it, and the vessel shall not, in that case, be carried into any port, nor farther detained, but shall be allowed to proceed on her voyage.

All cannons, mortars, fire-arms, pistols, bombs, grenades, bullets, balls, muskets, flints, matches, powder, saltpetre, sulphur, cuirasses, pikes, swords, belts, cartouch-boxes, saddles and bridles, beyond the quantity necessary for the use of the ship, or beyond that which every man serving on board the vessel, or passenger, ought to have; and in general whatever is comprised under the denomination of arms and military stores of what description soever, shall be deemed objects of contraband.

Art. 14. To ensure to the vessels of the two contracting parties, the advantage of being readily and certainly known in time of war, it is agreed, that they shall be provided with the sea-letters and documents hereafter specified:

1st. A passport, expressing the name, the property, and the burden of the vessel, as also the name and dwelling of the master; which passport shall be made out in good and due form, shall be renewed as often as the vessel shall return into port, and shall be exhibited whensoever required, as well in the open sea as in port. But if the vessel be under convoy of one or more vessels of war, belonging to the neutral party, the simple declaration of the officer commanding the convoy, that the said vessel belongs to the party of which he is, shall be considered as establishing the fact, and shall relieve both parties from the trouble of farther examination.

2d. A charter-party, that is to say, the contract passed for the freight of the whole vessel, or the bills of lading given for the cargo in detail.

3d. The list of the ship's company, containing an indication by name, and in detail, of the persons composing the crew of the vessel. These documents shall always be authenticated according to the forms established at the place from which the vessel shall have sailed.

As their production ought to be exacted only when one of the contracting parties shall be at war, and as their exhibition ought to have no other object than to prove the neutrality of the vessel, its cargo, and company, they shall not be deemed absolutely necessary on board such vessels, belonging to the neutral party, as shall have sailed from its ports before or within three months after the government shall have been informed of the state of war, in which the belligerent party shall be engaged. In the interval, in default of these specific documents, the neutrality of the vessel may be established by such other evidence as the tribunals authorized to judge of the case may deem sufficient.

Art. 15. And to prevent entirely all disorder and violence in such

cases, it is stipulated, that when the vessels of the neutral party, sailing without convoy, shall be met by any vessel of war, public or private, of the other party, such vessel of war shall not send more than two or three men in their boat on board the said neutral vessel, to examine her passport and documents. And all persons belonging to any vessel of war, public or private, who shall molest or insult, in any manner whatever, the people, vessels, or effects of the other party, shall be responsible in their persons and property for damages and interest, sufficient security for which shall be given by all commanders of private armed vessels before they are commissioned.

Art. 16. In times of war, or in cases of urgent necessity, when either of the contracting parties shall be obliged to lay a general embargo, either in all its ports or in certain particular places, the vessels of the other party shall be subject to this measure, upon the same footing as those of the most favoured nations, but without having the right to claim the exemptions in their favour stipulated in the 16th article of the former treaty of 1785. But on the other hand, the proprietors of the vessels which shall have been detained, whether for some military expedition, or for what other use soever, shall obtain from the government that shall have employed them, an equitable indemnity, as well for the freight as for the loss occasioned by the delay. And furthermore, in all cases of seizure, detention, or arrest, for debts contracted or offences committed by any citizen or subject of the one party, within the jurisdiction of the other, the same shall be made and prosecuted by order and authority of that only, and according to the regular course of proceedings used in such cases.

Art. 17. If any vessel or effects of the neutral power be taken by an enemy of the other, or by a pirate, and taken by the power at war, they shall be restored to the first proprietor upon the conditions hereafter stipulated in the 21st article for cases of recapture.

Art. 18. If the citizens or subjects of either party in danger from tempests, pirates, enemies, or other accident, shall take refuge with their vessels or effects within the harbours or jurisdiction of the other, they shall be received, protected, and treated with humanity and kindness, and shall be permitted to furnish themselves, at a reasonable price, with all refreshments, provisions, and other things necessary for their sustenance, health, and accommodation, and for the repair of their vessels.

Art. 19. The vessels of war, public and private, of both parties, shall carry freely, wheresoever they please, the vessels and effects taken from their enemies, without being obliged to pay any duties, charges, or fees to officers of admiralty, of the customs, or any others; nor shall such prizes be arrested, searched, or put under any legal process, when they come to and enter the ports of the other party, but may freely be carried out again at any time by their captors to the places expressed in their commissions, which the commanding officer of such vessel shall be obliged to show. But, conformably to the treaties ex-

isting between the United States and Great Britain, no vessel that shall have made a prize upon British subjects, shall have a right to shelter in the ports of the United States; but if forced therein by tempests, or any other danger, or accident of the sea, they shall be obliged to depart as soon as possible.

Art. 20. No citizen or subject of either of the contracting parties shall take from any power with which the other may be at war, any commission, or letter of marque, for arming any vessel to act as a privateer against the other, on pain of being punished as a pirate: nor shall either party hire, send, or give any part of its naval or military force to the enemy of the other to aid them offensively or defensively against the other.

Art. 21. If the two contracting parties should be engaged in a war against a common enemy, the following points shall be observed between them:

1st. If a vessel of one of the parties, taken by the enemy, shall, before being carried into a neutral or enemy's port, be taken by a ship of war, or privateer of the other, it shall, with the cargo, be restored to the first owners, for a compensation of one-eighth part of the value of the said vessel and cargo, if the recapture be made by a public ship of war, and one-sixth part, if made by a privateer.

2d. The restitution in such cases shall be after due proof of property, and surety given for the part to which the recaptors are entitled.

3d. The vessels of war, public and private, of the two parties, shall reciprocally be admitted with their prizes into the respective ports of each; but the said prizes shall not be discharged or sold there, until their legality shall have been decided according to the laws and regulations of the state to which the captors belong, but by the judicatories of the place into which the prize shall have been conducted.

4th. It shall be free to each party to make such regulations as they shall judge necessary for the conduct of their respective vessels of war, public and private, relative to the vessels which they shall take, and carry into the ports of the two parties.

Art. 22. When the contracting parties shall have a common enemy, or shall both be neutral, the vessels of war of each shall upon all occasions take under their protection the vessels of the other going the same course, and shall defend such vessels as long as they hold the same course, against all force and violence, in the same manner as they ought to protect and defend vessels belonging to the party of which they are.

Art. 23. If war should arise between the two contracting parties, the merchants of either country, then residing in the other, shall be allowed to remain nine months to collect their debts, and settle their affairs, and may depart freely, carrying off all their effects without molestation or hindrance; and all women and children, scholars of every faculty, cultivators of the earth, artisans, manufacturers, and fishermen, unarmed and inhabiting unfortified towns, villages, or places, and in general all others, whose occupations are for the common subsistence and benefit of

mankind, shall be allowed to continue their respective employments, and shall not be molested in their persons, nor shall their houses or goods be burnt, or otherwise destroyed, nor their fields wasted by the armed force of the enemy, into whose power, by the events of war, they may happen to fall: but if any thing is necessary to be taken from them for the use of such armed force, the same shall be paid for at a reasonable price.

Art. 24. And to prevent the destruction of prisoners of war, by sending them into distant and inclement countries, or by crowding them into close and noxious places, the two contracting parties solemnly pledge themselves to the world, and to each other, that they will not adopt any such practice: that neither will send the prisoners whom they may take from the other, into the East Indies, or any other part of Asia or Africa, but they shall be placed in some part of their dominions in Europe or America, in wholesome situations; that they shall not be confined in dungeons, prison-ships, or prisons, nor be put in irons, nor bound, nor otherwise restrained in the use of their limbs; that the officers shall be enlarged on their paroles within convenient districts, and have comfortable quarters, and the common men be disposed in cantonments open and extensive enough for air and exercise, and lodged in barracks as roomy and good as are provided by the party in whose power they are, for their own troops; that the officers shall be daily furnished by the party, in whose power they are, with as many rations, and of the same articles and quality as are allowed by them, either in kind, or by commutation, to officers of equal rank in their own army; and all others shall be daily furnished by them with such rations as they shall allow to common soldiers in their own service; the value whereof shall be paid by the other party on a mutual adjustment of accounts for the subsistence of prisoners at the close of the war; and the said accounts shall not be mingled with or set off against any others, nor the balances due on them be withheld as a satisfaction or reprisal for any other article, or for any other cause, real or pretended whatever. That each party shall be allowed to keep a commissary of prisoners of their own appointment, with every separate cantonment of prisoners in possession of the other; which commissary shall see the prisoners as often as he pleases; shall be allowed to receive and distribute whatever comforts may be sent to them by their friends; and shall be free to make his reports in open letters to those who employ him; but if any officer shall break his parole, or any other prisoner shall escape from the limits of his cantonment, after they have been designated to him, such individual officer or other prisoner shall forfeit so much of the benefit of this article as provides for his enlargement on parole or cantonment. And it is declared, that neither the pretence that war dissolves all treaties, nor any other whatever, shall be considered as annulling or suspending this and the next preceding article; but, on the contrary, that the state of war is precisely that

for which they are provided, and during which they are to be as sacredly observed as the most acknowledged articles in the law of nature and of nations.

Art. 25. The two contracting parties have granted to each other the liberty of having each in the ports of the other, consuls, vice-consuls, agents, and commissaries of their own appointment, who shall enjoy the same privileges and powers as those of the most favoured nations. But if any such consuls shall exercise commerce, they shall be submitted to the same laws and usages to which the private individuals of their nation are submitted in the same place.

Art. 26. If either party shall hereafter grant to any other nation any particular favour in navigation or commerce, it shall immediately become common to the other party, freely, where it is freely granted to such other nation, or on yielding the same compensation when the grant is conditional.

Art. 27. His Majesty the King of Prussia and the United States of America agree, that this treaty shall be in force during the term of ten years from the exchange of the ratifications; and if the expiration of that term should happen during the course of a war between them, then the articles before provided for the regulation of their conduct during such war, shall continue in force until the conclusion of the treaty which shall restore peace.

This treaty shall be ratified on both sides, and the ratification exchanged within one year from the day of its signature, or sooner if possible.

In testimony whereof, the Plenipotentiaries, before mentioned, have hereto subscribed their names and affixed their seals.

Done at Berlin, July 11, 1799.

(L.S.) Charles Guillaume Compte de Finkenstein.

(L.S.) Philippe Charles d'Alvensleben.

(L.S.) Chretien Henri Curte Compte d'Haugwitz.

(L.S.) John Quincy Adams.

Speech of the President of the United States of America, on the Meeting of both Houses of Congress, in the Senate Chamber, at Washington, on the 22d of November.

Gentlemen of the Senate, and Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

Immediately after the adjournment of Congress, at their last session in Philadelphia, I gave directions, in compliance with the laws, for the removal of the public offices, records, and property. These directions have been executed, and the public officers have since resided and conducted the ordinary business of the Government in this place.

I congratulate the people of the United States on the assembling of Congress at the permanent seat of their Government, and I congratulate you, gentlemen, on the prospect of a residence not to be changed. Although there is cause to apprehend that accommodations are not now so complete as might

be wished, yet there is great reason to believe that this inconvenience will cease with the present session.

It would be unbecoming the representatives of the nation to assemble, for the first time in this solemn temple, without looking up to the Supreme Ruler of the Universe, and imploring his blessing. May this territory be the residence of virtue and happiness! In this city may that piety and virtue, that wisdom and magnanimity, that constancy and self-government, which adorned the great character whose name it bears, be for ever held in veneration! Here, and throughout our country, may simple manners, pure morals, and true religion, flourish for ever!

It is with you, gentlemen, to consider whether the local powers over the district of Columbia, vested by the constitution in the Congress of the United States, shall be immediately exercised. If, in your opinion, this important trust ought now to be executed, you cannot fail, while performing it, to take into view the future probable situation of the territory, for the happiness of which you are about to provide. You will consider it as the capital of a great nation, advancing with unexampled rapidity, in arts, in commerce, in wealth, and in population; and possessing within itself those energies and resources, which, if not thrown away, or lamentably misdirected, secure to it a long course of prosperity and self-government.

In compliance with a law of the last session of congress, the officers and soldiers of the temporary army have been discharged. It affords real pleasure to recollect the honourable testimony they gave of the patriotic motives which brought them into the service of their country, by the readiness and regularity with which they returned to the station of private citizens.

It is in every point of view, of such primary importance to carry the laws into prompt and faithful execution, and to render that part of the administration of justice, which the constitution and laws devolve on the federal courts, as convenient to the people as may consist with their present circumstances, that I cannot omit once more to recommend to your serious consideration the judiciary system of the United States. No subject is more interesting than this to the public happiness, and to none can those improvements, which may have been suggested by experience, be more beneficially applied.

A treaty of amity and commerce with the King of Prussia has been concluded and ratified. The ratifications have been exchanged, and I have directed the treaty to be promulgated by proclamation.

The difficulties which suspended the execution of the sixth article of our treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation with Great Britain, have not yet been removed. The negociation on this subject is still depending. As it must be for the interest and honour of both nations to adjust this difference with good faith, I indulge confidently the expectation,

that the sincere endeavours of the government of the United States to bring it to an amicable termination, will not be disappointed.

The envoys extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary from the United States to France were received by the First Consul with the respect due to their character, and three persons with equal powers were appointed to treat with them. Although at the date of the last official intelligence the negociation had not terminated, yet it is to be hoped, that our efforts to effect an accommodation will at length meet with a success proportioned to the sincerity with which they have been so often repeated.

While our best endeavours for the preservation of harmony with all nations will continue to be used, the experience of the world —our own experience—admonish us of the insecurity of trusting too confidently to their success. We cannot, without committing a dangerous imprudence, abandon those measures of self-protection, which are adapted to our situation, and to which, notwithstanding our pacific policy, the violence and injustice of others may again compel us to resort. While our vast extent of sea-coast, the commercial and agricultural habits of our people, the great capital they will continue to trust on the ocean, suggest the system of defence which will be most beneficial to ourselves—our distance from Europe, and our resources for maritime strength, will enable us to employ it with effect. Seasonable and systematic arrangements, so far as our resources will justify, for a navy adapted to defensive war, and which may, in case of necessity, be quickly brought into use, seem to be as much recommended by a wise and true economy, as by a just regard for our future tranquillity, for the safety of our shores, and for the protection of our property committed to the ocean. The present navy of the United States, called suddenly into existence by a great national exigency, has raised us in our esteem, and, by the protection afforded to our commerce, has effected, to the extent of our expectations, the object for which it was created.

In connection with a navy ought to be contemplated the fortification of some of our principal seaports and harbours. A variety of considerations, which will readily suggest themselves, urge an attention to this measure of precaution. To give security to our principal ports, considerable sums have already been expended, but the works remain incomplete. It is for Congress to determine whether additional appropriations shall be made, in order to render competent to the intended purposes the fortifications which have been commenced.

The manufacture of arms within the United States still invites the attention of the National Legislature. At a considerable expence to the public, this manufactory has been brought to such a state of maturity, as, with continued encouragement, will supersede the necessity of future importations from foreign countries.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

I shall direct the estimates of

the appropriations necessary for the ensuing year, together with an account of the public revenue and expenditure, to a late period, to be laid before you. I observe with much satisfaction, that the product of the revenue, during the present year, has been more considerable than during any former equal period. This result affords conclusive evidence of the great resources of this country, and of the wisdom and efficiency of the measures which have been adopted by Congress, for the protection of commerce and preservation of public credit.

Gentlemen of the Senate, and
Gentlemen of the House
of Representatives,

As one of the grand community of nations, our attention is irresistibly drawn to the important scenes which surround us. If they have exhibited an uncommon portion of calamity, it is the province of humanity to deplore, and of wisdom to avoid the causes which may have produced it. If, turning our eyes homeward, we find reason to rejoice at the prospect which presents itself; if we perceive the interior of our country prosperous, free, and happy; if all enjoy in safety, under the protection of laws, emanating only from the general will, the fruits of their own labour, we ought to fortify and cling to those institutions, which have been the source of such real felicity, and resist, with unabated perseverance, the progress of those dangerous innovations, which may diminish their influence.

To your patriotism, gentlemen, has been confided the honourable duty of guarding the public interests; and while the past is to your country a sure pledge that it will be faithfully discharged, permit me to assure you that your labours to promote the general happiness will receive from me the most zealous co-operation.

(Signed) John Adams.

Negociation for the Evacuation of Genoa, by the right wing of the French Army, between Vice-Admiral Lord Keith, commanding the English Fleet, Lieutenant-General Baron d'Ott, commanding the Blockade, and the General-in-Chief Massena.

Art. 1st. The right wing of the French army, intrusted with the defence of Genoa, the General-in-chief and his staff, shall march out, with arms and baggage, to rejoin the centre of the said army.

Answer—The right wing, intrusted with the defence of Genoa, shall march out to the number of 8110 men, and shall take the land route to go by Nice into France; the rest shall be transported by sea to Antibes. Admiral Keith engages to supply this force with subsistence in biscuits, equally with the English. On the other hand, all Austrian prisoners, taken in the states of Genoa, by the army of Massena, during the present year, shall be restored *en masse*. With the exception, however, of those already exchanged, up to the present time; in other respects the articles shall be executed in full.

2d. All that belongs to the said right wing, such as artillery and ammunition of all kinds, shall

be carried by the English fleet to Antibes, or to the gulf of Juan.

Answer—Granted.

3d. Convalescents and those who are not in a fit state to march, shall be transported by sea to Antibes, and maintained as expressed in the first article.

Answer—They shall be transported by the English fleet, and maintained.

4th. The French soldiers remaining in the hospitals of Genoa shall be treated like the Austrians: as fast as they are in a state to leave the place, they shall be transported as expressed in the first article.

Answer—Granted.

5th. The city of Genoa, as well as its port, shall be declared neutral; the line which shall determine its neutrality shall be fixed by the contracting parties.

Answer—This article turning upon objects purely political, it is not in the power of the Generals of the Allied troops to give to it any assent whatever. However, the undersigned are authorized to declare that his Majesty the Emperor, determining to grant his august protection to the inhabitants of Genoa, the city of Genoa may be assured that all provisional establishments that circumstances may require, shall have no other object than public happiness and tranquillity.

6th. The independence of the people of Liguria shall be respected: no nation actually at war with the Ligurian Republic shall have power to effect any change in its government.

Answer—The same as that to the preceding article.

7th. No Ligurian, having exercised, or still exercising any public function, shall be molested for his political opinions.

Answer—No person shall be molested for his opinions, nor for having taken a part in the preceding government, at the actual epoch. The disturbers of the public peace, after the entry of the Austrians into Genoa, shall be punished conformably with the laws.

8th. Frenchmen, Genoese, and Italians domiciled, or who have taken refuge at Genoa, shall be at liberty to retire with all that belongs to them, whether money, merchandize, furniture, or any other effects, either by sea or land, to whatever place they shall think proper; passports shall be given to them for this purpose, which shall be available for six months.

Answer—Granted.

9th. The inhabitants of the city of Genoa shall be free to communicate with the two coasts, and to continue to trade freely.

Answer—Granted, according to the answer to article 5.

10th. Armed peasants shall not enter either singly or in bodies into Genoa.

Answer—Granted.

11th. The population of Genoa shall be supplied with provisions with the least delay.

Answer—Granted.

12th. The movements of evacuation by the French troops, in conformity with the first article, shall be regulated during the day, by the head of the staff of the respective armies.

Answer—Granted.

13th. The Austrian general, commanding at Genoa, shall grant all necessary guards and escorts, for protecting the embarkation of the property belonging to the French army.

Answer—Granted.

14th. There shall be left a French commissioner for the care of the sick and wounded, and to superintend their evacuation of the place: another commissioner at war shall be named to secure, receive, and distribute the subsistence of the French troops, whether at Genoa or on their march.

Answer—Granted.

15th. General Massena shall send an officer to Piedmont, or wherever else may be found necessary, to General Bonaparte, to apprise him of the evacuation of Genoa; he shall be furnished with passport and escort.

Answer—Granted.

16th. Officers of all ranks, of the army of the General-in-chief Massena, made prisoners of war subsequently to the commencement of the present year, shall return to France on parole, and shall not serve until exchanged.

Answer—Granted.

Additional Articles.

The light-house gate, where the drawbridge is situated, and the entrance of the port, shall be given up to a detachment of the Austrian troops, and to twelve English vessels, this day, the 4th of June, at two o'clock in the afternoon.

Immediately after signature, hostages shall be exchanged.

The artillery, ammunition, plans, and other military effects, belonging to the city of Genoa and its territory, shall be faithfully delivered up, by the French Commissioners, to the Commissioners of the Allied troops.

Done in duplicate upon the bridge of Conegliano, the 4th of June, 1800.

(Signed)
B. d'Ott, Lieutenant-General.
Keith, Vice-Admiral, Commander-in-Chief.

Convention relative to the Occupation of the City of Genoa and its Forts, the 5th of Messidor, year VIII, *otherwise the 24th of June,* 1800, *conformably with the Treaty made between the Generals-in-Chief Berthier and Melas.*

Commissioners and officers, bearing orders from General Suchet, shall enter to-morrow at eight o'clock.

Agreed.

The forts without the city shall be occupied by the French troops at three o'clock in the afternoon.

Agreed.

The three or four hundred sick, who cannot be moved, shall have the same attention as the French troops.

Agreed.

The flotilla shall remain in port until the wind shall serve for its sailing: it shall be neutral as far as Leghorn.

Agreed.

At four in the morning, the 5th of Messidor (24th of June) Count Hohenzollern shall march out with the garrison.

Agreed.

Despatches, and transports of recruits and oxen, which shall arrive after the departure of the present occupants, shall be free to follow the Austrian army.

Agreed.

At the request of General Count Hohenzollern, no honours shall be paid to his troops.

Agreed.

(Signed) Le Compte de Busy, Major-General, empowered by Count de Hohenzollern.

Conegliano, 3d of Messidor, year VIII, *of the French Republic, otherwise the 22d of June,* 1800.

(A true copy.)

(Signed) Lieutenant-General L. G. Suchet.

CHARACTERS.

Account of the Annual Birman Festivals at Pegue, &c.

From Symes's Embassy to Ava. —At noon we got under way, and soon passed a village on the right, consisting of about twenty houses; the river gradually diminished in breadth, and at this place was not more than forty yards wide, the banks covered with coppice and long reeds: after passing another and larger village, where there was a chokey or watch-house, we proceeded through a cultivated country, and numerous villages appeared on each side. At seven in the evening we were in sight of Pegue, and judged the distance by water from Rangoon to be about ninety miles, most part of the way in a northward direction; but the windings of the river are so great, that the road in a straight line must be much less. When we approached the landing place, Mr. Wood came down to meet us, and the favourable account he gave of his reception, added not a little to the satisfaction of having finished our journey: we also found Baba-Sheen on the bank waiting our arrival. This personage conducted us with great civility to our habitation, which we were pleased at finding far superior to that we had left. It was situated on a plain, a few hundred yards without the principal gate of the present town, but within the fortified lines of the ancient city. Like Birman houses in general, it was raised between three and four feet from the ground, composed wholly of bamboos and mats, and indifferently thatched: this is a defect that extends universally to their own dwellings, and affords matter of surprise, in a country where the coarse grass used for thatching is so plentiful. We had each a small apartment, as a bed-chamber, with carpets spread over the mats, and a larger room to dine in, and to receive visitors: huts were also erected for our attendants; and a bamboo palisade, inclosing a court sufficiently spacious, surrounded the whole. We altogether had reason to be satisfied with our dwelling; it was commodious, according to the ideas of the people themselves, and we had no right to complain of that which was well intended. Shortly after our arrival, two officers of government waited on me, with compliments of congratulation from the Maywoon; they stayed but a short time, perceiving that we were busy in arranging conveniences for the night.

Our servants were occupied during the greater part of the next day, in bringing up our baggage from the boats to the house, a distance of nearly half a mile. In the afternoon an officer called Che-Key, second in rank to the Maywoon, and the Sere-dogee, or secretary of the provincial government, accompanied by Baba-Sheen, paid us a visit to tea. They informed me that the Maywoon, or Viceroy, who had been much engaged in directing the preparations for the ensuing festival, hoped that we would wave ceremony, and give him our company on the following morning at the great temple of Shoemadoo, to view the amusements of the first day; an invitation that I gladly accepted from motives of curiosity, as well as of respect.

At eight o'clock in the morning Baba-Sheen arrived, in order to conduct us to the temple; he brought with him three small horses, equipped with saddles and bridles, resembling those used by the higher ranks of the inhabitants of Hindostan. After breakfast, Mr. Wood, Dr. Buchanan, and myself, mounted, and attended by Baba-Sheen, and an Ackedoo, an officer belonging to the Maywoon's household, also on horseback, set out to view the ceremony. We entered the new town by the nearest gate, and proceeded upwards of a quarter of a mile through the principal street till we came to where it was crossed at right angles by another, which led from the Maywoon's residence to the temple: here our progress was stopped by a great concourse of people, and we perceived on each side of the way, troops marching by single files in slow time, towards the temple. By the advice of Baba-Sheen, we occupied a convenient spot to view the procession. The troops that we saw, were the Maywoon's guard; five or six hundred men passed us in this manner, wretchedly armed, and equipped; many had muskets that appeared in a very unserviceable state, with accoutrements not in a more respectable condition; some were provided with spears, others with sabres; whilst their dress was as motley as their weapons. Several were naked to the middle, having only a Kummerband, or waistcloth, rolled round their waist, and passed between their legs; some were dressed in old velvet, or cloth coats, which they put on regardless of size or fashion, although it scarce covered their nakedness, or trailed on the ground: it was finery, and finery in any shape was welcome. Some wore Dutch broad-brimmed hats, bound with gold lace, others the crowns of hats, without any brim at all: the officers of this martial band, who were for the most part Christian descendants of Portugueze ancestors, exhibited a very grotesque appearance. The first personages of rank that passed by were three children of the Maywoon, borne astride upon men's shoulders; the eldest, a boy about eight years of age; the youngest, a girl not more than five; the latter only was legitimate, being the first born of his present wife; the two elder were the offspring of concubines. The Maywoon followed at a short distance, mounted on the neck of a very fine elephant, which he guided himself. His dress was handsome and be-

coming, he had on a dark velvet robe with long sleeves, trimmed with broad gold lace, and on his head he wore a conical cap of the same material, richly embroidered: a number of parade elephants in tawdry housings brought up the rear. As we had not been formally introduced, he passed by, without honouring us with any notice. Proceeding to the foot of the steps that lead to the pagoda, his elephant knelt down to suffer him to alight. Whilst he was in the performance of this act, the parade elephants knelt also, and the crowd that followed squatted on their heels. Having ascended the flight of steps, he put off his shoes, and walked once round the temple without his umbrella, which was laid aside out of reverence to the sanctity of the place. When he had finished this ceremony, he proceeded to the scene of amusement, a sort of theatre erected at an angle of the area of the temple. Two saloons, or open halls, separate from the great building, formed two sides of the theatre, which was about fifty feet square, covered by an awning of grass, spread on a flat roof of slender canes, supported by bamboo poles. Beneath the projecting verge of the roof of one of the saloons, there was an elevated seat, with a handsome canopy of cloth, for the accommodation of the Maywoon and his three children; and on a bare bench beneath him sat the principal officers of his court. On the left side of the theatre, a similar canopy and chair were erected for the Maywoon of Martaban, who happened at this time to be passing by to take possession of his government. Opposite to him, under the roof of the other saloon, seats were provided for the English gentlemen, covered with fine carpeting, but without any canopy. The diversions of this day consisted entirely of boxing and wrestling. In order to prevent injury to the champions, the ground had been prepared, and made soft with moistened sand. At the latter exercise they seemed to be very expert: a short, stout man was particularly distinguished for his superior skill and strength; we were told, that in former contests he had killed two of his antagonists. The first that encountered him on the present occasion, though much superior in size, was, after a short struggle, pitched on his head, and, as the bystanders said, severely hurt. Many others displayed great activity and address; but in the art of boxing they seemed very deficient, notwithstanding they used fists, knees, and elbows. The battles were of short duration; blood drawn on either side terminated the contest; and even without it, the Maywoon would not suffer them to contend long. At the end of an engagement both combatants approached the Maywoon's throne, and prostrated themselves before him, with their foreheads to the ground, whilst an attendant spread on the shoulders of each two pieces of cotton cloth, as the reward of their exertions, which they carried away in a crouching position, until they mingled with the crowd. The places of those who retired were immediately filled by fresh pugilists. This amusement lasted for three hours, until we became quite weary of it; tea and sweetmeats in great profusion were afterwards

served to us, in the name of the Maywoon. We departed without ceremony, and got home about four o'clock, extremely oppressed by the intense heat of the weather.

In the morning an early message came from the Maywoon, intimating that he hoped to see us that day at the government-house. Baba-Sheen also made a tender of his services to introduce us to the Praw, or lord; who being ready at the hour appointed, we set out on horseback to pay our visit of ceremony, preceded by the soldiers of the guard, and our personal attendants. Six Birmans also walked in front, bearing the articles intended as a present, which consisted of silks, satins, velvets, gold, flowered and plain muslins, some broad cloth, and a handsome silver-mounted fowling piece. In this order we marched through the town, the objects of universal curiosity, till we reached the gate of an inclosure surrounding the Maywoon's dwelling. It was made of boards nailed to posts twelve or thirteen feet high, and comprehended a spacious square, in the centre of which stood the governor's residence. There were likewise some smaller houses irregularly disposed, appropriated, as we understood, to the several members of the Maywoon's family. We pulled off our shoes at the bottom of the stairs, and were ushered into a saloon, from whence, turning to the right, we ascended three steps into a hall, where a number of persons, ranged on each side, were sitting with their legs inverted, waiting the entrance of the Maywoon. Instructed by Baba-Sheen, we took our seats on small carpets spread in the middle of the room, in front of a narrow gallery, elevated about two feet from the floor, and railed in; with the presents placed before us on trays. In a few minutes the Maywoon entered by a door at one end of the gallery; we made no obeisance, as none was desired, but his attendants crouched to the ground. He sat down, and silence was kept for some time, which I first interrupted, by telling him, through Baba-Sheen, that the Governor-General of India, having received his friendly letter, and being well assured of the amicable disposition of the Birman government towards the English nation, had charged me with the delivery of letters and presents to his Majesty at Ava, and had likewise requested his acceptance of a few articles which I had brought with me. I then rose, and presented the Governor-General's letter; he laid it on the tray before him, talked of indifferent matters, and was extremely polite in his expressions and manner, but carefully avoided all discourse that had the least relation to business, or the objects of the embassy. After half an hour's conversation, chiefly on uninteresting topics, he invited us to a grand display of fire-works, which was to take place on the following day, and soon after withdrew unceremoniously: tea and sweetmeats were then served up. Having tasted of what was set before us, we were conducted by Baba-Sheen to the outer balcony, to view the different companies pass by that intended to exhibit fire-works on the following day.

It is the custom, on this occasion, for the several Mious or dis-

tricts, whose situation is not too remote, to select and send a number of men and women from their community to represent them at the general festival: these companies vie with each other in the magnificence of their fire-works, and on the eve of celebration pass the government-house in review before the Maywoon and his family, each company distinct. A small waggon, drawn by four buffalos, profusely decorated with peacocks' feathers, and the tails of Thibet cows, led the procession, on which were laid the fire-works of that particular company; next advanced the men belonging to it, dancing and shouting; the females, in a separate troop, came last, singing in full chorus, and clapping their hands in accurately measured time. They, for the most part, appeared to be girls from sixteen to twenty years of age, comely, and well made, but their features were without the delicacy of the damsels of Hindostan, or the bloom of the soft Circassian beauties. In every company of young women, there were a few aged matrons, probably as a check on the vivacity of youth; the seniors, however, seemed to join in the festivity with juvenile sprightliness. Refreshments were again served up to us, and we returned home about two o'clock.

At eight in the morning great crowds had assembled on the plain without the stockade of the present town, but within the walls of ancient Pegue; three temporary sheds were erected on the middle of the green, apart from each other, one for the reception of the Maywoon and his family, another for the Martaban governor, and a third for our accommodation. Common spectators, to the number of many thousands, were scattered in groups over the plain; each division or company exhibited in turn its own fire-works: the display of rockets was strikingly grand, but nothing else merited attention. The cylinders of the rockets were trunks of trees hollowed, many of them seven or eight feet long, and from two to three feet in circumference; these were bound by strong ligatures to thick bamboos, eighteen or twenty feet in length; they rose to a great height, and in descending emitted various appearances of fire that were very beautiful. The time appointed for the amusement considerably diminished the effect, but it was chosen from a humane apprehension of injury to the people by the fall of extinguished rockets, which must have rendered the diversion, during the night, extremely dangerous. Notwithstanding this precaution, a man was unfortunate enough to be in the way of one, that killed him on the spot. Each company, after contributing its share towards the general entertainment, marched past the Maywoon, to the sound of musical instruments; after which they proceeded to our shed with songs and dances, "the pipe and the tabor" manifesting every lively demonstration of joy.

It was a spectacle not less pleasing than novel to a European, to witness such a concourse of people of all classes, brought together for the purposes of hilarity and sport, without their committing one act of intemperance, or being disgraced by a single in-

stance of intoxication. What scenes of riot and debauchery would not a similar festival in the vicinity of any capital town of Great Britain inevitably produce! The reflection is humiliating to an Englishman, however proud he may feel of the national character.

During the four following days we enjoyed a respite from public shows and ceremonials, and had leisure for observation; notwithstanding our hall, in a morning, was generally crowded, as every person of distinction in Pegue paid me the compliment of a visit, except the Maywoon, who, within the precincts of his own government, where he represents the king, never returns a visit. Numbers, both of men and women, prompted by harmless curiosity, surrounded the paling of the inclosure from morning till night; those of a better class usually came in, some previously asking permission, but many entered without it. Perfectly free from restraint among themselves, the Birmans scruple not to go into your house without ceremony, although you are an utter stranger. To do them justice, however, they are not at all displeased at your taking the same freedom with them. This intrusion is confined wholly to your public room; they do not attempt to open a door, and where a curtain dropped denotes privacy, they never offer to violate the barrier. On entering the room they immediately descend into the posture of respect. Of all our customs none seemed to surprise them more than the preparations for dining: the variety of utensils, and our manner of sitting at a table, excited their wonder: they never took any greater liberty than merely to come into the room, and sit down on the floor; they meddled with nothing, and asked for nothing, and when desired to go away always obeyed with cheerfulness. Had untold gold been placed before them, I am confident not a piece would have been purloined. Among the men of rank that visited us, an officer called Seree Dogee favoured us with his company more frequently than the rest; he held, by commission from the King, the place of chief provincial secretary, and junior judge of the criminal court; this gentleman often partook of our dinner, and seemed to relish our fare, but could not be prevailed on to taste wine or strong liquors; he was much pleased with the English mode of making tea, of which he drank copiously; indeed it is a beverage highly palatable to all ranks of Birmans.

Although, from the established forms of diplomatic etiquette, we had little personal intercourse with the Maywoon, yet he was not deficient in attention; he sent large supplies of rice, oil, gee, preserved tamarinds, and spices, for our Indian attendants; presents also of fruit and flowers were daily brought to me in his name. As their religion forbids the slaughter of any but wild animals for the purposes of food, he did not offer any thing for the use of the table; but our servants had liberty to purchase whatever they wanted. Fowls, kid, and venison constituted our principal dishes; the two first we procured in abundance, and of a good quality; the venison was meagre, but well tasted, and made excellent soup; it was chiefly the

wild antelope, with which the country abounds. Having among my people two bakers, and a person who understood making butter, we were seldom without these essential articles of a tolerable quality. Whatever we had occasion to kill was slain in the night, to avoid offending the prejudices of the people, who, so far from seeking cause of offence, were inclined to make every liberal allowance for the usage of foreigners. The Maywoon politely ordered a pair of horses of the Pegue breed, small, but handsome and spirited, to be selected, and sent to us, from his own stud, accompanied by two grooms, one to attend on each horse; a temporary stable was erected for them within the paling of our court, where they continued whilst we remained at Pegue, and afforded us the means of exercise and pleasing recreation. Being now commodiously settled, I invited Captain Thomas from Rangoon, to spend a few days with us; he accepted my invitation, and came up in a boat provided by the intendant of the port, having previously arranged the concerns of his ship, and the mode of supplying the crew during his absence.

The solar year of the Birmans was now drawing to a close, and the three last days are usually spent by them in merriment and feasting; we were invited by the Maywoon to be present on the evening of the tenth of April, at the exhibition of a dramatic representation.

At a little before eight o'clock, the hour when the play was to commence, we proceeded to the house of the Maywoon, accompanied by Baba Sheen, who, on all occasions, acted as master of the ceremonies. The theatre was the open court, splendidly illuminated by lamps and torches; the Maywoon and his lady sat in a projecting balcony of his house; we occupied seats below him, raised about two feet from the ground and covered with carpets; a crowd of spectators were seated in a circle round the stage. The performance began immediately on our arrival, and far excelled any Indian drama I had ever seen. The dialogue was spirited, without rant, and the action animated, without being extravagant: the dresses of the principal performers were showy and becoming. I was told that the best actors were natives of Siam, a nation which, though unable to contend with the Birmans and Peguers in war, have cultivated with more success the refined arts of peace. By way of an interlude between the acts, a clownish buffoon entertained the audience with a recital of different passages, and by grimace, and frequent alterations of tone and countenance, extorted loud peals of laughter from the spectators. The Birmans seem to delight in mimicry, and are very expert in the practice, possessing uncommon versatility of countenance. An eminent practitioner of this art amused us with a specimen of his skill, at our own house, and, to our no small astonishment, exhibited a masterly display of the passions, in pantomimic looks and gestures: the transitions he made from pain to pleasure, from joy to despair, from rage to mildness, from laughter to tears; his expression of terror, and, above all, his look of idiotism, were perform-

ances of a first rate merit in their line, and we agreed in opinion, that had his fates decreed him to have been a native of Great Britain, his genius would have rivalled that of any modern comedian of the English stage.

The plot of the drama performed this evening, I understood, was taken from the sacred text of the Ramayan of Balmiec*, a work of high authority amongst the Hindoos. It represented the battles of the holy Ram and the impious Rahwaan, chief of the Rakuss, or demons, to revenge the rape of Seeta, the wife of Ram, who was forcibly carried away by Rahwaan, and bound under the spells of enchantment. Vicissitudes of fortune took place during the performance, that seemed highly interesting to the audience. Ram was at length wounded by a poisoned arrow; the sages skilled in medicine consulted on his cure; they discovered, that on the mountain Indragurry grew a certain tree that produced a gum, which was a sovereign antidote against the deleterious effects of poison; but the distance was so great that none could be found to undertake the journey: at length Honymaan†, leader of the army of apes, offered to go in quest of it. When he arrived at the place, being uncertain which was the tree, he took up half the mountain, and transported it with ease; thus was the cure of Ram happily effected, the enchantment was broken, and the piece ended with a dance, and songs of triumph.

On the 12th of April, the last day of the Birman year, we were invited by the Maywoon to bear a part ourselves in a sport that is universally practised throughout the Birman dominions on the concluding day of their annual cycle. To wash away the impurities of the past, and commence the new year free from stain, women on this day are accustomed to throw water on every man they meet, which the men have the privilege of retorting; this licence gives rise to a great deal of harmless merriment, particularly amongst the young women, who, armed with large syringes and flagons, endeavour to wet every man that goes along the street, and, in their turn, receive a wetting with perfect good humour; nor is the smallest indecency ever manifested in this or in any other of their sports. Dirty water is never cast; a man is not allowed to lay hold of a woman, but may fling as much water over her as he pleases, provided she has been the aggressor; but if a woman warns a man that she does not mean to join in the diversion, it is considered as an avowal of pregnancy, and she passes without molestation.

About an hour before sunset we went to the Maywoon's, and found that his lady had provided plentifully to give us a wet reception. In the hall were placed three large china jars, full of water, with bowls

* Called by Sir William Jones, Valmeic.

† Honymaan is worshipped by the Hindoos under the form of an ape, and is one of the most frequent objects of their adoration: almost every Hindoo pagoda has this figure delineated in some part of it. Honymaan is the term used by the Hindoos to denote a large ape.

and ladles to fling it. Each of us, on entering, had a bottle of rose-water presented to him, a little of which we in turn poured into the palm of the Maywoon's hand, who sprinkled it over his own vest of fine flowered muslin; the lady then made her appearance at the door, and gave us to understand that she did not mean to join in the sport herself, but made her eldest daughter, a pretty child, in the nurse's arms, pour from a golden cup some rose-water mixed with sandal-wood, first over her father, and then over each of the English gentlemen; this was a signal for the sport to begin. We were prepared, being dressed in linen waistcoats. From ten to twenty women, young and middle aged, rushed into the hall from the inner apartments, who surrounded and deluged without mercy four men ill able to maintain so unequal a contest. The Maywoon was soon driven from the field; but Mr. Wood having got possession of one of the jars, we were enabled to preserve our ground till the water was exhausted; it seemed to afford them great diversion, especially if we appeared at all distressed by the quantity of water flung in our faces. All parties being tired, and completely drenched, we went home to change our clothes, and in the way met many damsels who would willingly have renewed the sport; they, however, were afraid to begin without receiving encouragement from us, not knowing how it might be taken by strangers; but they assailed Baba-Sheen and his Birman attendants with little ceremony. No inconvenient consequences were to be apprehended from the wetting; the weather was favourable, and we ran no risk of taking cold. Having put on dry clothes, we returned to the Maywoon's, and were entertained with a dance and puppet-show that lasted till eleven.

Account of the Reception of the Embassy.—From the same.

As the time approached that was appointed for our public entry into Ummerapoora, which as yet we had only viewed from our residence on the opposite bank of the lake, I judged it proper to make some inquiry respecting the ceremonials usually observed on such occasions, and the exterior forms of homage that would be required. I wished also to ascertain the relative degree of rank that would be granted to the agent of the Governor-General of India; and as I was officially given to understand that the Chinese deputies were to be introduced on the same day, I urged my right to precedence, on the thorough persuasion that they did not constitute an imperial embassy, but were merely a provincial legation, although probably sanctioned by the monarch of China.

The necessity of ascertaining these points became evident, from the scrupulous regard to external forms, which the Birmans manifested upon every occasion. The Maywoon of Pegue being the channel of my official communication, I received through him, in reply to my first application, a general assurance of due attention, but an equivocal answer with respect to the Chinese. Repeating

the requisition for satisfactory particulars, I was informed that I should be allowed parity of rank with the nobility of the court, and that precedence over the Chinese deputies would be granted to me. With those assurances I remained satisfied.

On the 29th of August, the day preceding that of our formal introduction, I received a message, desiring to know what number of attendants I meant to take with me, and to specify the rank they bore, particularly that of the Pundit, the Moonshee, and painter. I was at the same time acquainted, that it was not customary to admit armed men into the palace, a form to which I readily assented. Late in the evening another message was brought to inform me, that the profession of Dr. Buchanan was held by the Birmans in a less dignified estimation than it bore among us; and that it was unusual, on such solemn occasions, to receive a person of his station into the Lotoo, or great council hall. I took some pains to vindicate the dignity of the liberal and enlightened profession of medicine, and explained to them, that there was no monarch of Europe who did not consider a physician as worthy to hold a place in the most distinguished ranks of society. This difficulty was at length conquered; they agreed to receive the Doctor, but stipulated that he should ride on horseback in the procession, and not be indulged with an elephant, a privilege which, they said, was granted only to persons of the highest consequence.

Preparatory to our visit, the presents intended for his Majesty were carefully assorted, and put into separate boxes: they were both handsome and costly, consisting of various kinds of European and Indian articles, such as mirrors, cut-glass, fire-arms, broad cloths, embroidered muslins, and Indian silks, all of the finest quality that could be procured; among other things there was a Shanscrit manuscript, superbly illumined, and written with beautiful minuteness; it was a copy of the Bagwaat Greeta, inclosed in a case of gold, and designed as a personal compliment from Sir John Shore, the Governor-General, to his Birman Majesty: there was also an electrical machine, of the effects of which some of the Birmans were not ignorant*. The boxes were covered with red satin, and fastened to poles, for the convenience of being carried on men's shoulders. Every matter was arranged on the day before the ceremony was to take place.

On the 30th of August we took an early breakfast, and about eight o'clock a Sere-dogee, or secretary of the Lotoo, came to acquaint us that boats were prepared to convey us across the lake. Our domestics had received orders to hold themselves in readiness, dressed in the livery of the embassy, and the guard was paraded without arms. The presents having been sent before, we walked to the water side, attended by Baba-Sheen, the Sere-dogee, and several inferior officers; at the same time the two junior members of the Chinese mission, the senior being now at the point of death,

* An electrifying machine had been introduced several years ago by a Frenchman.

came forth from the gate of their enclosure, attended by a retinue comparatively very small. We found three war-boats at the bank ready to receive us; these boats were sufficiently capacious for the number they were destined to contain: the largest was of fifty oars, but they were not above one-third manned, probably with a view to our accommodation, as the vessels are so narrow, that persons unaccustomed to them cannot sit between the rowers without inconvenience: it did not, however, escape our notice, that they were quite plain, without either gilding or paint. We were about twenty minutes in rowing to the opposite side of the lake, and found a crowd of people collected near the water's edge to see us land. The place where we landed appeared to be nearly a mile, in a direct line, below the fort, the southern walls of which are washed by the lake when the waters are swollen. Three elephants and several horses were waiting to convey us, and some Birman officers of inferior consequence attended at the bank, dressed in their robes and caps of ceremony. The furniture of the animals we were to ride was far from being superb. Men of rank in the Birman empire always guide their own elephants, and sit on the neck, in the same manner that the drivers, or mohaats, do in India: owing to this custom they are unprovided with those commodious seats in which an Indian gentleman reposes at ease on the back of this noble beast, whilst the government of it is entrusted to another person. A large wicker basket, somewhat resembling the body of an open carriage, but smaller, without any elevated seat, and covered with carpets at the bottom, was fastened on the back of the elephant by means of iron chains that passed under his belly, and were prevented from chafing him by tanned ox-hides. This equipage was neither comfortable nor elegant; but as I had not learned how to manage an elephant, and ride between his ears, there was no alternative; I was obliged either to take what was provided, or submit to a less dignified conveyance. The drivers, instead of making the beast kneel down to receive his rider, as is the custom in other countries, drove him up to a temporary stage that had been erected for the purpose of mounting. Each of the Chinese deputies was also honoured with an elephant. Mr. Wood and Dr. Buchanan rode on handsome spirited horses, of the small Pegue breed, which had been prepared for them, and were equipped with much better furniture than was assigned to the elephants. The Birman saddles, however, not being well calculated for the ease of an European rider, two of English manufacture, which we had brought with us, were substituted in their stead. The Moonshee, the Pundit, and the painter were likewise permitted to ride on horseback. After we had adjusted the ceremonial of mounting, the procession was marshalled in the following order:—

A Sandohgaan, or master of the ceremonies, on horseback;
An Oniroupserce, or registrar of strangers, on horseback;

A Letzounseree, or register of presents, on horseback;
dressed in their official robes and caps.
Soldiers that composed the escort.
The elephant of the representative of the Governor-General.
Mr. Wood and Dr. Buchanan, on horseback.
Baba-Sheen, as chief interpreter.
The Chinese deputies, on elephants, preceded by their servants,
bearing flags.
A Woondock, or second counsellor of state.
Two Terrezogees, or officers who hold judiciary stations.
The servants of the embassy walked on each side, two by two;
and a number of constables attended, with long white rods,
to keep off the populace.

The procession being thus arranged, we commenced our march, keeping a moderate pace, so as not to distress the bearers of the presents. After proceeding a short way, we entered a wide and handsome street, that was paved with brick: the houses on each side were low, built of wood, and covered with tiles; they had been evidently prepared for the occasion, being fresh white-washed, and decorated with boughs and flowers; the shops, which are usually open towards the street, displayed their best goods. In front of each house was a slight latticed railing of bamboo, advanced into the street, to the distance of three or four feet; over this space was spread a shade of bamboo mats, that reached from the eaves of the houses to the railing, forming a sort of covered balcony, every one of which was crowded with spectators, men and women indiscriminately. Boys sat on the tops of the houses, and the streets were so thronged as to leave only a sufficient space for the procession to move without interruption; but what rendered the scene most remarkable was, the posture which the multitude preserved; every person, as soon as we came in sight, squatted on his hams, and continued in that attitude until we had passed by: this was an indication of high respect. Throughout the crowd there was no disturbance or any extraordinary noise; the populace looked up and gazed in silence, nor did they attempt to follow us, but were satisfied with a transient view. The Pagwaats, or constables, armed with long rods, sometimes affected to strike those who were most forward, in order to make them recede; but in this act they humanely avoided hurting any one, generally directing the blow to the ground close to those whom they intended to remove. Thus we passed through several wide streets, running in a strait direction, and often crossed by others at right angles. We perceived only two brick houses, and these we were informed belonged to foreigners. Contiguous to the fort was a small street, entirely occupied by the shops of silversmiths, who exhibited their wares in the open balcony, and displayed a great variety of Birman utensils in plate. The distance from the landing-place to this street we

computed to be two miles. Immediately after we crossed the ditch of the fort, which was wide, deep, and faced with brick, but had little water in it: the passage was over a causeway formed on a mound of earth, in which there was a chasm of about ten feet to carry off the rain, and across this a strong bridge of planks was laid. Between the bridge and the foot of the wall, there was a space, eighty or a hundred feet wide, on which two redoubts were raised to defend the passage of the ditch; the rampart, faced by a wall of brick, was about twenty feet high, exclusive of the parapet, which had embrasures for cannon, and apertures for musquetry. Small demi-bastions projected at regular distances beyond the wall, but they did not appear to contain sufficient space to admit of heavy ordnance. The body of the rampart was composed of earth, sustained externally and within by strong walls: the gate was massive, with a wicket in it, and the fort altogether, considered as an eastern fortification, was respectable, but insufficient to resist the approaches of an enemy skilled in the science of war. The Birmans, however, believe it to be impregnable; they put their trust in the height and solidity of their wall, which they conceive to be strong enough to resist all assaults, independent of the cover of a glacis, or any other advanced work than the ditch. I did not attempt to mortify their pride by telling them a disagreeable truth, that a battery of half a dozen cannon would, in a few hours, reduce their walls to a heap of ruins; and, indeed, if I had told them so, it is probable they might not have credited the information.

We entered by the western gate; there was little distinction between the houses in the fort and those of the city, except that the dwellings of persons of official consequence, and the members of the royal family, who resided within the walls, were surrounded by a wooden partition, that inclosed a court. We passed, making several angles in our way, through a market supplied with rice, pulse, and other vegetables, but saw neither meat nor fish. At the distance of two short streets from the palace, we came to a spot where bamboo stages were erected for us to alight, similar to those at the landing-place; here we dismounted, and walked in the same order as we had rode. Coming to the top of a short street leading down to the palace, we were desired by the Sandohgaan, or master of the ceremonies, through Baba-Sheen, to stop and make obeisance to the residence of majesty, by a gentle inclination of the body, and raising the hand to the head, as they did; a desire with which I complied, although I conceived the distance so great as hardly to require that mark of respect. When we had proceeded two or three hundred yards farther, the Sandohgaan repeated the ceremony of bowing, to which I offered no objection, nor should I have felt the smallest reluctance in complying, had not the manner of the Sandohgaan been what I considered extremely disrespectful. Thus we proceeded, until we came to the rhoom, which was a lofty hall, raised four or five feet from the ground, and open on all

sides; it was situated about a hundred yards from the gate of the palace court, on the left hand, and in the centre of a spacious area. Putting off our shoes we entered the saloon, and sat down on carpets that were spread for us, with our faces towards the palace gate: here the presents were deposited, whilst the Chinese deputies took their places on the other side.

It was now about ten o'clock, and the Woondock intimated that we must wait until all the princes of the royal family arrived, before it would be proper for us to enter: we had sat but a short time, when the Prince of Pegahm, the junior of the King's sons, in point of rank though not in years, being born of a different mother, made his appearance. He was mounted on the neck of a very fine elephant, which he guided himself, sitting on a scarlet cloth embroidered with gold, whilst a servant behind, on the back of the animal, screened him from the sun with a gilded parasol. About fifty musqueteers led the way; these were followed by a number of halberdiers, carrying spears with gilded shafts, and decorated with gold tassels. Six or eight officers of his household (each of the King's sons have a separate establishment) came next, dressed in velvet robes with embroidered caps, and chains of gold depending from the left shoulder to the right side; these immediately preceded the prince's elephant: another body of spearmen, with his palanquin of state, closed the procession. On entering the gate, he gave to one of his attendants a polished iron hook, with which he governed his elephant; as not any thing that can be used as a weapon is suffered to be brought within the precincts of the palace, not even by his Majesty's sons. The prince's escort halted without the gate, and the greater number of his attendants were stopped, those only being admitted who were of higher rank, together with the men who carried his large beetle-box of gold, and his flagon of water, which are brought rather for state than for refreshment. When the prince had alighted, his elephant returned, and all the attendants ranged themselves in the area between the rhoom and the palace gate. Soon after the Prince of Pegahm had entered, the Prince of Tongho, the next in precedence, appeared; he was attended by a suite nearly similar to that of his brother; and in succession came the Princes of Bassein and of Prome: the Engy Teekien, or heir apparent, came last; when he arrived it was twelve o'clock, which the great drum, that proclaims the hours, sounded from a lofty tower near the palace. The state in which the latter personage made his public entrance was highly superb, and becoming his elevated station. He was preceded by a numerous body guard of infantry, consisting of four or five hundred men, armed with musquets, who marched in regular files, and were uniformly clothed and accoutred; next came a party of Cassay troopers, habited in their fanciful dress, with high conical caps bending backwards. We were told that through respect they had alighted from their horses nearly at the same place where we had dismounted. Twenty or thirty men followed these, holding long gilded

wands; then came eighteen or twenty military officers of rank, with gilded helmets; next the civil officers of his household and his council, wearing the tzaloe, or chain of nobility, and arrayed in their robes and caps of state, varied according to their respective ranks. The Prince, borne on men's shoulders, in a very rich palanquin, but without any canopy, followed; he was screened from the sun by a large gilded fan, supported by a nobleman, and on each side of his palanquin walked six Cassay astrologers, of the Braminical sect, dressed in white gowns and white caps, studded with stars of gold; close behind, his servants carried his waterflagon, and a gold beetle-box, of a size which appeared to be no inconsiderable load for a man. Several elephants and led horses with rich housings came after; some inferior officers, and a body of spearmen, with three companies of musqueteers, one clothed in blue, another in green, and a third in red, concluded the procession.

In every part of this ostentatious parade perfect regularity was maintained, which considerably increased the effect. All things seemed to have been carefully predisposed and properly arranged. If it was less splendid than imperial Delhi, in the days of Mogul magnificence, it was far more decorous than any court of Hindostan at the present day. The rabble was not tumultuous, the attendants and soldiery were silent, and every man seemed to know his own place. No noisy heralds, as is the custom in India, ran before, vociferating titles, and overturning people in their way. The display of this day was solemn and dignified, and I doubt much whether, in any other capital, such multitudes could be brought together with so little confusion; as, besides the attendants and the military, there were many thousands of spectators.

Our delay in the rhoom had now been protracted to two hours, a circumstance which, though it gratified our curiosity with a novel and most interesting spectacle, yet could not be considered as a mark of respect, especially as we had not the company of any person of distinguished rank, the junior Woondock excepted, who staid with us but a very short time. The attendance of the Maywoon of Pegue, was, according to the usage of the country, on this occasion our undoubted right; and the example of the Viceroy of Bamoo, who paid that compliment to the Chinese deputies, placed the omission in a more striking point of view, whilst the singular character of the people put it out of my power, to attribute the neglect to chance, or to casual inadvertency.

A few minutes after the Engy Teekein, or Prince Royal, had entered, we received a summons, in compliance with which we proceeded from the rhoom, observing the same order as before; the presents carried in front, and the members of the Chinese embassy following the English deputation. As we proceeded, the Sandohgaan was exceedingly troublesome, by calling on us to make frequent superfluous obeisances, whilst his manner of requiring them was conspicuously uncivil. I checked his insolence by observing, through Baba-Sheen, that if he wished me

to proceed, he must alter his tone and demeanor. This reproof, however, had only a momentary effect; he soon resumed his arrogant behaviour, which he repeated throughout the day, whenever opportunity offered.

On approaching the gate, the greater part of our attendants were stopped, and not permitted to follow us; and we were desired to put off our shoes, with which we immediately complied.

The area we now entered was spacious, and contained the Lotoo, or grand hall of consultation and of audience, where the Woongees meet in council, and where affairs of state are discussed and determined. Within this inclosure there is an inner court, separated by a brick wall, which comprehends the palace, and all the buildings annexed to the royal residence. Within the gate a troop of tumblers were performing their feats, while dancing girls were exhibiting their graces in the open air, and on the bare ground, to the sound of no very harmonious music. We were next ushered up a flight of stairs into a very noble saloon, or open hall, called the Lotoo, where the court was assembled in all the pomp that Birman grandeur could display. On entering this hall, a stranger cannot fail to be surprised at the magnificence of its appearance; it is supported by seventy-seven pillars, disposed in eleven rows, each consisting of seven. The space between the pillars I judged to be about twelve feet, except the central row, which was probably two feet wider. The roof of the building is composed of distinct stages, the highest in the centre. The row of pillars that supported the middle, or most lofty roof, we judged to be thirty-five or forty feet in height; the others gradually diminish as they approach the extremities of the building, and those which sustain the balcony are not more than twelve or fourteen feet. At the farther part of the hall there is a high gilded lattice, extending quite across the building, and in the centre of the lattice is a gilded door, which, when opened, displays the throne; this door is elevated five or six feet from the floor, so that the throne must be ascended by means of steps at the back, which are not visible, nor is the seat of the throne to be seen, except when the King comes in person to the Lotoo. At the bottom of the lattice there is a gilt balustrade, three or four feet high, in which the umbrellas and several other insignia of state were deposited. The royal colour is white, and the umbrellas were made of silk of that colour, richly bespangled with gold. Within this magnificent saloon were seated on their inverted legs, all the princes and the principal nobility of the Birman empire, each person in the place appropriated to his particular rank and station: proximity to the throne is, of course, the most honourable situation; and this station was occupied by the princes of the blood, the Woongees, the Attawoons, and other great officers of state. The Engy Teekien (or heir apparent) sat on a small stool, about six inches high; the other princes on fine mats. The space between the central pillars that front the throne, is always left vacant, for this curious reason, that his Majesty's

eyes may not be obliged to behold those whom he does not mean to honour with a look. The place allotted for us was next to this unoccupied part, but we afterwards discovered that the Chinese deputies had taken possession of those seats which, according to the etiquette that had been agreed upon, the English gentlemen were to have occupied. So trivial a circumstance would not have merited attention, had it not been followed by circumstances which left no room to suppose, that any act relating to external forms was either accidental or unpremeditated, on the part of those who regulated the ceremonials.

After we had taken possession of mats that had been spread for us, it was civilly intimated that we ought not to protrude the soles of our feet towards the seat of majesty, but should endeavour to sit in the posture that was observed by those around us. With this desire we would readily have complied, if it had been in our power, but we had not yet learned to sit upon our own legs: the flexibility of muscles which the Birmans, and indeed all the natives of India, possess, is such, as cannot be acquired by Europeans. A Birman, when he sits, seldom touches the seat with his posteriors, but is supported by his heels. It is scarcely practicable for an European, dressed in close garments, to place himself in such an attitude; and if he were able, it would be out of his power to continue long in it. We inverted our legs as much as possible, and the awkwardness with which we did this excited a smile from some; not a word, however, was uttered, and our endeavours, I thought, seemed to give satisfaction. In a few minutes eight Bramins, dressed in white sacerdotal gowns, and silk caps of the same colour, studded with gold, assembled round the foot of the throne, within the balustrade, and recited a long prayer in not unpleasing recitative; this ceremony lasted a quarter of an hour. When they had withdrawn, the letter from the Governor-General, which I delivered to a Woondock, was placed on a silver tray in front of the railing, and a Sandohgaan, or reader, advanced into the vacant space, and made three prostrations, touching the ground each time with his forehead; he then read, or rather chaunted, in a loud voice, what I understood was a Birman translation of the letter. When this was done, the reader repeated his prostrations, and next proclaimed a list of the presents for the King. These several readings being finished, he repeated his obeisances and retired: after an interval of a few minutes, an officer, entitled Nakhaangee, advanced, and proposed a question to me, as if from his Majesty; on receiving my answer he withdrew, as might be supposed, to communicate the reply; and returned in an adequate time to ask another: thus he put three separate questions to me, which were as follows: "You come from a distant country; how long is it since you arrived? How were the King, Queen, and royal family of England, when the last accounts came from thence? Was England at peace or war with other nations; and was your country in a state of disturbance?"

The latter question alone con-

tained more than words of compliment and ceremony, and coming in such a solemn manner, required a clear and determinate answer on my part. I replied in the Persian language—"that Great Britain was at enmity with France; that the continent of Europe was the seat of war; but that the kingdom of England enjoyed perfect tranquillity, which it was not probable would be disturbed." This interrogation seemed to indicate that the Birmans had received impressions of our situation in Europe from no very favourable quarter; and I had afterwards occasion to know, that the unremitting and restless industry of French propagators had pervaded even this remote region, and though, in such a country, they dare not avow their equalizing principles, they left no art unpractised, through the means of their emissaries, to insinuate doubts, excite fears, and create distrust of the English.

These were all the questions that were proposed neither the Chinese nor any other person being interrogated. In a few minutes after my last reply had been conveyed, a very handsome desert was brought in, and set before us; it consisted of a variety of sweetmeats, as well Chinese as Birman; læpack, or pickled tea-leaf, and beetle, formed part of the entertainment, which was served up in silver, china, and glass-ware: there appeared to be not less than an hundred different small dishes: we tasted of a few, and found some of them very palatable; but none of the courtiers partook, or moved from their places. About half an hour had elapsed, when we were informed by the Sandohgaan that there was no occasion for us to remain any longer. The non-appearance of his Majesty was a considerable disappointment, as I had been taught to expect that he would have received the Governor-General's letter in person: it was not, however, until some time afterwards, that I was made acquainted with the true reason of his absence.

When we rose to leave the Lootoo, the Sandohgaan desired us to make three obeisances to the throne, by a slight inclination of the body and raising the right hand to the head; we were then reconducted to the saloon, where we were informed it was necessary we should remain until the princes came forth from the palace, and had got upon their elephants, as their etiquette did not allow any person, on such occasions, to mount before the members of the royal family; we accordingly took our places in this hall as before: shortly afterwards the court broke up with as much form and parade as it had assembled.

Account of the Last Moments and Character of Charles I. King of England.—From Laing's History of Scotland.

His preparations for death were assisted by Juxon; but the consolations of religion, or of philosophy, are of little avail without native fortitude and energy of mind. Conscious worth can support the virtuous, an exalted rank or conspicuous station has inspired the most dissolute with contempt of death. But the fortitude of Charles was derived from no external, adventitious circumstances. That

cold reserve and inflexible obstinacy which distinguished his character, assumed a sublimer aspect of chastened and tranquil magnanimity in the last eventful period of his reign and life. He was lodged at St. James's *; and the front of Whitehall was selected for his execution, that the scene of his past magnificence might become a monument of popular justice to record his fate. On the morning of his execution, he rose at an early hour, after a quiet, undisturbed repose, and bestowed on his dress an attention which his sorrows had long neglected. His devotions were concluded with the eucharist: and when the hour approached, he was conducted on foot through the Park, which was lined with guards, to Whitehall, where an apartment was prepared for his reception. After a short and slight refreshment, he ascended the scaffold, and without emotion surveyed the awful preparations for death, the cushion, the block, the axe, together with two executioners disguised in vizors. The scaffold was surrounded with troops beneath. Despairing of being heard by the remote spectators, he addressed his discourse to the officers and attendants; protested that the war on his part was strictly defensive; without accusing Parliament, blamed the unhappy intervention of wicked instruments; confessed that he suffered a merited retribution for his assent to an unjust sentence against his friend; and, in pronouncing the last, most difficult lesson of Christian forgiveness, admonished the people to return to the paths of submissive loyalty, and acknowledge his son for their lawful sovereign. At the suggestion of Juxon, he attested his dying in unfeigned attachment to the English church. Then, when his neck was adjusted to the block, he stretched forth his hands, after a short prayer, as the appointed signal for the axe to descend. His head was dissevered from his body, at a single stroke, by the man in the mask. The other executioner exposed the bleeding head to public view, and exclaiming, "this is the head of a traitor," the acclamations of the soldiers were intermixed with the convulsive sobs and lamentations of the spectators, who rushed forward to receive and preserve the blood of their martyred king.

Such was the tragical fate of the second sovereign of the House of Stewart, who perished, within sixty-two years, on the scaffold in England. He suffered in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his reign. From a sickly and froward infancy, he had acquired a robust constitution

* That his slumbers were disturbed each night by the noise of erecting his scaffold, is an injudicious fiction, first invented by Clement Walker to aggravate the deed. Herbert attended the King's person, and slept in his chamber, from the beginning of his trial to the last hour of his life. But that Hume should assert, on such authority as Clement Walker, (Hist. of Independency,) a fact contradicted by every other historian, is the more surprising, as Herbert's Memoirs lay open before him, and from the copy in the Advocates' Library, now in my hands, appear to be marked with his pencil at the very passage, (p. 117.) which mentions that the King was removed, two hours after his trial, from Whitehall to St. James's. But on this occasion Hume wrote too much for dramatic effect."

in manhood, capable of enduring hardships and fatigue, and well adapted to the violent exercises in which he excelled. His person was neither tall nor corpulent, but vigorous, compact, and exactly proportioned. His features were regular, his eye quick and penetrating, his aspect pale and melancholy; not unpleasing to his friends, but to strangers expressive of a forbidding reserve. The undecayed and healthful appearance of the vitals, when his body was opened, indicated a sound and well organized frame, naturally destined for an extreme old age. His body was privately interred at Windsor; but after a slight, ineffectual search, on the restoration of his son, his remains were defrauded of a royal funeral. That men expired of grief at his execution, or sunk for life into a lethargic melancholy; that women parted with the untimely fruit of their womb, must be classed among the marvellous exaggerations of a great event. But his death was productive of consequences very different from those which his enemies expected. Instead of diffusing an abhorrence of monarchy, the execution of their native hereditary sovereign awakened in the people all the latent emotions of the human soul. Sympathy, the offspring of the imagination and the heart, is most powerfully moved by the examples of illustrious woe. Not all the innocent blood, so profusely shed during the course of the civil wars, excited such universal commiseration and sympathy as the execution of Charles. Had he been permitted to remain a prisoner, or to wander an exile among foreigners, from court to court, his character might have sunk insensibly with his misfortunes, from the lawful Prince to the Pretender, whose obsolete claims are regarded as hostile to the interests of the State. But the people forgot his errors, and their own sufferings, in the contemplation of his fate; and there was no cause that contributed more than his untimely and violent death, to the transient restoration and reign of his sons.

His character is more difficult to estimate, as it has been loaded with unmerited crimes by his enemies, and overcharged with virtues by the partiality of his friends. Temperate, chaste, and exemplary in his conduct, grave and dignified in his deportment, in his conversation strictly observant of decorum, he was diligent in the performance of every act of devotion, exact in the discharge of every moral duty incumbent on a father, a husband, or a friend. If insensible to the feelings of refined humanity, his heart was not insusceptible of a tender affection and permanent friendship. His mind was naturally acute and solid; cool and intrepid in danger, on great occasions magnanimous and equal; endued with a cultivated and magnificent taste, nor defective in those meaner ornamental qualities which adorn a throne. The virtues of private life were undoubtedly his; but when we reverse the portrait, such were the opposite imperfections of his character, that those virtues were unprofitable to the public, and not unfrequently pernicious to himself. His religion was superstitious, intolerant, and replete with bigotry: his dignity supercilious and seldom affable, betrayed an harsh and repulsive pride. His

ear was open to suspicion, nor inaccessible to flattery: his conjugal affection was uxorious in the extreme: his manners, although he was seldom generous, were equally ungracious, whether he granted or refused a request. Tenacious of his purpose, inflexible and obstinate in the prosecution of his objects, but inconsiderate, rash, and easily persuaded to the choice or alteration of the means, his mind was unduly elevated by prosperity, though never equally overwhelmed by adverse fortune. His humanity is impeached by those barbarous punishments inflicted by the Star-chamber; for the monarch who tolerates the cruelties of his judges, which are never inflicted unless when acceptable, becomes responsible for their crimes. But the ruling passion, or rather the uniform principle of his whole life, was the desire of an inordinate power, which he refused to share unless with the prelates, and which he could neither enjoy with moderation nor consent to resign.

Sincerity was certainly no part of his character; but his insincerity was rather that of a priest who provides some previous reservation to evade, than of a prince who perfidiously violates the obligation which he contemns. A subtle and professed casuist, he was enabled to reconcile the most disingenuous protestations to his own conscience, and, without an absolute breach of veracity, studied by verbal evasions to deceive his enemies, and by mental equivocation to deceive himself. It is not sufficient to affirm, that the difficulties of his situation, his own imprudence, or even the utmost malignity of fortune, occasioned the great and almost unexampled calamities of his reign. We must add, that the early and repeated instances of his insincerity, which we have occasionally described, had created such a firm belief of his dissimulation, that the popular leaders, from a well-founded distrust of his ambiguous declarations, were ever afraid to treat, unless on their own terms, to which he was unwilling or unable to accede. The evidence resulting from his confidential letters, where the proofs of a disingenuous mind can alone be found, is industriously suppressed by those partial historians, who asserting the unblemished integrity of his character, take no note of the principal cause of his misfortunes and death. That his condemnation was unjust, that he suffered from a violent and usurped authority, has never been disputed, unless by zealots; but when examined in a moral or political view, his conduct is not susceptible of an easy vindication. Whether his exalted ideas of the prerogative in England were derived from established or irregular precedents of an unsettled constitution, is an inquiry foreign to the design of this history; but his religious innovations, the sole object of his reign in Scotland, were introduced by a conscious violation of the laws, and a direct invasion of the legislative power. The facility with which he commenced hostilities against his subjects, reduced the Scots to the necessity of self-defence, while the English were gradually familiarized and habituated to the ideas of resistance. His subsequent conduct contains an internal proof, that his concessions to the latter were meant to be resumed, and their parliament

to be reduced by force of arms; and from the same motive, every accommodation was declined or disappointed during the flattering prospect of a successful war. But the immediate cause of his destruction, and undoubtedly one of the most exceptionable parts of his conduct, was his engagement with the Scots for the renewal of the civil wars, during a treaty with parliament; and when we consider how short is the distance between the prison and the grave of kings, that their enemies are ever prone to retaliate those severe conditions under which they fought themselves, it must appear far less surprising that he perished on a scaffold, than that he survived so long. The right of punishment seems to be implied in resistance; for it is difficult to conceive by what argument resistance can be justified, if it is forbidden to chastise, or prevent the resumption of an arbitrary power. But obedience to Government is the general rule; resistance is an exception which rarely occurs; and for what purpose inculcate the exception, to which mankind are sufficiently addicted, in preference to the rule on which our security depends? To resist the encroachments, to correct the misconduct, to revoke the delegated powers of their magistrates, are doctrines not less dangerous perhaps for a Government to tolerate, than for the people to forget. If never inculcated, the exception is soon forgotten, and society sinks at last into a state of tame servility from which there is no regeneration. The arbitrary reign of Charles would have been prolonged by his sons, and the two kingdoms, oppressed and converted by a popish successor, might have inquired at present, as a subject of curious but silent speculation, what were the religion or liberties which their ancestors enjoyed.

But whatever were the faults or imperfections of Charles, his misfortunes were great and unparalleled till of late, except in the eventful destiny of the house of Stewart. Historians have truly observed, that of ten generations of kings, his father, and the first prince of his race, were the only two who escaped a violent or untimely death. Robert II. the first of the Stewarts, expired of old age; Robert III. of a broken heart at the murder of one son, and the captivity of another. James I. returned from a long captivity, to perish in a few years by the hands of assassins. His son was killed at the siege of Roxburgh, his grandson by his rebellious subjects. James IV. expiated his father's death at the battle of Flodden, and James V. died of indignation and grief. The misfortunes or crimes of his daughter, the beautiful and accomplished Mary, have furnished almost every art with a theme of historical or romantic distress; and when she suffered on the scaffold, her vindictive rival suggested unconsciously the fatal precedent for the trial of her grandson, and the execution of a King. James VI. experienced a natural death, but the calamities of the family seemed to be accumulated on Charles. His sister's children were expelled from their paternal dominions. His nephew, the elector palatine, subsisted on the bounty of Parliament; and by a final reverse of fortune, his posterity, after a short restoration, has suffered a second exile;

the last prince of his race has obtained a precarious retreat in the Romish church; while the descendants of his sister, by a female branch, have been raised to the secure possession of the throne from which his son was expelled.

Account of the Death and Character of Oliver Cromwell.—From the same.

While the arms of Cromwell were triumphant abroad, while his name was dreaded, and his friendship solicited by the greatest potentates, his government was distracted by the conspiracies of every party at home. His person was exposed to assassination from his own soldiers. His conscience was awakened by the death, or the dying reproaches, of his favourite daughter; and the tyrant at length discovered, that guilty ambition, even when most successful, is never inaccessible to remorse and fear. His mind was oppressed with the dangers and cares of state. The appearance of a stranger filled him with alarm, and he scrutinized his looks with an inquisitive and apprehensive eye. Arms and concealed armour, which he daily wore, were insufficient for his preservation, and he never stirred abroad unless surrounded with guards, never returned by the same road, nor slept above thrice in the same apartment. A slow fever, the result of constant agitation, preyed upon his body, and, degenerating into a tertian ague, undermined a constitution which was naturally robust. The physicians pronounced his disorder dangerous, and he began to consider his death as imminent; but his fanatical chaplains assured him that his life might yet be restored by their prayers. His original enthusiasm prevailed over his hypocrisy, which, in the tumults of the camp, and amidst the business of the cabinet, had been substituted in its stead; and he assured his physicians that his life was conceded to the faithful, to intercede for the people as a mediator with God. In his last lethargic moments, his assent was extorted to the succession of his eldest son Richard to the office of Protector; and he expired at the age of sixty, on the third of September, a day which he considered as propitious, from his victories at Worcester and Dunbar.

He was born of respectable parents, remotely allied, on his mother's side, to the Stewart family, and on his father's sprung from a sister of Cromwel, the minister and victim of Henry VIII. From a dissolute and licentious youth, he passed at once to the opposite extreme of enthusiastic devotion; and, when the wars commenced, ascended rapidly to the natural level of his genius and ambition. From a command of horse, he rose to the first rank in the army and in the state; from the obscure and humble mediocrity of a private station, to the absolute dominion and ultimate disposal of three kingdoms. To supplant a monarch, or to subvert the liberties of a free people, had been the lot of others; but, by combining these crimes, he was the first who brought the monarch whom he had dethroned to a public execution, and reduced the people whom he served to the most complete subjection. A magnanimous and daring spirit, an invincible courage, military talents, ad-

dress, perseverance, and uniform success, were necessary to accomplish his greatness and his crimes. But to these qualities he added the most extravagant enthusiasm; the most consummate hypocrisy; a profound sagacity in discerning the characters and designs of others; an impenetrable secrecy in disguising his own. From the dissipation of his early years, he retained a specious frankness, which degenerated often into gross buffoonery, but without which hypocrisy itself is of little avail. His magnanimity was naturally imperious and overbearing; nor did he stoop to dissimulation and artifice where it was possible to command. His military talents are rather conspicuous in the enthusiasm with which he inspired, and in the discipline to which he inured his troops, than in the evolutions of the field or the conduct of a campaign. His victories were due to their discipline and irresistible valour; and as he entered into the army late in life, his military character, though surpassed by none of his countrymen, never equalled the reputation of Condé and Turenne. If inferior to Vane in address and dexterity, his vigorous understanding was excelled by none. Neither wholly illiterate nor destitute of elocution, he united an apparent incoherence of thought and expression, with a clear and steady conception of his object, and a prompt decision in the choice and execution of his designs. His quick and intuitive perception of the characters of men, was accompanied with the rare talent of employing their abilities in the manner most advantageous to himself or the state. But the discriminative characters of his genius were enthusiasm, hypocrisy, and immoderate ambition; from the combination of which he was fitted to become the author of a new sect, had he not found a system adapted to his purposes and fashioned to his hands.

His ambition, however, was guided by events, and, like his talents, appeared to expand with every opportunity that occurred. At one period it was confined to a ribband, a title, a competent fortune, and the command of the army; till the duplicity of Charles left him, he said, only this alternative: "If it is my head or the King's that must fall, can I hesitate which to choose?" If Ireton, a genuine republican, had survived, or the Parliament had consented to a timely dissolution, his usurpation might have been prevented; but the dissolution of the Long Parliament had become not less necessary for his preservation than the destruction of the King. His domestic Government was a reign of expedients, vigorous indeed, but without a plan. It was believed that his resources and arts were exhausted with his life; but to surmount the original obstacles to his greatness, was more difficult far than to prolong its duration. His morals were irreproachable in private life. His Government was just and lenient where his safety or interest had no immediate concern; and although humanity never obstructed the execution of his designs, even his enemies acknowledged that he was not unworthy of the crown he rejected, had he been born to reign. He died with the character of the worst and greatest man in modern times, which with some abatements is still

preserved; and as he enjoyed more than regal power while alive, he was interred with more than regal pomp and expence.

Elevation of the House of Hapsburg to the Imperial Throne in the Person of Rudolph. From Planta's History of the Helvetic Confederacy.

Rudolph had now reached his twenty-second year, when his father Albert, who was odious to the Swiss, on account of his rigour in the office of imperial commissary, died on a distant pilgrimage. Albert's share of the estates of Hapsburg devolved to Rudolph; but a great part of the hereditary domains of his house was in the hands of his paternal uncle *, who, with his five sons, lived at Lauffenburg, on the Rhine. The property Rudolph inherited was moderate: his lands were all in sight of the great hall in his castle. Some advocacies extended his influence to more distant parts; but the power annexed to the title of landgrave of Alsace, to which he succeeded, was, by the refractory spirit of the times, rendered almost nugatory. In the eager pursuit of his ambitious views, he despised the tardy means of prudence, and suffered the vehemence of his temper to betray him into indiscretions, which, in men less audacious, would have led to ruin. Before the age of forty he had already incurred the odium of his whole family, being disinherited by his maternal uncle, the count of Kyburg, and twice excommunicated by the church. His first contest was with his uncle of Lauffenburg, whom he taxed with having made an unfair partition of the family estates: but the helpless debility of the old count was so effectually protected by his son Godfried, that Rudolph soon beheld from his castle the flames which consumed his principal town of Bruck; and was compelled to acquiesce in the grant the old count made of the castle of New Hapsburg, on the lake of Lucern, to the nunnery at Zuric. He next gave offence to his uncle Hartman, who had no issue; and extorted from him a large sum, as a compensation for his claim upon the estates of Kyburg; Hartman complied, that he might transfer the bulk of his property to the see of Strasburg; and in order to preclude all farther importunities from this intrusive nephew, he made his grant irrevocable. In a contest with the bishop of Basle, Rudolph approached with his forces, and burnt the convent of the Penitent Sisters, in one of the suburbs of that city; for which sacrilegious deed, he, and all his adherents, were put under a severe interdict. He then (perhaps as an atonement to the church) engaged with Ottocarus king of Bohemia, in the crusade against the infidels of Prussia, who were contending with the Teutonic knights for the gods, and the freedom of their ancestors. His fortunes, which his rashness more frequently obstructed than promoted, took a more favourable turn, as soon as adversity had tempered the impetuosity of his unruly passions.

* Likewise called Rudolph, who died in 1249.

His mother Hedwig lived to see him reconciled to her family, and to witness an alliance contracted between Hapsburg and Kyburg. Godfried of Lauffenburg * also became his friend. The days of the old count of Kyburg drawing near to a conclusion, Rudolph sought, both by persuasion and kind offices, to induce the bishop of Strasburg to relinquish the hasty grant of Hartman. In this however he failed; and thenceforth he espoused the cause of the citizens of Strasburg against their bishop, and seized on the towns of Colmar and Mulhausen. He allowed no repose to this right reverend prelate during his life; and, after his death, intimidated his successor Henry to such a degree, that he gladly consented to surrender the grant.

Hartman the elder, of Kyburg, soon after this sent a pressing message to Rudolph, to solicit his aid against the burghers of Winterthur, who, in a sudden insurrection, had attacked and nearly demolished his tower near their walls. Rudolph was hastening to his assistance, when news were brought him that Hartman, the last count of Kyburg and landgrave of Thurgau, had closed his illustrious line. All the nobles of the county of Kyburg †, and from Baden, Thurgau, and the Gaster, who owed allegiance to this house; the magistrates of the several towns and cities, and the heads of the many convents that had been founded or patronized either by his ancestors or by himself, met hereupon at a general assembly; and count Hartman was entombed with his shield and helmet. Rudolph received the homage of the assembly, and pardoned the insult offered by the burghers of Winterthur. The house of Hapsburg had on no former occasion received so great an accession of power and dominions; but Rudolph, while he was listening to the congratulations of his friends and subjects, was little aware what far greater honours were yet reserved for him by his auspicious destiny.

Rudolph was high in stature, and of a graceful figure and deportment: he was bald, his complexion pale, his nose aquiline; his mien was grave, but so engaging, as to command the confidence of all those who approached him. Both at the time when, with scanty means, he performed eminent achievements, and when in his exalted station, a multitude of public concerns claimed incessant attention, he preserved a gay and tranquil mind, and a disposition to facetious mirth. His manners were simple and unassuming: his diet was plain; and he was still more temperate in the use of spirituous liquors. He once in the field appeased his hunger with raw turnips: he usually wore a plain blue coat; and his soldiers had often seen him darn his doublet with the same hand that grasped

* The son of this Godfried, who bore the same name as his father, is reported to have fled to England from the persecutions of his cousin Rudolph, (in 1310,) and under the name of Fielding, to have been the founder of the illustrious line of the earls of Denbigh. See Dugdale's English Baronage, t. ii. p. 440.

† This county appears, in 1299, to have contained forty-four parishes, and above one hundred castles.

his conquering sword in fourteen battles. It is recorded, that he ever preserved his conjugal fidelity to his consort Gertrude, who bore him ten children. He enjoyed pleasures without being subservient to them; and hence did he never want either time for labour or relaxation, or in old age, health and vigour for powerful exertions.

Rudolph, in all his wars, treated the prelates who were less tenacious of their spiritual dignity than of their temporal concerns, not as preachers of the gospel of peace, but in a manner conformable to the law of arms: on the other hand, he is reported to have shewn great deference to the clergy, and a zealous devotion to the sacred rites. One day while hunting, he met, near an overflowing brook, a parish priest, who was bearing the host to a dying patient; he compelled him to mount his horse; and expressed with fervour his lowly veneration for the Supreme Being, to whom he owed all his many blessings, and the great prosperity he enjoyed. His piety was highly extolled at Zuric, when, at a solemn festival, he exhibited to the assembled multitude many relics of the crucifixion. The new Augustin hermits, whom he established in this city, and many other religious orders on whom he conferred ample donatives, spread the fame of his godliness throughout the land.

Account of the Emperor Rudolph's Death. From the same.

In the eighteenth year after 'the grace of God,' as he described his exaltation, 'had raised him from the huts of his ancestors to an imperial throne,' in the seventy-fourth year of his age, was Rudolph first attacked with symptoms of a dangerous malady. He was hastening to Spire to repose, as he intimated, amidst the tombs of many preceding kings and emperors, when his fate met him at Gemersheim on the Rhine, a town of his own foundation. His hereditary dominions had been enlarged by the acquisition of Kyburg, Lensburg, Baden, Zoffingen, and several advocacies: but his greatest accessions he owed to his victories over Ottocarus, king of Bohemia, margrave of Maravia, and duke of Austria, Stiria, Carinthia, and Carniolia, who had opposed his election to the empire. Five years after he had reduced that power,* the king, adorned with all the pomp of royalty, and surrounded by all the princes, whose concurrence was indispensable in all new regulations in the empire, seated himself on his throne in the palace at Augsburg, and declared, 'that in order to enable his sons, Albert and Rudolph, to display the full extent of their inviolable loyalty and zeal for the glory of the empire, he had resolved to raise them to an eminent rank in the college of princes.' Hereupon in the plenitude of his power, and with the consent of the electors, he invested them, by the delivery of banners, with the dukedoms of Austria, Stiria, and Windismark, and Carniolia: he soon after granted them also the margraviate of Burgau. To such eminence rose

* December 22, 1282.

a single count, of a race whose very name had scarce reached the contiguous countries. By the enlargement of his bounds to the farthermost confines of Alsace and Austria, he in a manner hemmed in all Upper Germany, and kept in awe the French king, and many of the Slavian princes. His house, by his address and wisdom, rose to a power which gradually subdued nations and countries, the very existence of which was then unknown. No race has so often endangered the freedom of Europe: and its splendid career has never met with any check, but what it derives from its own neglect of that moderation, which had ever been the great art of Rudolph.

Account of Robert Burns, the Ayrshire Ploughman, by himself, in a Letter to Dr. Moore; from his Works lately edited by Dr. Currie.

Mauchline, August 2, 1787.

Sir,

For some months past I have been rambling over the country, but I am now confined with some lingering complaints, originating, as I take it, in the stomach. To divert my spirits a little in this miserable fog of *ennui*, I have taken a whim to give you a history of myself. My name has made some little noise in this country; you have done me the honour to interest yourself very warmly in my behalf; and I think a faithful account of what character of a man I am, and how I came by that character, may perhaps amuse you in an idle moment. I will give you an honest narrative, though I know it will be often at my own expense; for I assure you, Sir, I have like Solomon, whose character, excepting in the trifling article of wisdom, I sometimes think I resemble—I have, I say, like him, turned my eyes to behold madness and folly, and like him, too, frequently shaken hands with their intoxicating friendship.

After you have perused these pages, should you think them trifling and impertinent, I only beg leave to tell you, that the poor author wrote them under some twitching qualms of conscience, arising from a suspicion that he was doing what he ought not to do; a predicament he has more than once been in before.

I have not the most distant pretensions to assume that character which the pye-coated guardians of escutcheons call a gentleman.—When at Edinburgh last winter, I got acquainted in the Heralds-Office; and looking through that granary of honours, I there found almost every name of the kingdom; but for me,

My ancient, but ignoble blood,
Has crept through scoundrels ever since the flood.

Gules, purpure, argent, &c. quite disowned me.

My father was of the north of Scotland, the son of a farmer, and was thrown by early misfortune on the world at large; where, after many years wanderings and sojournings, he picked up a pretty large quantity of observation and experience, to which I am indebted for most of my little pretensions to wisdom. I have met with few who understood men, their manners and their ways, equal to him; but stubborn ungainly integrity, and headstrong ungovernable ir-

rascibility, are disqualifying circumstances: consequently I was born a very poor man's son. For the first six or seven years of my life, my father was gardener to a worthy gentleman of small estate in the neighbourhood of Ayr. Had he continued in that station, I must have marched off to be one of the little underlings about a farm-house; but it was his dearest wish and prayer to have it in his power to keep his children under his own eye, till they could discern between good and evil; so, with the assistance of his generous master, my father ventured on a small farm on his estate. At those years I was by no means a favourite with any body. I was a good deal noted for a retentive memory, a stubborn sturdy something in my disposition, and an enthusiastic idiot piety. I say idiot piety, because I was then but a child. Though it cost the school-master some thrashings, I made an excellent English scholar; and by the time I was ten or eleven years of age, I was a critic in substantives, verbs, and participles. In my infant and boyish days too I owed much to an old woman who resided in the family, remarkable for her ignorance, credulity, and superstition. She had, I suppose, the largest collection in the country of tales and songs concerning devils, ghosts, fairies, brownies, witches, warlocks, spunkies, kelpies, elf candles, dead lights, wraiths, apparitions, cantraps, giants, enchanted towers, dragons, and other trumpery. This cultivated the latent seeds of poetry; but had so strong an effect on my imagination, that to this hour, in my nocturnal rambles, I sometimes keep a sharp look out in suspicious places; and though nobody can be more sceptical than I am in such matters, yet it often takes an effort of philosophy to shake off these idle terrors. The earliest composition that I recollect taking pleasure in, was "The Vision of Mirza," and a hymn of Addison's, beginning—"How are thy servants blest, O Lord!" I particularly remember one half stanza, which was music to my boyish ear—

For though on dreadful whirls we hung,
High on the broken wave—

I met with these pieces in Mason's English Collection, one of my school-books. The two first books I ever read in private, and which gave me more pleasure than any two books I ever read since, were The Life of Hannibal, and The History of Sir William Wallace.—Hannibal gave my young ideas such a turn, that I used to strut in raptures up and down after the recruiting drum and bagpipe, and wish myself tall enough to be a soldier; while the story of Wallace poured a Scottish prejudice into my veins, which will boil along there, till the flood-gates of life shut in eternal rest.

Polemical divinity about this time was putting the country half-mad; and I, ambitious of shining in conversation-parties on Sundays between sermons, at funerals, &c. used a few years afterwards to puzzle Calvinism with so much heat and indiscretion, that I raised a hue and cry of heresy against me, which has not ceased to this hour.

My vicinity to Ayr was of some advantage to me. My social disposition, when not checked by some mortification, or spited by pride, was like our catechism definition of

infinitude, without bounds or limits. I formed several connexions with other younkers who possessed superior advantages: the youngling actors, who were busy in the rehearsal of parts in which they were shortly to appear on the stage of life, when, alas! I was destined to drudge behind the scenes. It is not commonly at this green age that our young gentry have a just sense of the immense distance between them and their ragged playfellows. It takes a few dashes into the world to give the young great man that proper, decent, unnoticing disregard for the poor, insignificant, stupid devils, the mechanics and peasantry around him, who were, perhaps, born in the same village. My young superiors never insulted the clouterly appearance of my plough-boy carcase, the two extremes of which were often exposed to all the inclemencies of all the seasons. They would give me stray volumes of books; among them, even then, I could pick up some observations; and one, whose heart, I am sure, not even the Munny Begum scenes have tainted, helped me to a little French. Parting with these my young friends and benefactors, as they occasionally went off for the East or West Indies, was often to me a sore affliction; but I was soon called to more serious evils. My father's generous master died; the farm proved a ruinous bargain; and to clinch the misfortune, we fell into the hands of a factor who sat for the picture I have drawn of one in my Tale of Two Dogs. My father was advanced in life when he married: I was the eldest of seven children; and he, worn out by early hardships, was unfit for labour. My father's spirit was soon irritated, but not easily broken. There was a freedom in his lease for two years more; and to weather these two years, we retrenched our expenses. We lived very poorly: I was a dexterous ploughman for my age; and the next eldest to me was a brother (Gilbert), who could drive the plough very well, and help me to thrash the corn. A novel writer might, perhaps, have viewed these scenes with some satisfaction, but so did not I; my indignation yet boils at the recollection of the s——l factor's insolent threatening letters, which used to set us all in tears.

This kind of life—the cheerless gloom of a hermit, with the unceasing moil of a galley slave—brought me to my sixteenth year; a little before which period I first committed the sin of rhyme. You know our country custom of coupling a man and woman together as partners in the labours of harvest. In my sixteenth autumn, my partner was a bewitching creature, a year younger than myself. My scarcity of English denies me the power of doing her justice in that language, but you know the Scottish idiom; she was a bonnie, sweet, sonsie lass. In short, she altogether unwittingly to herself, initiated me in that delicious passion, which, in spite of acid disappointment, gin-horn prudence, and book-worm philosophy, I hold to be the first of human joys, our dearest blessing here below! How she caught the contagion I cannot tell; yet medical people talk much of infection from breathing the same air, the touch, &c. but I never expressly said I loved her. Indeed I did not know myself why I liked so much to

loiter behind with her, when returning in the evening from our labours, why the tones of her voice made my heart-strings thrill like an Æolian harp; and particularly why my pulse beat such a furious ratan when I looked and fingered over her little hand to pick out the cruel nettle stings and thistles. Among her other love-inspiring qualities, she sung sweetly; and it was her favourite reel to which I attempted giving an embodied vehicle in rhyme. I was not so presumptuous as to imagine that I could make verses like printed ones, composed by men who had Greek and Latin; but my girl sung a song which was said to be composed by a small country laird's son, on one of his father's maids, with whom he was in love; and I saw no reason why I might not rhyme as well as he; for, excepting that he could smear sheep, and cast peats, his father living in the moorlands, he had no more scholar craft than myself.

Thus with me began love and poetry; which at times have been my only, and, till within the last twelve months, have been my highest enjoyment. My father struggled on till he reached the freedom in his lease, when he entered on a larger farm, about ten miles farther in the country. The nature of the bargain he made, was such as to throw a little ready money into his hands at the commencement of his lease, otherwise the affair would have been impracticable. For four years we lived comfortably here; but a difference commencing between him and his landlord, as to terms, after three years tossing and whirling in the vortex of litigation, my father was just saved from the horrors of a jail, by a consumption, which, after two years promises, kindly stepped in, and carried him away, to where the wicked cease from troubling, and where the weary are at rest!

It is during the time we lived on this farm that my little story is most eventful. I was at the beginning of this period, perhaps, the most ungainly awkward boy in the parish —no *solitaire* was less acquainted with the ways of the world. What I knew of ancient story, was gathered from Salmon's and Guthrie's Geographical Grammars; and the ideas I had formed of modern manners, of literature, and criticism, I got from the Spectator. These, with Pope's Works, some plays of Shakspeare, Tull and Dickson on Agriculture, the Pantheon, Locke's Essay on the Human Understanding, Stackhouse's History of the Bible, Justice's British Gardener's Directory, Bayle's Lectures, Allan Ramsay's Works, Taylor's Scripture Doctrine of Original Sin, A Select Collection of English Songs, and Hervey's Meditations, had formed the whole of my reading. The collection of songs was my *vade mecum*. I pored over them driving my cart, or walking to labour, song by song, verse by verse; carefully noting the true tender, or sublime, from affectation and fustian. I am convinced I owe to this practice much of my critic craft, such as it is.

In my seventeenth year, to give my manners a brush, I went to a country dancing-school. My father had an unaccountable antipathy against those meetings, and my going was, what to this moment I repent, in opposition to his wishes. My father, as I said before, was

subject to strong passions; from that instance of disobedience in me, he took a sort of dislike to me, which, I believe, was one cause of the dissipation which marked my succeeding years. I say, dissipation, comparatively with the strictness and sobriety and regularity of presbyterian country life; for though the wil-o'-wisp meteors of thoughtless whim were also the sole lights of my path, yet early ingrained piety and virtue kept me for several years afterwards within the line of innocence. The great misfortune of my life was to want an aim. I had felt early some stirrings of ambition, but they were the blind gropings of Homer's Cyclop round the walls of his cave. I saw my father's situation entailed on me perpetual labour. The only two openings by which I could enter the temple of fortune, was the gate of niggardly economy, or the path of little chicaning bargain-making. The first is so contracted an aperture, I never could squeeze myself into it; the last I always hated—there was contamination in the very entrance! Thus abandoned of aim, or view in life, with a strong appetite for sociability, as well from native hilarity, as from a pride of observation and remark; a constitutional melancholy or hypochondriasm, that made me fly solitude; add to these incentives to social life, my reputation for bookish knowledge, a certain wild logical talent, and a strength of thought, something like the rudiments of good sense, and it will not seem surprising that I was generally a welcome guest where I visited, or any great wonder that always where two or three met together, there was I among them.—But far beyond all other impulses of my heart was *un penchant à l'adorable moietié du genre humain*. My heart was completely tinder, and was eternally lighted up by some goddess or other; and, as in every other warfare in this world, my fortune was various; sometimes I was received with favour, and sometimes I was mortified by a repulse. At the plough, scythe, or reap-hook, I feared no competitor, and thus I set absolute want at defiance; and as I never cared farther for my labours than while I was in actual exercise, I spent the evenings in the way after my own heart. A country lad seldom carries on a love adventure without an assisting confidant. I possessed a curiosity, zeal, and intrepid dexterity, that recommended me as a proper second on these occasions; and I dare say I felt as much pleasure in being in the secret of half the loves of the parish of Tarbolton as ever did statesman in knowing the intrigues of half the courts of Europe. The very goose feather in my hand seems to know instinctively the well-known path of my imagination, the favourite theme of my song; and is with difficulty restrained from giving you a couple of paragraphs on the love adventures of my compeers, the humble inmates of the farm-house and the cottage; but the grave sons of science, ambition, or avarice, baptize these things by the name of follies. To the sons and daughters of labour and poverty they are matters of the most serious nature; to them the ardent hope, the stolen interview, the tender farewell, are the greatest and most delicious parts of their enjoyments.

Another circumstance in my

life, which made some alteration in my mind and manners, was, that I spent my nineteenth summer on a smuggling coast, a good distance from home, at a noted school, to learn mensuration, surveying, dialing, &c. in which I made a pretty good progress. But I made a greater progress in the knowledge of mankind. The contraband trade was at that time very successful; and it sometimes happened to me to fall in with those who carried it on. Scenes of swaggering, riot, and roaring dissipation, were till this time new to me, but I was no enemy to social life. Here, though I learned to fill my glass, and to mix without fear in a drunken squabble, yet I went on with a high hand with my geometry, till the sun entered Virgo, a month which is always a carnival in my bosom, when a charming *filette*, who lived next door to the school, overset my trigonometry, and set me off at a tangent from the sphere of my studies. I, however, struggled on with my *sines* and *cosines* for a few days more; but stepping into the garden one charming noon to take the sun's altitude, there I met my angel,

> Like Proserpine gathering flowers,
> Herself a fairer flower.——

It was in vain to think of doing any more good at school. The remaining week I staid I did nothing but craze the faculties of my soul about her, or steal out to meet her; and the two last nights of my stay in the country, had sleep been a mortal sin, the image of this modest and innocent girl had kept me guiltless.

I returned home very considerably improved. My reading was enlarged with the very important addition of Thomson's and Shenstone's works; I had seen human nature in a new phasis; and I engaged several of my school-fellows to keep up a literary correspondence with me. This improved me in composition. I had met with a collection of letters by the wits of queen Anne's reign, and I pored over them most devoutly. I kept copies of any of my own letters that pleased me; and a comparison between them and the composition of most of my correspondents, flattered my vanity. I carried this whim so far, that though I had not three farthings worth of business in the world, yet almost every post brought me as many letters as if I had been a broad-plodding son of day-book and ledger.

My life flowed on much in the same course till my twenty-third year. *Vive l'amour, et vive la bagatelle*, were my sole principles of action. The addition of two more authors to my library gave me great pleasure—Sterne and M'Kenzie—Tristram Shandy and the Man of Feeling were my bosom favourites. Poesy was still a darling walk for my mind; but it was only indulged in according to the humour of the hour. I had usually half a dozen, or more, pieces on hand. I took up one or other as it suited the momentary tone of the mind, and dismissed the work as it bordered on fatigue. My passions, when once lighted up, raged like so many devils, till they got vent in rhyme; and then the conning over my verses, like a spell, soothed all into quiet! None of the rhymes of those days are in print, except Winter, a dirge, the eldest of my printed pieces; The Death of Poor Maillie, John Barleycorn, and songs

first, second, and third. Song second was the ebullition of that passion which ended the fore-mentioned school business.

My twenty-third year was to me an important æra. Partly through whim, and partly that I wished to set about doing something in life, I joined a flax-dresser in the neighbouring town (Irvine), to learn his trade. This was an unluckly affair. My ******, and to finish the whole, as we were giving a welcoming carousal to the new year, the shop took fire, and burned to ashes; and I was left like a true poet, not worth a sixpence.

I was obliged to give up this scheme; the clouds of misfortune were gathering thick round my father's head; and, what was worst of all, he was visibly far gone in a consumption; and, to crown my distresses, a *belle fille*, whom I adored, and who had pledged her soul to meet me in the field of matrimony, jilted me, with peculiar circumstances of mortification. The finishing evil that brought up the rear of this infernal file, was my constitutional melancholy being increased to such a degree, that for three months I was in a state of mind scarcely to be envied by the hopeless wretches who have got their mittimus—Depart from me ye cursed.

From this adventure I learned something of a town life; but the principal thing which gave my mind a turn, was a friendship I formed with a young fellow, a very noble character, but a hapless son of misfortune. He was the son of a simple mechanic; but a great man in the neighbourhood taking him under his patronage, gave him a genteel education, with a view of bettering his situation in life. The patron dying just as he was ready to launch out into the world, the poor fellow in despair went to sea; where, after a variety of good and ill fortune, a little before I was acquainted with him, he had been set ashore by an American privateer, on the wild coast of Connaught, stripped of every thing. I cannot quit this poor fellow's story without adding, that he is at this time master of a large West Indiaman belonging to the Thames.

His mind was fraught with independence, magnanimity, and every manly virtue. I loved and admired him to a degree of enthusiasm, and of course strove to imitate him. In some measure I succeeded: I had pride before, but he taught it to flow in proper channels. His knowledge of the world was vastly superior to mine, and I was all attention to learn. He was the only man I ever saw who was a greater fool than myself where woman was the presiding star; but he spoke of illicit love with the levity of a sailor, which hitherto I had regarded with horror. Here his friendship did me a mischief; and the consequence was, that soon after I resumed the plough, I wrote the Poet's Welcome.

My reading only increased while in this town by two stray volumes of Pamela, and one of Ferdinand Count Fathom, which gave me some idea of novels. Rhyme, except some religious pieces that are in print, I had given up; but meeting with Ferguson's Scottish Poems, I strung anew my wildly sounding lyre with emulating vigour. When my father died, his all went among the hell-hounds

that growl in the kennel of justice: but we made a shift to collect a little money in the family amongst us, with which, to keep us together, my brother and I took a neighbouring farm. My brother wanted my hair-brained imagination, as well as my social and amorous madness; but in good sense, and every sober quality, he was far my superior.

I entered on this farm with a full resolution, come, go to, I will be wise! I read farming-books; I calculate crops; I attend markets; and, in short, in spite of the devil, and the world, and the flesh, I believe I should have been a wise man; but the first year, from unfortunately buying bad seed, the second from a late harvest, we lost half our crops. This overset all my wisdom, and I returned like the dog to his vomit, and the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire.

I now began to be known in the neighbourhood as a maker of rhymes. The first of my poetic offspring that saw the light, was a burlesque lamentation on a quarrel between two reverend Calvinists, both of them *dramatis personæ* in my Holy Fair. I had a notion myself that the piece had some merit; but, to prevent the worst, I gave a copy of it to a friend, who was very fond of such things, and told him that I could not guess who was the author of it, but that I thought it pretty clever. With a certain description of the clergy, as well as laity, it met with a roar of applause. Holy Willie's Prayer next made its appearance, and alarmed the kirk session so much, that they held several meetings to look over their spiritual artillery, if haply any of it might be pointed against profane rhyme. Unluckily for me, my wanderings led me, on another side, within point blank shot of their heaviest metal. This was a most melancholy affair, which I cannot yet bear to reflect on, and had very nearly given me one or two of the principal qualifications for a place among those who have lost the chart, and mistaken the reckoning of rationality. I gave up my part of the farm to my brother; in truth it was only nominally mine; and made what little preparation was in my power for Jamaica. But, before leaving my native country for ever, I resolved to publish my poems. I weighed my productions as impartially as was in my power; I thought they had merit; and it was a delicious idea that I should be called a clever fellow, even though it should never reach my ears—a poor negro driver—or perhaps a victim to that inhospitable clime, and gone to the world of spirits! I can truly say, that *pauvre inconnu* as I then was, I had pretty nearly as high an idea of myself and of my works as I have at this moment, when the public has decided in their favour. It ever was my opinion, that the mistakes and blunders, both in a rational and religious point of view, of which we see thousands daily guilty, are owing to their ignorance of themselves. To know myself had been all along my constant study. I weighed myself alone; I balanced myself with others; I watched every means of information, to see how much ground I occupied as a man and as a poet; I studied assiduously nature's design in my formation,

where the lights and shades in my character were intended. I was pretty confident my poems would meet with some applause; but at the worst, the roar of the Atlantic would deafen the voice of censure, and the novelty of West Indian scenes make me forget neglect. I threw off six hundred copies, of which I had got subscriptions for about three hundred and fifty. My vanity was highly gratified by the reception I met with from the public; and besides, I pocketed, all expences deducted, nearly twenty pounds. This sum came very seasonably, as I was thinking of indenting myself, for want of money, to procure a passage. As soon as I was master of nine guineas, the price of wafting me to the torrid zone, I took a steerage passage in the first ship that was to sail from the Clyde, for

Hungry ruin had me in the wind.

I had been for some days skulking from covert to covert, under all the terrors of a jail; as some ill-advised people had uncoupled the merciless pack of the law at my heels. I had taken the last farewell of my few friends; my chest was on the road to Greenock; I had composed the last song I should ever measure in Caledonia, "The gloomy Night is gathering fast," when a letter from Dr. Blacklock to a friend of mine overthrew all my schemes, by opening new prospects to my poetic ambition. The doctor belonged to a set of critics for whose applause I had not dared to hope. His opinion, that I would meet with encouragement in Edinburgh for a second edition, fired me so much, that away I posted for that city, without a single acquaintance, or a single letter of introduction. The baneful star that had so long shed its blasting influence in my zenith for once made a revolution to the Nadir; and a kind Providence placed me under the patronage of the noblest of men, the Earl of Glencairn—*Oublie moi, grand Dieu, si jamais je l'oublie!*

I need relate no farther. At Edinburgh I was in a new world; I mingled among many classes of men, but all of them new to me, and I was all attention to catch the characters and the manners living as they rise. Whether I have profited time will shew.

Extract from Kotzebue's Life, written by himself.

I had been now for some time a scholar at the Gymnasium at Weimar, an institution in which there was then great room for improvement. I commenced my career in the third class, in which the pupils among other useless things were all compelled to learn Hebrew. Was it then surprising that instead of attending regularly at the school hours, I should often spend that time privately with a school-fellow, who was educated, or perhaps I should rather say spoiled, by an over fond uncle, when we were commonly occupied in forming plans for acting plays. I remember well that we had once determined on performing *The Busy Idlers*, and had actually been employed for several days in writing out the different parts,

before we perceived that it was the severest satire possible upon ourselves.

In the second class our studies were ordered somewhat better, though even there the pupils were employed in many things, which, to say the truth, answered no purpose but to murder time. Among others may be reckoned the making of Latin verses, which was expected of all the scholars whether they had talents for it or not. The worthy Musæus, much against his inclination, was our tutor in this branch of learning. But if some of our time was misemployed, it must also be acknowledged that we acquired much valuable learning and knowledge at this seminary. This was indeed principally to be ascribed to the attention and judgment of the excellent man above-mentioned. By him we were exercised in writing letters, and it is well known that nobody ever excelled more in epistolary writing than Musæus. An hour in every week was besides devoted to poetry, and as this was on Saturday, I always looked forward to that day with particular delight. The forms observed on these occasions were thus regulated.

At the appointed time Musæus came among the class, and enquired whether any scholar had a poetical composition of his own to produce, for this was very properly a perfectly voluntary thing on the part of the youth. Yet he scarcely ever failed of finding some bashful wooers of the Muses, who with downcast eyes signified that they had taken a canter upon Pegasus. The rostrum was immediately resigned to the juvenile poet, who ascended it and read his production, while the master walked up and down in silence with his hands behind him. At the conclusion of each piece, the work was criticised by the latter, though not with the same severity as is customary among the critical corps in the world at large. When the original productions were exhausted, this class of orators were succeeded by those who had only learned by heart the works of others as exercises in declamation. But here too all was voluntary. Each individual selected for himself, or took no share whatever in the exercise, entirely at his own option. These recitations concluded, Musæus here criticised the delivery, as in the former instance the composition, in both giving his reasons for every remark that he made. How much happier in this respect were we, than are the great mass of authors, whose works are commonly criticised by the world at large without any reason at all.

As when a child I would only draw my pious orisons from the sources of my own heart, so now I would not offer up to the god of poetry the effusions of others, but was always among the small number who produced their own weeds from the garden of Parnassus. To this day I have in my possession several trifles composed for these occasions, which, without incurring the censure of a too great partiality for my own offspring, I think I might venture to assert would not be among the worst productions that usually compose the Almanacks of the Muses.

At that time ballads were much the rage. The Almanacks swarmed with terrific legends of knights and ghosts, which, as tales of horror, could not fail of exciting my warmest admiration; nor was it unnatural in my ardour of authorship, that I should be inspired with a secret ambition of rivalling them. I therefore composed a ballad in the very highest flights of the ruling taste, a part of which I have still among my papers. It contained a sumptuous banquet, and a horrible murder; a ghost appeared preaching repentance, and the obdurate sinner was at length carried away by the devil. The versification was, however, easy, and correct.

On the following Saturday, I scarcely knew how to wait for the appointed hour, before I produced this master-piece. The important moment arrived—my heart palpitated—I ascended the rostrum, and read my performance with a tremulous voice—but how did my eyes sparkle, how did my bosom swell with transport, when at the conclusion Musæus said,—Oh words never to be forgotten! "Good! very good!—from what Almanack did you borrow it?"—Conceive, reader, if thou canst—but no, 'tis impossible to conceive with what exultation I answered, "It is my own writing."

"Indeed!" said Musæus, "well, well, bravo! go on!"—I was almost beside myself, and would not have parted with the feelings of that moment to purchase a kingdom. With cheeks glowing with delight I returned to my seat, and as I observed that the eyes of all my school-fellows were fixed upon me, I concealed my face, with ostentatious modesty, in the blue cloak which all the scholars were obliged to wear.

From that moment, I considered myself as really a poet. Musæus had said BRAVO! Musæus could think that the ballad was taken from an Almanack—a species of publication for which at that time I entertained a very high respect—who then could question my claim to be considered as a son of the Muses?—I had now proceeded in my career, and against every Saturday composed something new, but as it appeared to me that nothing could possibly equal my ballad, I contentedly reposed under my laurels, only gratifying my childish vanity by always carrying the beloved babe in my pocket, that no opportunity of spreading its fame might be lost by its not being at hand when I met with any one so good-natured as to request the perusal of it.

Happily for me, Musæus understood as well how to check conceit, as encourage genius. Some months after, when the time was approaching at which both tutors and pupils were to make an exhibition of their talents at a public examination before a numerous audience, Musæus wishing the examiners to be presented with some specimens of the scholars' progress in composition, desired those whom he thought capable of it, to recite poems of their own writing. When it came to my turn, and he asked me what I should produce upon the occasion, I answered without hesitation and with perfect self-satisfaction, "my ballad."

"Your ballad," he replied; "what ballad?"

"The same that Mr. Professor was pleased to commend so highly some months ago," I returned, with a confidence and self-sufficiency that Mr. Professor could not endure.

"Pshaw!" he replied, "away with the silly thing which I had long ago forgotten. No, no, pray let us have something new, something worth hearing."

I was thunderstruck. The mighty fabric of vanity erected in my bosom was overthrown in an instant, and shame stood weeping over the ruins. What was to be done?—I must cast off the laurel-wreath beneath which I had so long contentedly slumbered, and which I now first discovered to be withered, and endeavoured to deserve a fresh crown.

Piqued as I was, however, I roused all my energies, resolving to do something that should not disgrace my former attainments, and selected from *Miller's Moral Pictures* the story of the Unnatural Son, who kept his father in confinement, of which the following is an abstract. A prodigal was once celebrating a grand festival at his castle, when one of the guests, for want of room, was lodged at night in a remote apartment at the end of a long and solitary passage. At midnight the chamber-door opened and a wretched, wan, meagre figure, loaded with chains, tottered in. He went up to the chimney, and scraping together the few remaining embers, sat down to warm his trembling hands. The guest astonished, started up in his bed, and examining this spirit, as at first he was almost inclined to think it, soon recognized the features of his old friend, the father of his then host. Through the universal bustle in the house, his guards had not watched him with their usual care, and thus he had gotten loose, and was strolling about that part of the castle. This dreadful, but alas! true story, I put into verse, and once more gained great applause from my tutor.

Out of the school-hours I also enjoyed the instruction of that worthy man in many very important matters. From these private lectures I derived much more advantage than from the public ones, since they were devoted solely to forming my taste and morals. By them I learned thoroughly to know and value the excellent heart, and amiable domestic virtues of my instructor, and from valuing was insensibly led to imitate them. Daily did my affectionate esteem for him increase, although he was sometimes pretty severe with me. I cannot here forbear relating an anecdote, partly because it shews his strong propensity to satire even in the punishment of those under his tuition, and partly because I think that the more I speak of Musæus, the more entertaining and valuable I shall make my sketch.

I had been guilty of some boyish pieces of mischief, I do not now recollect what, and my mother, who shrunk from punishing me herself, gave me an Urah's letter to Musæus, requesting that he would inflict on me such correction as he judged proportionate to the offence. He read the letter, represented my transgression to me very calmly, though very forcibly, and then ordered a stick to be brought from the wood-house.

The stick was brought—it was a willow staff which had grown somewhat crooked. He looked at it with a smile, took me by the arm, gave me several smart strokes over the back and shoulders, and then very coolly and with an air of the utmost politeness, begged my pardon for having used a crooked weapon.

This piece of banter wounded me much more deeply than the severest chastisement. I never forgot it, and reminding him of the circumstance some years after, we laughed at it together very heartily. I must however observe, that Musæus himself acknowledged the same thing, that this is a very improper mode of correction for any tutor to practise. Nothing is so exasperating to the young mind as sarcasm, nor does any thing weaken the force of chastisement like its being accompanied with insult. For myself I must confess, that my bosom was for many weeks impressed with a strong feeling of resentment at this humiliation, nor perhaps had it easily been got over, had I not been so long accustomed to love and respect Musæus, that I scarcely knew how to regard him with other sensations; and a few words of encouragement to my talents, which from his mouth I always considered as invaluable, shortly after finally sealed his pardon.

NATURAL HISTORY.

Some observations on the Head of the Ornithorhynchus Paradoxus. By Everard Home, Esq. F.R.S. From the Philosophical Transactions.

The specimens of this extraordinary animal which have been sent to Europe, have been deprived of the internal parts, and the skins are mostly dried, and but badly preserved. Such imperfect specimens have raised the curiosity of the naturalist, and excited the ardour of the anatomist, without satisfying their enquiries.

It was natural, under these circumstances, to reserve any observations which had been made upon this newly-discovered quadruped, till the entire animal should be brought home preserved in spirit, and enable us to examine the structure of its different organs; but, finding that Professor Blumenbach has been led to believe that it was an animal without teeth, an opinion which must have arisen from the imperfect state of the specimen he examined, it appeared highly proper to do away the mistake, and lay before this learned Society, such observations respecting the head of this extraordinary animal, as I have been enabled to make.

My opportunities of examining the *ornithorhynchus* were procured through Sir Joseph Banks; who permitted me to have drawings made from the skin of one of a very large size, and which, from having been preserved in spirit, was more perfect than any o the dried specimens.

I was not permitted to examine the head anatomically; but a smaller dried specimen, received from Sir Joseph Banks, furnished me with the following observations.

The beak of the *ornithorhynchus*, when it is curiously examined, appears so strongly to resemble that of the duck, as to lead to the belief of its being calculated for exactly the same purposes; it will however be found to differ materially from it, in a variety of circumstances.

The beak is found, upon examination, not to be the animal's mouth, but a part added to the mouth, and projecting beyond it.

The cavity of the mouth is situated as in other quadrupeds, and has two grinding teeth on each side, both in the upper and lower jaw; but, instead of in-

cisor teeth, the nasal and palate bones are continued forwards, lengthening the anterior nostrils, and forming the upper part of the beak; and the two portions of the lower jaw, instead of terminating at the symphisis, where they join, become two thin plates, and are continued forwards, forming the under portion of the beak.

This structure differs materially from the bill of the duck, and indeed from the bills of all birds, since in them, the cavities of the nostrils do not extend beyond the root of the bill; and, in their lower portions, which correspond to the under jaw of quadrupeds, the edges are hard, to answer the purpose of teeth, and the middle space is hollow, to receive the tongue. But, in this animal, the two thin plates of bone are in the centre; and the parts which surround them are composed of skin and membrane, in which a muscular structure probably is inclosed.

The teeth have no fangs which sink into the jaw, as in most quadrupeds, but are imbedded in the gum; and have only lateral alveolar processes, from the outer and inner edges of the jaw, to secure them in their places, but no transverse ones between the two teeth.

The tongue is extremely short, not half an inch long; and the moveable portion not more than a quarter of an inch: the papillæ on its surface are long, and of a conical form. When the tongue is drawn in, it can be brought entirely into the mouth; and, when extended, can be projected about a quarter of an inch into the beak.

The organ of smell, in this animal, differs, in some particulars, from that of quadrupeds in general, as well as of birds. The external openings of this organ are placed nearly at the end of the beak, there being only the lip beyond them; while the turbinated bones are in the same relative situation to the other parts of the skull as in quadrupeds; by which means, there are two cavities the whole length of the beak, superadded to the organ of smell.

The turbinated bones in each nostril are two in number, and are distinct from each other. That next the beak is the longest, has a more variegated surface than in the duck, and has the long axis in the direction of the nostril; the posterior one is short, projects farther into the nostril, and the ridges are in a transverse direction.

The posterior nostrils do not open directly under the turbinated bones, as in the duck, but about an inch farther back, and are extremely small; the cavities of the nose, in this animal, are therefore uncommonly extensive; they reach from the end of the beak nearly to the occiput.

The beak itself is formed by the projecting bones already mentioned, covered with a smooth black skin, which extends some way beyond the bones, both in front and laterally, forming a moveable lip. This lip is so strong, that, when dried or hardened in spirit, it seems to be rigid; but, when moistened, is very pliant, and, as has been already mentioned, has probably a muscular structure. The under

portion of the beak has a lip equally broad with the upper: this has a serrated edge; but the serræ are confined to the soft part, not extending to the membrane covering the bone, and are not met with in the upper one. The extent of the lips beyond the bones, is distinctly marked in the drawings.

There is a very curious transverse fold of the external black smooth skin, by which the beak is covered, projecting all round, exactly at that part where the beak has its origin. Its apparent use seems to be to prevent the beak being pushed further into the soft mud, in which its prey may lie concealed, than up to this part, which is so broad that it must completely stop its progress.

The nerves that supply the beak, in their general course, size, and number, seem very closely to correspond with those of the bill of the duck.

The cavity of the skull bears a greater general resemblance to that of the duck than of quadrupeds: there is a very uncommon peculiarity in it, which is, that there is a bony falx of some breadth, but no bony tentorium. This is met with in no quadruped that I know of: it is found in a small degree in some birds, as the spoon-bill, and the parrot; but not at all so as to resemble the falx in this animal.

The orifice of the eye-lids is uncommonly small, for the size of the animal; but the eye itself was not in a state to be examined.

The external opening of the ear was so small as not readily to be perceived; it is simply an orifice; but the meatus enlarges considerably beyond the size of the opening, and passes some way under the skin, before it reaches the organ, which in this specimen had been destroyed. In the duck, the orifice leading to the ear is very large, when compared with the opening in this animal.

When we consider the peculiarities in the structure of the nose of this animal, which lives in water, it is natural to conclude the organ is fitted to smell in water, and the external nostrils are so placed, to enable it to discover its prey by the smell; for that purpose, the animal can apply its nose, with great ease, to the small recesses in which its prey may be concealed.

The structure of the beak is not such as enables it to take a firm hold; but, when the marginal lips are brought together, the animal will have a considerable power of suction, and in that way may draw its prey into its mouth.

Account of a Peculiarity in the Distribution of the Arteries sent to the Limbs of slow-moving Animals; together with some other similar Facts. In a Letter from Mr. Anthony Carlisle, Surgeon, to John Symmons, Esq. F. R. S. From Philosophical Transactions.

Dear Sir,

The Maucauco you have been so obliging as to give me for the purpose of dissection, has proved a subject of considerable interest. This animal, the *Llemur tardigra-*

dus of Linnæus, was injected, with a view to exhibit the course of the arteries; and they present a very unusual deviation from the ordinary arrangement of this class of blood-vessels in animals generally. Before I had leisure to inquire further into this peculiarity, I presented a drawing of the appearances to my friend Dr. Shaw, of the British Museum, for the purpose of being made public in his work of natural history, now in the press. Since that time, I have, through Dr. Shaw's assistance, been enabled to investigate this subject somewhat farther; and, if you consider the following account in any degree worthy the attention of the Royal Society, I shall receive an additional honour by its proceeding through your hands.

The *lemur tardigradus*, in its injected state, accompanies this paper; and, for the kind of preparation, the vessels are filled with more than ordinary success. The arteries alone are injected; and the peculiarity of their arrangement is to be observed in the axillary arteries, and in the iliacs. These vessels, at their entrance into the upper and lower limbs, are suddenly divided into a number of equal-sized cylinders, which occasionally anastomose with each other. They are exclusively distributed on the muscles; whilst the arteries sent to all the parts of the body, excepting the limbs, divide in the usual arborescent form; and, even those arteries of the limbs which are employed upon substances not muscular, branch off like the common blood-vessels. I counted twenty-three of these cylinders, parallel to each other, about the middle of the upper arm; and seventeen in the inguinal fasciculus.

This fact appeared at first too solitary for the foundation of any physiological reasoning; but, having since had an opportunity of prosecuting the inquiry, among animals of similar habits and character, I have been encouraged to hope that the result may eventually assist in the elucidation of muscular motion. The *bradypus tridactylus*, or great American Sloth, has a similar distribution of the arteries of its limbs to that already described in the *lemur tardigradus*. The communications of these vessels with each other are more frequent than in the *lemur tardigradus*, and their number is considerably greater. I counted forty-two separate cylinders upon the superficies of the brachial fasciculus; and, from the bulk of the fasciculus, I estimate that there were twenty, or more, concealed in the middle. The lower extremity has its arteries less divided, and they are of larger diameter. I observed only thirty-four branches in the middle of the thigh; and the first series of ramifications were larger than the subsequent ones. May not this have some relation to the greater distance of the lower limb from the heart? The extremely slow movements of the *bradypus tridactylus* are sufficiently known among natural historians.

The *bradypus didactylus* has its arterial system distributed in some degree like the *tridactylus*; but the brachial artery in the upper limb is much less subdivided, and, in the lower limb, the arteries of the plexus afterwards divide a few times in the arborescent form. It may be worthy of remark, that

this correspondence of arrangement, in the arteries of the lesser sloth, bears a striking analogy with the structure and habits of the large American sloth; the movements of the *bradypus didactylus* being universally represented quicker than those of the *bradypus tridactylus*.

The *lemur loris* was next examined, and its arterial system was found to resemble those already described; but, as the animal had been preserved in very strong spirits, the vessels were so corrugated as not to admit of injection. The two *bradypi* were injected with quicksilver. The natural history of the *lemur loris* appears not to be very well ascertained; but it is a slow-moving animal, and has been confounded with the species called *tardigradus*, although doubtless a much more agile creature.

In all the quadrupeds before mentioned, the other blood vessels, as well as the nerves, presented the common appearances. The size of the heads, and the interior capacity of the skulls, both in the *bradypus tridactylus* and the *lemur tardigradus*, seemed smaller in proportion than is usual among animals, so that the quantity of brain must be less than ordinary.

The effect of this peculiar disposition of the arteries, in the limbs of these slow-moving quadrupeds, will be that of retarding the velocity of the blood. It is well known, and has been explained by various writers, that the blood moves quicker in the arteries near the heart, than in the remote branches; and also, that fluids move more rapidly through tubes which branch off suddenly from large trunks, than if they had been propelled for a considerable distance through small-sized cylinders; besides which, the frequent communications in the cylinders of the *bradypus tridactylus* must produce eddies, which will retard the progress of the fluid. From these and a variety of other facts, which it is not necessary to specify, it will appear, that one effect upon the animal economy, connected with this arrangement of vessels, must be, that of diminishing the velocity of the blood passing into the muscles of the limbs. It may be difficult to determine, whether the slow movement of the blood sent to these muscles be a subordinate convenience to other primary causes of their slow contraction, or whether it be of itself the immediate and principal cause. The facts at present ascertained, relative to muscular motion, do not authorize me to treat decidedly of the share which the vascular system holds in the operation of muscular contraction. Certain it is, that a larger proportion of arteries is sent to the muscles of quadrupeds, than to the ordinary substances; and the extreme redness of these organs shews that their capillaries are of large diameter. A greater degree of redness is also observable in those muscles (of the same animal) which are most frequently called into action. The habits of life among the tardigrade animals, give occasion for the long continued contraction of some muscles in their limbs; these creatures are represented clinging to the boughs of trees, and remaining thus, without locomotion, for several hours. The powers which require so long a time to determine

the contraction of a series of muscles, are probably no less slow in restoring the parts to their former condition; or, if the restoration is to be effected by antagonist muscles under the same circumstances, then, the flexion and extension of every part of the limbs will correspond, as to time.

I have not met with any arrangement of blood-vessels analogous to those described, except in the carotid artery of the lion. May not this peculiarity be subservient to the long continued exertion of the muscles of his jaws, whilst holding a powerful animal, such as a horse or buffalo, and thus enable him to retain his prey, until it is wearied out by ineffectual struggles? I believe also, that those animals which chew the cud, have a plexus of arteries in the neck, analogous to the *rete mirabile:* but this fact has not yet been verified in all the ruminating quadrupeds; and the effect of these arrangements seems rather to operate as sluices to the arteries of the masticating muscles, than directly as the means of retarding the velocity of their fluids. It is however necessary to examine these subjects more accurately *.

As I have instituted a series of experiments and inquiries, with the hope of elucidating this subject, it would be improper to trouble you, or the Royal Society, with any physiological reasonings until these are completed.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Ant. Carlisle.

Soho Square, Oct. 28th, 1799.

P.S. The maucauco which you lately possessed, was sufficiently quick in the movements of its head to snap a person's finger, when touched incautiously; and the motion of its jaw, when chewing, was not slower than in other animals. A maucauco of the same species, kept among the wild beasts in the Tower of London, was very apt to bite those who, calculating the movements of its head by those of its limbs, approached within the length of its neck; the chewing of this animal was similar to that of a cat. These internal habits of motion, compared with those of the limbs, coincide very much with the internal structure here described.

Account of some Experiments made in France, by order of the Government, respecting the quality of Pewter. By M. Coquebert.

Read at the Council of Weights and Measures. From the Repertory of Arts and Manufactures.

Some new regulations about to be made, with respect to the pewter measures which are used for wine, vinegar, and several other liquors, rendered it necessary to take into consideration the two following circumstances respecting that metal:

First, To determine what degree of purity pewter should possess, in order to render it fit for the uses above mentioned, without any risk to health.

Secondly, To discover some

* There is a *rete mirabile* in the genus *Bos*, and in some of the *Cervi* which I have seen.

simple and easy means by which the quality of pewter might at any time be ascertained, without injury to the vessels made of it.

In consequence thereof MM. Legendre, Gattey, and Coquebert, members of the council of weights and measures, proposed, some months ago, to the government, that a plan of enquiry should be undertaken, in conjunction with MM. Gillet, Lefevre, and Lelievre, members of the council of mines, by which the solution of the above questions might be accomplished.

These commissioners desired to be assisted by MM. Fourcroy, Nauquelin, and Dillon; and, after a great number of delicate experiments, made with the greatest care, by the united labour of the forementioned gentlemen, many new and interesting facts were ascertained, which have served to fix the opinion of the government, with respect to those points which were the objects of this inquiry.

The experiments of the above gentlemen have proved,

First, That tin is more easily dissolved than lead, and is dissolved sooner than lead, by the action of wine, or of vinegar.

Secondly, That lead is not sensibly oxidated by the above liquors, except at the line of contact of the air and the liquor; consequently, a very small surface only is affected.

Thirdly, That the most green and sour wine that could be met with in the neighbourhood of Paris, dissolved only an insensible quantity of lead, after having remained from eight to ten days in vessels made of pewter which contained 18 *per cent.* of lead.

Fourthly, That nearly the same effects took place when vinegar was used instead of wine; and that no sensible appearances were produced by re-agents, except when the pewter of the vessels in which the vinegar had stood contained more than 18 *per cent.* of lead. In proportion as the vinegar becomes saturated with pewter, a small quantity of tatrite of lead is deposited: but the quantity of this deposit is extremely small, even when the vessels in which the vinegar stands are of great diameter, and have a large internal surface.

Fifthly, When red wine remains in pewter vessels, it loses its colour. This effect arises from the colouring matter being precipitated, after being combined with oxid of tin. The precipitate does not appear to contain any lead: yet the taste of the bad wine, made use of in this experiment, became more sweet. There is, however, reason to think, that this effect arose rather from the precipitation of the colouring matter, and the saturation of a part of the acid of the wine, than from any lead contained therein.

From the above experiments, the commissioners concluded, that vessels made of a mixture of tin and lead might be used for wine, and for vinegar, provided the proportion of the latter metal was not more than from 15 to 18 *per cent.* and that no injury to health need be apprehended, from the use of vessels made within the above-mentioned proportions.

The object of the second part of this enquiry was, to find some means by which the proportion of lead in pewter might easily be determined. The hydrostatic balance

is well known to offer the surest method of doing it; yet this method has not been made use of in any country. Instead of it, various conjectural methods were adopted, such as, the appearance of the metal, the flexibility of it, or other circumstances equally uncertain. A chemical analysis is capable of ascertaining the matter with precision; but such an analysis would be tedious and troublesome; besides which, it would be necessary to take away a part of the vessels themselves, for the purpose of analysis. An examination of the specific gravity has none of these inconveniences; but, in order to make it the basis of legal determination, it was necessary to ascertain, by experiment, in what manner tin and lead, when united in various proportions, were affected in this respect. It had been suspected, that mixtures of these two metals did not possess exactly that specific gravity which they would appear to do by calculating upon that which each of them possess separately. But, was their specific gravity augmented or diminished? did the two metals penetrate each other when mixed, or was there, on the contrary, a greater vacuum between their particles than existed in them when separate? These were questions which experiments only could determine; for the opinions of the philosophers who have written on that subject were not uniform, Kæstner, Hausen, Hahn, and even Lavoisier, believed that penetration took place. The specific gravity resulting from the mixture, says the latter, exceeds very much that which would be obtained by computing the volumes and masses. Kraft alone, in the Petersburgh Transactions, vol. xiv. maintained the opinion of dilatation; but he rested it only on one single fact. Those who have treated this subject in other places, particularly in the Memoirs of the Academy of Stockholm, have confined themselves to calculations, without making any experiments; it became therefore necessary, above all things, to have recourse to observation.

Tin and lead, in the most perfect state of purity they could be procured, were mixed together in various proportions; great care was taken that they should be well mixed together, and also that no cavity or air bubble should be left in the mixture. Three different series of these mixtures were made; and, upon being tried in the hydrostatic balance, the results were found to be as follows:

Mixtures of tin and lead were found to possess less specific gravity than would have been obtained by calculation; consequently, these two metals, instead of penetrating each other respectively, increase in bulk, when mixed together.

The following is the law of that increase, as far as it can be deduced from the above experiments:

When the quantity of lead mass in the proportion of nine-tenths of the whole, the bulk of the mixture increased, or, in other words, the specific gravity diminished, twenty-six thousandth parts.

8	parts of lead and	2	of tin, increased in bulk	40	1000th parts
7	ditto	3	ditto	48	ditto
6	ditto	4	ditto	47	ditto
5	ditto	5	ditto	46	ditto
4	ditto	6	ditto	45	ditto
3	ditto	7	ditto	43	ditto
$2\frac{1}{2}$	ditto	$7\frac{1}{2}$	ditto	39	ditto
2	ditto	8	ditto	33	ditto
$1\frac{1}{2}$	ditto	$8\frac{1}{2}$	ditto	30	ditto
1	ditto	9	ditto	23	ditto
$\frac{1}{2}$	ditto	$9\frac{1}{2}$	ditto	14	ditto

A much greater number of experiments were made on the mixtures in which the proportion of tin exceeded that of lead; and particularly on those where the proportion of tin, to that of lead, was from 5 to 25 or 30 *per cent.* they being the proportions most frequently met with in commerce.

From these experiments a table was constructed, by means of which it is very easy (after weighing a pewter vessel, first in air, and then in water,) to determine what proportion of lead is mixed with the tin.

It is very true, that this method does not shew the other metals with which the tin may perhaps be mixed, such as, copper, bismouth, zinc, and antimony; but every one knows that only a very small proportion of these metals is mixed with the pewter used in commerce; for some of them injure the colour, or the quality of the metal; and others are at least as dear as lead or tin, consequently no advantage can be gained by using them.

On the successful Cultivation of the true Rhubarb in England, by Mr. Thomas Jones. From the Transactions of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.

Sir,

The certificate which accompanies this communication, will inform the society that I have planted, in the year 1799, 4053 plants of the rheum palmatum, or true rhubarb; I once more, therefore, present myself as a claimant. Each time I have made my appearance in this character, I have pledged myself to future and more considerable exertions; for every distinction with which they have honoured me, has been viewed in no other light, than that of a powerful incentive to perseverance; and I need not add, how much gratification it will afford me, if the Society, by their decision on the present occasion, continue to me their good opinion.

The period I have devoted to the cultivation of this valuable drug has now become of a sufficient length to prove experimentally the truth or falsehood of my theories. Happy am I in reflecting and happier still in communicating to the Society, that since I last had the pleasure of addressing them, I have additional reason for satisfaction.

In my former papers, (see Transactions of the Society, vol. xi. xv. and xvi.) having been, perhaps, more than sufficiently minute in describing my system of cultivation, I shall now only notice the nature of the soil and aspect; the former of which is a rich sandy loam, and the aspect inclining to the east and south: and, as the public are in complete possession of the opinions upon which it is founded, there is no occasion to repeat every particular point in the present instance. I shall therefore content myself with merely mentioning some, and enlarging upon others, as necessity may require.

Conceiving it to be good policy for a man to avail himself of every advantage that is presented, I have recommended spring as well as autumnal sowing, and the plants of each, when arrived at a proper size, to be placed in the nursery-bed, at its opposite season. I persevere in this practice, lest the summer, in proving too dry, should be equally detrimental as too wet a winter: but as draining the seed-beds may be so easily effected, and the safety of the plants necessarily ensured; so now, without on any account neglecting the former, I principally depend on the latter sowing for a succession: besides, it is attended with the least trouble and expense: and if throughout the operation is well attended to, success is nearly reduced to a certainty.

Again, I have somewhere observed, that a proper mode of cultivation would greatly facilitate the cure of this root; in other words, good management will ensure its welfare till its arrival to a proper age: and that this has ever appeared to me of the most absolute necessity, I have never failed to represent. By nothing else can it acquire that degree of woodiness, in which I suspect the principal secret of its cure consists. Age, too, is necessary to give the plant its proper growth; otherwise, when it undergoes the operation, its pieces will be diminutive, insignificant, and unprofitable. Above all, it is entirely indebted to age for its medical virtues; and I firmly believe, that to this, more than to soil or situation, it is owing that Turkey has been considered superior to the English rhubarb.

In this place permit me to introduce an opinion that I have for some time entertained; viz. that those parts of the root are of the finest quality that are the farthest removed from the seed. This difference is easily discoverable from its earliest stages; and so assured am I of the fact, that, but for want of a supply of offsets, and one or two other considerations, I should be almost tempted to abandon my present, in favour of this mode of cultivation. But though, in this respect, the rhubarb is evidently superior, yet it should be recollected that the other is less precarious, and its growth and produce much more considerable.

Although, according to every public testimony, of which mention will presently be made, I have reason to believe my progress has been more considerable than that of my contemporaries, if there are any, yet I have no conception that we have arrived at the *ne plus ultra*. Let us rather hope that every succeeding year will be productive of a degree of improvement proportionate to the advantages of in-

creased experience. As we are so much indebted, therefore, to the age of our plants, let me caution all who have, or may engage in this undertaking, never to yield to impatience; for, with a few persons, the prejudices against the English rhubarb are many, and deeply rooted; and to this source most of them may be traced. Nor is this very wonderful; for to entertain high expectations of rhubarb prematurely taken up, is no less extravagant, than to suppose the capacity of a child equal to that of an adult; yet hitherto our market is a stranger to any other than such a commodity.

Another cause may, I conceive, arise (notwithstanding the length of time since the introduction of the palmated, or true, sort into this kingdom, and all that has been written on the subject,) from the little or no care that seems to have been taken in selecting and planting it. As a proof of this, it is not many days since I saw a considerable quantity, and neither the purchaser nor planter knew it to be the rhapontic. In justice, however, to medical gentlemen in general, but in particular to those I have consulted upon this subject, I have found them better informed, and liberal to the greatest degree. They entered at once into the views of the Society, and their assurances of co-operation have been fully realized. That I never expected to introduce it into general practice without opposition, is evident from my last papers in 1798; for I there remarked, that very probably, before this could be effected, certain difficulties must be overcome, the principal of which I apprehended to be an almost universal prepossession in favour of foreign commodities. Moderation on the part of the cultivator in the regulation of his prices, and an unwearied attention to its quality, are the only means likely to produce a counteraction. To great attention to these points I attribute all my success. Mere recommendation ought ever, in such a business as this, to be placed out of the question. If the article will not bear the tests of examination and trial, it should not be indebted to any thing else.

Whenever I have submitted any specimens to public examination, at an hospital or elsewhere, my constant language has been, "I have no wish but that they may rise or fall according to their own intrinsic merit or demerit; and, if worthy of approbation, by this mean induce their general adoption. That this being, no doubt, the ultimate object of the Society of Arts, who have thought proper to honour me with several distinctions, I feel myself impelled to forward it to the utmost, and not remain contented with its mere cultivation." I have proceeded to state the great expense this country incurs by so large an importation, and on this account urged its general adoption, in order to lessen the expense, on the score of duty. That although I am influenced by such motives, and many others, yet my own individual interest I have at the same time fairly acknowledged to be among the number; and I have concluded with expressing a hope, that while pleading the general, as well as my own particular cause, perhaps the benefit of their institution may be the necessary consequence of introducing a valuable and efficacious medicine, at a com-

paratively trifling expense. I have never yet made this appeal in vain; and the Society will, I dare say, receive with much satisfaction the intelligence that rhubarb of English growth is now used at Guy's, (I mention the hospitals in the order of its introduction) St. Thomas's, and St. Bartholomew's; and is under trial at several others. Still farther to inform myself of the public opinion, I lately requested an interview with the numerous and most respectable committee, at Apothecaries Hall: it is impossible, without a breach of propriety, to repeat the compliments its members were pleased to pay me. Whether I deserve them or not, it would be equally improper in me to determine; but of this the Society may be assured, I never will rest till I do. In a word, my purpose was fully answered. The article which I exhibited met with the most unqualified approbation, and full permission was given to publish this circumstance. I beg leave, before I conclude, to apologize for the egotism which prevails throughout this communication. It is scarcely possible to avoid it, when, in cases like the present, a man is under the necessity of speaking of himself.

It is a subject I have much at heart; and it would give me much real concern to keep back a single circumstance likely to be useful to future adventurers. Its production and adoption, with the attendant difficulties, have been to the best of my abilities amply considered; the former in the communications before-mentioned, the latter in this paper. If the Society are of opinion that the steps I am pursuing to effect this last and desirable purpose deserve success, it will be highly flattering. Under their auspices I commenced my plantation eight years ago, and I hope and trust my proceedings since have been such, that the purpose to which it has been appropriated will occasion no regret.

I am, Sir,
Your very humble servant,
Thomas Jones.

13, *Fish-street-hill.*

On the Poison of Serpents. By William Boag, Esq. From the Asiatic Researches.

I propose, in this paper, to make some inquiry into the nature of the poison of the serpent, and to ascertain, as far as I am able, the most successful method of removing the disease it produces.

Whether the principles I shall endeavour to establish will be admitted as satisfactory, or sanctioned by future and more extensive experience, I cannot pretend to determine; but the discussion cannot be altogether destitute of utility in this climate, where serpents are much more numerous, and much more dangerous than in *Europe*.

I shall begin by observing, that by far the greatest number of serpents are not venomous. In the 13th edition of the Systema Naturæ, published by professor Gmelin, we find a list of two hundred and nineteen different kinds of snakes: and Linnæus informs us, that about one in ten only are poisonous; we also know it to be true, that many snakes which possess a poisonous quality are not mortal to men, though they

may be destructive to smaller animals.

It would be a desirable thing to be able to ascertain, from the appearance of a snake, whether it be venomous or not; but these animals so nearly resemble one another, that it is impossible, without great experience, to distinguish them. The skin on the belly and tail of serpents is composed of scales, which vary, in number and arrangement, in different serpents. Upon this circumstance Linnæus has founded his division of the serpent tribe into six distinct genera. But this division, however useful it may be to the naturalist, is of little use to the physician, who is desirous of distinguishing the harmless from the venomous serpent; the colour, which is most commonly attended to, is a very fallacious mark, for it commonly changes with age; a serpent with a large head is generally suspected to be venomous; but the mark which is chiefly to be depended on is the large canine teeth, or fangs, fixed in the upper jaw, which are commonly two in number, but sometimes more. These teeth are covered with a membranous sheath, and are crooked, moveable, and hollow, to give passage to the venom, which they receive from a small reservoir, that runs along the palate of the mouth, and passes through the body of each fang. This reservoir contains but a very small quantity of venom, which is forced out of it when the animal attempts to bite, by a strong muscle fixed to the upper jaw, and that covers it nearly through the whole of its length. This is the means of defence given to serpents: it has been well observed by Linnæus, that if Nature has thrown them naked on the ground, destitute of limbs, and exposed to every injury, she has in return supplied them with a deadly poison, the most terrible of all weapons, and which has made them, from the earliest ages, to be regarded as objects of horror, or of religious veneration, by the human race.

The symptoms which arise from the bite of a serpent are commonly pain, swelling, and redness in the part bitten; great faintness, with sickness at stomach, and sometimes vomiting, succeed: the breathing becomes short and laborious, the pulse low, quick, and interrupted; the wound which was at first red, becomes livid, black, and gangrenous: the skin of the wounded limb, and sometimes of the whole body, takes a yellow hue; cold sweats and convulsions come on, and the patient sinks, sometimes in a few hours, but commonly at the end of two, three, or four days.

This is the usual progress when the disease terminates fatally, but happily the patient will most commonly recover—a reflection which should moderate the fears of those who happen to be bitten by snakes, and which at any rate should, as much as possible, be resisted, as the depressing passion of fear will, in all cases, assist the operation of the poison.

We read in authors that the bite of some snakes produces symptoms peculiar to themselves *. The asp is said to produce an

* Heritimandel, Malabarensium coluber, ictu corrumpit carnes totius corporis

universal torpor and lethargy without pain: for this reason we are told, Cleopatra, the celebrated queen of Egypt, preferred a death inflicted by the bite of this animal to any other. This is a fact concerning which historians may differ; but it appears certain, from some cases related by Captain Gowdie, in Dr. Russel's late splendid publication, and by other writers, that the bite of serpents will in this manner sometimes produce death. Lucan, in his Pharsalia, mentions a variety of serpents that infested the Roman army in its march over the Lybian desert, and he distinguishes them by the various symptoms they produced. But the dreadful catalogue given by Lucan should rather be considered as poetical embellishments than historical facts; and whatever truth may be in this variety of symptoms, it is infinitely of more importance to know, that the nature of the venom is the same in all of them, and consequently to be removed by the same means: this opinion appears to be just and natural, though it may not admit of any direct proof. It has uniformly been observed, that even the same serpent possesses very different degrees of power in his bite, according to the season of the year, and other circumstances: this is beautifully touched upon by Virgil, when speaking of a serpent that was, in his time, common in Italy.

'Postquam exhausta palus, terræque ardore dehiscunt,
Exsilit in siccum, et flammantia lumina torquens
Sævit agris, asperque siti atque exterritus æstu
Ne mihi tum molles sub dio carpere somnos,
Neu dorso nemoris libeat jacuisse per herbas:
Cum positis novus exuviis, nitidusque juventâ
Volvitur, aut catulos tectis, aut ova relinquens
Arduus ad solem, et linguis micat ore trisulcis.'

VIRG. GEORG. lib. 3.

We are now to inquire in what manner the venom produces such fatal effects upon the human body. This it will be admitted is a very interesting question, and has given rise to a great variety of opinions, but, after all, no subject seems to be less understood. Ancient writers have offered a variety of crude conjectures, which have deservedly been forgotten; they, however, made one important observation, "that the poison produced its effects in consequence of a wound, and through the medium of the blood." Upon this view of the disease, the whole of their practice was founded; it was the object of all their applications, as expressed by Celsus, "quo plus vitiati jam sanguinis extrahatur." This opinion, did not continue to be maintained; later physicians, supported by the respectable authority of Dr. Mead, observing how quickly death sometimes follows the bites of serpents, concluded that the venom could act through the medium of the nerves only. This is one of those vague conjectures which, at one time or another, has served to obstruct the progress of every science, and which owes its reputation to a sort of readiness in ex-

humani, ut putrescant, decidant, et post mille tormenta, moriatur vulneratus. Parata tamen huic malo medela est in Antidesmæ decocto aquoso, copiosius hausto.—Amœnitat. Academ. vol. i. p. iii.

plaining every thing, because it can explain nothing in an intelligible manner. The celebrated Italian naturalist, Fontana, has freed us from this difficulty, by demonstrating, from a great variety of experiments on different animals, that the venom of the viper is perfectly innocent when applied to the nerves only: that it produces in them no sensible change, and that they are incapable of conveying the poison to the animal. On the other hand, he has shown in a very distinct manner, that it acts immediately upon the blood, that through the medium of this fluid it destroys the irritability of the muscular fibres, and produces death. Neither is it difficult, upon this view of the subject, to understand how the poison may sometimes produce very sudden death: for if this active matter happen to be thrown immediately into a large vein running along the surface of the body, it will more readily be carried to the vital parts, and may render the use of the most powerful remedies ineffectual.

The ground being so far cleared, the question now occurs, what is the peculiar quality in the venom, which enables it to produce such direful effects? Till we can answer this question in a satisfactory manner, it is evident that the practice in this disease must be guided by chance, and we can entertain no rational hope of correcting the poison. It is not many years since this subject seemed to be covered with an impenetrable veil; and Fontana, among all his reasonings upon the poison of the viper, does not once attempt to remove it. It is therefore an agreeable reflection, that the rapid progress which chemistry has made of late years enables us to enter upon this part of the subject with some degree of confidence; and if it should be thought I have failed in determining this question with sufficient precision, the view here taken of the subject may not be altogether destitute of use. It is an opinion at least as old as Pliny *; that the blood is a living fluid; but it was reserved for the late celebrated physiologist, Mr. John Hunter, to place his opinion among the number of those truths that can no longer be disputed. How the life of this fluid begins, and in what the living principle itself consists, are matters concerning which we shall probably remain for ever ignorant; but it has been established beyond all controversy, that the life of the blood immediately depends upon the action of the atmospheric air, to which it is exposed in its passage through the lungs. The human heart, and in general the heart of all animals with warm blood, has two cavities or ventricles; and the blood, before it is returned to the right ventricle of the heart, has performed two circles, a lesser between the heart and the lungs, and a larger between the heart and the rest of the body. While the blood passes through the lungs, it undergoes a very remarkable change in its colour, and other properties; a certain portion of the atmospheric

* In treating on the blood, he observes—'Magna et in eo vitalitatis portio. Emissus spiritum secum trahit, tamen tactum non sentit.

PLIN. Secund. Nat. Hist. lib. xi. cap. 38.

air is attracted and absorbed, while the remainder carries off by expiration that matter in the blood which is either useless or noxious to the body. The atmosphere we live in, it is now well known, is a compound fluid, one-fourth part of which is called pure or oxygen air, and the remainder, and larger portion, noxious or azotic air; but it is the former part only which is attracted by the blood as it passes through the lungs, and contributes to the support of animal life, from whence also *the red colour of the blood, and the heat of animals is derived.* Independently of the direct proofs of these facts afforded by chemical experiments, they admit of further illustration from serpents themselves. The heart of serpents, and all other cold blooded animals, has but one cavity, and the blood performs but one circuit round the body, so that a small portion only passes through the lungs: hence little of their blood is exposed to the action of the atmosphere, it is therefore but little loaded with oxygen, it is not of so high a colour, and the heat of their bodies is less.

These fundamental truths have already given a new appearance to the theory and practice of medicine, and they now lead me to conjecture that the poison of serpents acts upon the blood by attracting the oxygen which it receives from the atmosphere in its passage through the lungs, and upon which its vitality depends.

In support of this opinion, I would adduce the following arguments:

1. Man and other warm blooded animals, exposed to an atmosphere deprived of oxygen, quickly expire. The poison of a serpent, when introduced into the blood, also causes death; but carried into circulation by a wound, and in very small quantity, its operation is comparatively slow and gradual.

2. The appearances on dissection, in both cases, are very similar. The blood becomes of a darker hue, and coagulates about the heart and larger vessels; the irritability of the fibres are nearly to the same degree destroyed, and the body has a strong tendency, in both instances, to putrescency.

3. Doctor Mead mixed the venom of the viper and healthy blood together out of the body, and he did not perceive that it produced any change in its appearance: this arose from his mixing a small quantity of the venom with a large quantity of the blood; but if two or three drops of venom be mixed with forty or fifty drops of blood, it immediately loses its vermilion colour, becomes black, and incapable of coagulation.

4. It is a very remarkable circumstance, that the poison of the serpent has most power over those animals whose blood is the warmest, and the action of whose heart is the most lively: while on the contrary, it is not a poison to the serpent itself, nor in general to cold blooded animals. The reason appears to be this: cold blooded animals do not require a large quantity of oxygen to preserve them in health; this is evident from the conformation of their heart, and respiratory organs, as already mentioned. It does not however follow, that no quantity of the venom would destroy them,

for it is also evident from their possessing respiratory organs of any kind, that a certain quantity of oxygen is absolutely necessary, and hence we know that some of them, such as frogs, may be killed by the venom, though it always produces its effects more slowly upon them than upon animals with warm blood.

Having thus endeavoured to ascertain the method in which the poison operates, it may now be asked, what substance can it be that so strongly attracts the oxygen of the blood? The venom is inodorous and insipid: contrary to the opinion of Dr. Mead, it is neither sharp nor fiery, for it has scarcely any perceptible taste; it has the appearance and sensible properties of an animal mucus, but this mucus is evidently a vehicle to some very active matter: on this subject it would not be difficult to conjecture, but as in the present state of our knowledge no conjecture we could offer could be established upon any satisfactory grounds, we shall leave this part of the subject for future investigation.

We now proceed to enquire into the most successful method of curing the disease which the poison produces; and this part of the subject will, we hope, afford an additional proof, that the view here taken of the operation of the poison is most probably a just one.

It would be an endless and unprofitable task to enumerate all the remedies which have been imposed upon the credulity of mankind, as specifics against the poison of serpents; they have been obtained from all the kingdoms of nature; and there is no country, however rude and barbarous, where the inhabitants have not boasted of some specific peculiar to themselves. The ancient physicians highly extolled various preparations of the viper itself as a remedy in this disease: it would have been a fortunate circumstance if the same animal that produced the poison should also have afforded an antidote to destroy it. Human saliva, as we are informed by Seneca, and the elder Pliny, was believed to be a powerful remedy for the bite of a viper. The *Psylli* and *Marsi*, in ancient times, pretended to possess some charm in their persons destructive to the poison of serpents; and we are told by Mr. Bruce, that a set of men still exist in Egypt, who will suffer themselves to be bitten, and with impunity, by the most venomous serpents in that country, whose bite would be to others certain and speedy death. A great variety of vegetables have been celebrated in different countries for the bite of the serpent, and none more highly than the root of the *ophirrhiza mungos*, Linn. concerning which Kæmpfer relates very surprising effects. It is chiefly used for the bite of the *cobra de capello*, (*coluber naja*, Linn.) by the natives of this country; and it would appear that they place great confidence in it*. In America, also, a variety of snake-

* A particular description of this plant will be found in the second volume of the *Amœnitat Academicæ*. In the 4th volume of the Asiatic Researches, Sir William Jones describes a plant under the name of *chandraca*, which, from the quality ascribed to it by the *Bengal* peasants, of curing animals bitten by snakes, he conjectures may be

roots have been discovered, and other vegetable remedies, which seem in general to unite the two qualities of warmth and bitterness; and it is very probable that, by rousing the vital functions, they may be of some use in assisting nature to resist the deadening operation of the poison.

The volatile alkali is the remedy most commonly employed by physicians, both in this country and in Europe; but the belief which formerly prevailed, that it possessed some specific power which corrected the poison, seems to be now very generally relinquished *; and it is now acknowledged to have no other action than that ascribed to it by Mr. Williams, of stimulating the heart and vascular system to a more vigorous exertion.

The calces, or, as they are more properly called, the oxyds of some metals, as arsenic, mercury, and silver, have been made use of, the efficacy of which, as remedies in this disease, merit a more attentive consideration.

Arsenic has long been employed by the natives of this country, since it forms the principal ingredient in what is called the *Tanjore* pill. The little experience collected by Europeans does not enable us to form any very exact judgment respecting it. The remedy itself produces very violent effects; and, if used with any freedom, might occasion death. It is therefore difficult to distinguish the effects of the remedy from the symptoms of the disease: it should probably be employed in desperate cases only, and where no other powerful remedy can be procured. For though it may be very well adapted to counteract the poison, yet I think it neither so safe, nor so efficacious, as other remedies which are now to be mentioned.

The preparations of mercury, so far as I can judge from the limited opportunities I have of collecting information from books, seem also to have been but little used in this disease; although mercury is a remedy from which I think much benefit might be expected. I find in the Systema Naturæ the following observation on the *coluber rhedi*, Linn. "Mosu celerrime lethalis, nisi mercurii solutione gummoso, et gentianæ decocto succurritur ægro."—If mercury should ever come into use in this disease, it should certainly be employed in a more effectual manner than is commonly practised; and if we are right in asserting that the nature of the poison is the same in all serpents, the observation of Linnæus respecting the *coluber rhedi* will, with some limitation, apply to them all.

We are indebted to Fontana

the same. There seems to be much obscurity among authors in their accounts of this plant, which sufficiently justifies the conjecture of Sir William Jones. It is named by different writers, *rametul, naghawalli, ekawerya, caujn-ular*. I took some pains to inquire, among the natives, for this root. A specimen was brought me, by a snake doctor, which corresponded to the description given of it by Kæmpfer. He named it *naghawalli*: he said when a person was bit by the *cobra de capello*, the piece of it was rubbed upon the eye-lids, lips, and tongue, that it produced sickness and vomiting, but had no effect upon those who were not bitten. I chewed some of it; it was bitter and aromatic.

* Asiatic Researches, Vol. ii.

for any knowledge we possess on the use of the lunar caustic, which is a preparation of silver in the nitric acid; and considering the length of time that has elapsed since his publication, and the advantages resulting from its use, it is wonderful it has not excited more general attention.

I shall comprise the result of Fontana's experiments on this substance in a few words. He first mixed the venom with the lunar caustic, applied this mixture to a wound, and found that the venom was rendered entirely innocent while the corroding power of the caustic was diminished. He next wounded a variety of animals with venomous teeth, scarified the wounds, and washed them with a solution of lunar caustic in water: by this means the life of the greatest number of the animals was saved, though they were such as he knew to be most easily killed by the poison, and the death of others was retarded. He also tried a weak solution of the same remedy internally with remarkable success; and upon the whole he congratulates himself in seeing his labours at length rewarded by the discovery of a true specific remedy for the bite of the serpent.

Fontana was led to the use of this remedy by no previous theory; for neither before nor after his discovery does he attempt to account for its effects; and the infinite variety of his experiments, as well as the fidelity and accuracy with which he relates them, entitle him to our confidence and praise.

I am now to explain in what manner the successful use of these substances supports the principles we have been endeavouring to establish; and here again I am under the necessity of assuming some facts which are established and indisputable.

1. Oxygen enters into the composition of all acids, and is the principle, as its name imports, upon which their acidity depends.

2. Metals are united with oxygen under various circumstances, but chiefly in two ways: the first is by burning them in an open fire, or, to speak more correctly, by the contact of heat and air, when they are converted into metallic oxyds: the second, by the decomposition of acids, when they form compound salts.

3. Oxygen is attracted by different metals with different degrees of force. Those which attract it with the least force are the perfect metals, as platina, gold, silver: hence they cannot be converted into an oxyd by exposure to heat and air, except in very high temperature. After them comes mercury, and, after it, the imperfect and semi-metals: these last, of which arsenic is one, for the most part attract oxygen strongly, and are generally found united with it under various forms in the bowels of the earth *.

Oxygen, we have already observed, is a principle which enters into the composition of the blood, and performs a very important part in the animal economy. It must also be evident that the blood may be more or less loaded with this principle, and that

* I am very sensible that the terms perfect, imperfect, and semi-metals, are improper; for all metals are equally perfect of their kind; but I have complied with the common terms, that I might the more readily be understood.

disease may be produced, either by too great or by too small a quantity being present in the circulating mass. We have already said that the disease produced by the bite of a serpent arises from the subtraction of oxygen from the blood; the indication of cure must therefore be, to supply this oxygen, which we suppose to be withdrawn. The most obvious method of accomplishing this will be to employ such substances as are known to contain oxygen in the greatest abundance, and to part with it with the greatest facility. This is precisely the character of the lunar caustic, which is made by dissolving silver in the nitric acid, and afterwards evaporating and crystallising the solution. The composition of the nitric acid is also accurately ascertained; it differs from the common nitrous acid of the shops, by containing a greater quantity of oxygen, and in a singularly loose form; so that if our reasoning upon the poison of the serpent be in any degree correct, no medicine would appear to be better calculated than this to obviate its effects.

The application of the foregoing principles will explain the probable efficacy of the different metallic preparations we have just spoken of, which will be connected with the order of their attraction for oxygen, and the quantity they contain; it will also lead us further to improve and perfect the practice: for whenever a person is bitten by a serpent, and danger is apprehended, every means should be employed, which human ingenuity has discovered, of speedily oxygenating the system.

Whether the same method might not be applicable to the diseases arising from some other animal poisons is a subject which remains for experience to determine. There is great reason to believe that the venereal poison is removed by this method *, and it is not improbable that the same practice might be successful in the *rabies canina*. This disease, however, very seldom makes its appearance in this part of India, although it is mentioned, by the natives, as not a very uncommon disease at Poonah. I lately attended in this place, with Mr. Scott, a man who had been bit by a dog, and who was supposed to have some symptoms of this disease: we supposed at first, and were soon convinced, that the whole was imaginary, for the man, without any assistance, quickly recovered: and this is the only instance I have had an opportunity of seeing in India.

I shall conclude this paper, by giving a connected view of what appears to be the most advisable method of treating the bite of a serpent which is apprehended to be venomous. This obviously divides itself into the external treatment of the wound, and the internal use of medicines, to counteract the action of the poison in the blood.

The *psylli*, as already mentioned, possessed a high reputation for curing the bites of serpents; but their whole method, when stripped of mystery and fable, consisted in sucking the wound. This prac-

* I refer here to a paper published by Mr. Scott, on the nitric acid.

tice is recommended in strong terms by Celsus, who observes, that it is not only harmless to the person who sucks the wound, but will save the life of the person wounded: "ergo quisquis id vulnus exsuxerit, et ipse tutus erit, et tutum hominem præstabit." Though I would not be so sanguine in the success of this practice, yet, as giving one chance to escape, it ought not to be omitted. A ligature should, as soon as possible, be tied above the part bitten, so as to impede but not entirely to stop the circulation of the blood, for the bite of a serpent is for the most part superficial, and the poison is carried into circulation by the smaller vessels on the surface. The wound should next be scarified, and washed with a solution of the lunar caustic in water: I would prefer, for this purpose, a weak solution, because it may be used more freely, and frequently repeated. The same medicine should also be given internally, and repeated, at intervals, as circumstances might point out. The foregoing reasoning upon this medicine induced me, some months ago, to make trial of it internally, in a different disease; this, therefore, is not the place to state the result of these trials; but it is proper to mention that I know, from repeated experience, it may be taken, two or three times in the day, in the quantity of half a grain dissolved in two ounces of pure water*, and its use persisted in, for several days, with great safety. The principal effects it produces are a heat in the stomach and breast, and, after a time, a tenderness in the gums, and a disposition to bleed, but without that swelling and pain attending the use of the oxyds of mercury.

To these means might be added (especially if the symptoms that may have come on are not materially relieved) a warm bath acidulated with the nitric acid. In this bath, which should be made sufficiently strong to produce a very sensible irritation on the skin, the wounded limb, and a great part of the body, might be placed for half an hour, and repeated as circumstances might direct. We are informed by Fontana, that he found a bath of very warm water exceedingly useful; he says that it lessened the pain, abated the inflammation, and the part bitten did not become so livid and changed. I apprehend that the moderate addition of the nitric acid to this bath would be a great improvement: it has been made use of successfully in this place, by Mr. Scott, in some cases of *lues venerea*, and I have used it in some bad sores, in this country, with great effect.

There are a variety of other methods of oxygenating the blood, but all of them may not be so well adapted to remove the disease, nor of such easy application and attainment. I should hope, if the foregoing plan be diligently pursued, it would, in almost every instance, be sufficient to effect a cure. The blood may be oxygenated through the medium of the lungs, either by exposing the pa-

* The water should be distilled, or at least it should be rain water, otherwise the lunar caustic will be in part decomposed, which will be evident by a white cloud forming in the solution.

tient to an atmosphere loaded with nitric vapours, in the manner recommended by Dr. Carmichael Smyth in contagious diseases *, or a more highly oxygenated atmosphere might be breathed by means of a pneumatic apparatus, adapted for the purpose, as recommended by Dr. Beddoes.

But as this paper has already extended to a greater length than I at first intended, I content myself with barely mentioning these methods, and must refer to the authors themselves for a particular account of the practice here alluded to.

I hope I have said enough, to shew that the principles I have attempted to establish are at least supported by probability, that the method here proposed has already been sanctioned by a more certain experience than any other, and that it affords the most likely means of counteracting the deadly poison of the serpent tribe.

It is, however, to experience alone we must trust for the ultimate decision upon this subject; and to whatever conclusion this may lead us, I shall most willingly follow; professing myself much more anxious for the discovery of truth, than for the support of any of the opinions stated in this paper. I shall think myself sufficiently happy if this essay should in any way tend to elucidate a subject as important as it is obscure.

Supplement to the foregoing Paper.

Having at length succeeded in procuring a snake with the venomous teeth and poison bag entire, but which are commonly extracted in those serpents which the natives carry about with them, I resolved to make some experiments with it. The snake I had procured was a large *cobra de capello (coluber naja*, Linn.) and which is generally represented to be the most venomous of all serpents.

Experiment I.—I was, in the first place, desirous of ascertaining the power of the venom: for this purpose, the snake was made to bite a young dog in the hind leg, and for which no medicine, either internal or external, was made use of. The dog, upon being bit, howled violently for a few minutes; the wounded limb soon became paralytic; in ten minutes the dog lay senseless and convulsed; in thirteen minutes he was dead.

II. A dog of a smaller size, and younger, was now bitten in the hind leg, when he was instantly plunged into a warm nitric bath, previously prepared for the purpose; as soon as possible after he was in the bath, the wound was slightly scarified, and a weak solution of lunar caustic in water was poured down his throat; but the symptoms made the same progress as in the first experiment, and the dog died in the same time.

Upon opening these two dogs, about half an hour after death, the blood in the heart, and in the larger vessels, was of a dark colour, in a fluid state, and did not coagulate on exposure to the atmosphere.

III. After the interval of one

* It may be proper to remark, that at the time Dr. C. Smyth made the experiments above alluded to, he was not sufficiently acquainted with the materials he was using to draw the proper conclusions from them: this, however, cannot affect the utility of the practice he recommends.

day, the same snake was again brought, and made to bite a young puppy in the hind leg; but above the part to be bitten I had previously tied a ligature: immediately after he was bitten the wound was scarified, and washed with a solution of lunar caustic. The dog did not appear to feel any other injury than what might arise from the ligature round his leg; half an hour after he was bitten, the ligature and dressing, which consisted of lint dipped in the solution of lunar caustic, were removed. The dog soon began to sink, gradually lost the use of his limbs, breathed quick, was convulsed, and died in half an hour more. On opening this dog, the blood coagulated readily on being emptied from the vessels.

IV. Another dog was now bitten in the hind leg, and immediately after a ligature was applied, as in the preceding experiment: the wound was scarified and washed as before, and for two hours the dog continued lively and well, when the ligature was removed.

V. Another puppy having been bit in the same place, the wound was simply scarified, and washed with a solution of the lunar caustic, and for two hours the animal continued free from disease. In these two last experiments the dogs were very young, and fed by their mother's milk: at the expiration of the time mentioned, they were carried to her, but she avoided them, and they both died in the course of the day.

VI. Observing, in the last experiments, that the venom was probably weakened by use, I waited for two days, and resolved to try its effects a second time where no medicine was made use of. A dog was accordingly bitten by the same snake in the hind leg in the usual manner, and in twenty minutes he was dead. It is however worthy of notice, that though the mortal progress of the poison was as certain as before, it did not now appear to produce any pain, the animal did not howl upon being bit, but gradually sunk and died. The blood of this dog continued also in a fluid state, and was of a dark colour.

VII. A second dog being now bit, the wound was scarified and washed with a solution of lunar caustic, and the same medicine given in small quantities internally, and repeated at intervals. The dog appeared to be but little affected for about half an hour, when he vomited violently for several times, gradually sunk, and died at the expiration of an hour. The blood in this dog coagulated after death.

VIII. A third dog being bit in the same manner, the wound was washed with a volatile alkaline spirit, and the same medicine given internally, diluted with water, and repeated at intervals. This dog was in a short time convulsed, vomited several times, and then seemed to revive; but he soon relapsed, and in three hours he was dead. This dog was not opened.

IX. After the interval of two days the same snake was brought, and as the volatile alkali appeared to have been of some use in the last experiment, it was determined to try it first: and this experiment, as well as several of those already related, was conducted by my friend Dr. Moir with attention and accuracy. A dog was ac-

cordingly bitten in the usual place, and the volatile alkali given as in the preceding experiment: the dog was dead in eighteen minutes.

X. To a dog bitten in the same place, immediately after the former, that we might have the means of ascertaining the effects of the remedy, nothing was given: he died in eighteen minutes.

XI. Observing in the seventh volume of the Medical Facts published by Dr. Simmons, that Cayenne pepper was a powerful remedy for a vegetable poison obtained from the roots of the *jatropha manihot*, or bitter *cassada*, I determined to make trial of it. To a dog bitten in the usual manner, five grain pills of the pepper were given, and the wounded limb was washed with an infusion of it in warm water. These pills had been repeated four times in the space of an hour, when the dog died.

XII. A young puppy was now bitten in the ear, and exactly half a minute after the ear was cut off. The wound made by the knife bled freely. The dog continued lively for some time, but in half an hour he began to droop, and in half an hour more died. It is observed by Fontana, and he sufficiently well accounts for it, that, on biting the ears of animals, a drop of venom collects on the ear, at the hole made by the tooth: this was very remarkable in the experiment now related: a quantity of venom, like a large drop of yellow serum, collected on the ear, and trickled to the ground.

It may be proper in general to observe, that in all these experiments the part bitten did not swell nor inflame, a livid mark could be distinguished where the tooth entered, but could be traced only for a very little way. When the wounds were scarified, they bled little or none at all; but before death they commonly bled freely, and the scarifications were exceedingly discoloured.

In all the dogs which were opened, the blood was found to be in a fluid state. Upon examining, after death, those animals which died by the poison of the viper, the Abbé Fontana commonly observes, that he found the blood coagulated about the heart and larger vessels. My experience has not confirmed this observation, which I attribute to the great difference in point of strength possessed by the venom of the snake made use of in the preceding experiments In those cases where the poison acted rapidly, the blood, when emptied from the vessels, shewed no disposition to coagulate, and seemed to be of a darker colour than natural: but in those cases where the animals died more slowly, the blood readily coagulated on exposure to the atmosphere. It is not foreign to the present subject to observe, that while the poison of serpents in mingling with the blood has a strong tendency to prevent its coagulation, it on the contrary more readily coagulates in those animals who have breathed pure oxygen air*.

These experiments will perhaps serve little other purpose than to prove the quick and destructive operation of the poison of this

* Beddoes on Factitious Airs.

kind of serpent, and of the inefficacy of the most celebrated remedies which have been hitherto discovered. It is certain, however, that upon larger animals the progress would have been neither so rapid nor destructive; and upon the human body it is also probable that remedies might have been employed with greater success: for the delicacy of the human skin is very great, and the absorption of any remedy that might be applied to it extensive and speedy. Dogs, we are told, do not perspire; and it is probable that there exists much correspondence between the powers of absorption and perspiration.

The little success attending the use of the lunar caustic in these experiments, affords a sufficiently convincing proof, that the snakes made use of by the Abbé Fontana, and the one made use of by me, possess very different degrees of strength in their venom: there are one or two experiments where this remedy appeared to be used with some effect; but I imputed it to the weakened power of the venom by use; and I am fully convinced that the poison of this kind of serpent, when it is in full vigour, is so certainly and rapidly destructive, at least to small animals, that neither the lunar caustic, nor probably any other remedy, would arrest its progress. It appears that even the delay of half a minute in cutting off the ear that was bitten was fatal to the animal; and it is scarcely possible that, to a person bitten by a snake, any kind of remedy could be applied in a shorter time. No experiment could be better calculated than this last to show the power of the venom of this kind of serpent; for Fontana observes, that it is very difficult to kill either dogs or rabbits when bitten in the ears; and out of all the experiments he makes upon the ears of these animals, and where no attempt was made to relieve them, none of them died.

I am therefore still of opinion, that the method of cure mentioned in the foregoing paper is the most rational, and the most likely to succeed in preventing death, as well as the other bad consequences which sometimes follow the bite of a serpent that is not mortal. In the use of the nitric acid bath I should have much confidence: and this confidence arises from a greater experience of its powerful influence upon the human body in different diseases: this experience will soon be communicated to the public by my friend Mr. Scott, whose labours in the application of a most powerful and useful agent in medicine, and especially useful as applied to the inhabitants of warm climates, merit the greatest praise.

USEFUL PROJECTS.

On the Cultivation of Potatos from the Rind, &c. By the Rev. Edward Whittle, of Odstock, near Salisbury. From the Repertory of Arts and Manufactures.

PERHAPS, amongst all the various kinds of information, there may be times and seasons when that which is the most simple may be of the most general use, because it can be more easily and more effectually communicated, and carried into practice with greater facility.

Notwithstanding the considerate goodness of the Society, in informing the public of the cheapest method of raising potatos, and recommending them at this time to plant more than usual, the growers of that useful root are, in general, so bigotted to their old method of doing things, that it is with the greatest difficulty they can be prevailed on to make improvements, although they would certainly tend to their own and the general good; and are rendered quite certain by experiments already tried. It is in consequence of conversation with men of this description, that I am induced to trouble you with this letter; men who would not be convinced to the contrary, but that the decaying potato afforded so much more nourishment to the greens which sprung from it, than could possibly be afforded from a piece of rind, as would render the crop much more abundant: and affected to disbelieve what was inserted in the Salisbury Journal by your Society, because the persons names who made the experiments were not inserted. However, having been in the habit of planting potatos for these fifteen or sixteen years past, I have been induced to make the following experiments.

In the year 1790, I planted a large square of potatos, one-third of which was with *the rind*; one-third with *whole potatos*; and the other part with *pieces*, cut in the usual way; and I assure you, when the season came for digging, there was not the least visible difference in the produce.

The following year, I planted in the same row or drill, one whole potato, one piece, and one piece of rind, in which there was an eye, alternately; and, when the season came for digging, I was

very careful in my observation, but unable to perceive any difference in the crop.

In the year 1793, when the servant was digging up my potatos, besides those fit for eating, I discovered a great number about the size of a walnut, and from that to a hazel nut, which I ordered to be left in the ground. In the spring of 1794, my two potato beds were irregularly covered with greens, which sprung from these small potatos; I therefore prepared, about the middle of April, (for, on account of the coldness of the land, I have always had the best crops from potatos planted at that time,) two other beds, about the same size, into which I transplanted these greens; about one-third of which had the seed hanging to them, and about two-thirds had not, having dropped off in drawing. With these I planted one bed and a half, and made up the other half bed partly with whole, and partly with potatos cut in the common way, some in drills, and some planted in holes made with a setting-stick; and I have to state, that we were as exact as possible (without weighing or measuring) in our observations, and we could not discern the least difference in the production, the crop being, to all appearance, quite as good from the shoots as from the whole or the cut potato; and I am convinced there is not the least necessity for planting the potato, in order to raise a crop, as the rind, or shoots, will produce one equally as good. The reason which induced me to make out the remaining half bed with whole and cut potatos, when I before was satisfied that the rind would answer the end, was, that if I had told my neighbours that the shoots produced as good a crop as the rind, and the rind as the shoots, they would have replied, "that is very probable, but if you had planted whole, or cut potatos, your crop would have exceeded either!"

Account of a simple and effectual Preparation of Seed-Corn. By Mr. John Wagestaffe, of Norwich. From the Repertory of Arts and Manufactures.

There has been long sought for, and, in the opinion of some, long since obtained, a perfect cure of the disease in wheat and other grain, provincially known by various names, as smut, sootbrand, &c. which are but one and the same disease.

From the partial judgment of many individuals, it has been asserted, that such and such caustics, salts, and washes, have been completely destructive of this bane; yet, however such individuals may have escaped its malignity, the repeated use of their recipes has not succeeded with others to whom their process has been communicated; but I am convinced, by a series of repeated experiments, that every person, who duly practises the simple means I now lay before you, will be exempted from its immediate bane; and a district of country, by pursuing the same means, may perhaps escape future contagion.

The means are simple; and are no other than immersing the seed in pure water, and repeatedly

scouring it therein, just before it is sown or dibbled in the soil. Whether well, spring, or river water be used, is indifferent; but repeated stirring and change of water is essential, to remove the particles of infection that may have imperceptibly adhered to the seeds thus purified; the subsequent crop will be perfect in itself, and its seeds (I am persuaded) successively so likewise, if there are no adjacent fields from whence this contamination may be wafted. Before I give you a series of experiments, which have confirmed to me the complete cure of the disease in question, permit me to observe, that many years since, believing that this corrupt substance of smut occasioned its perpetuation, I took some grains of wheat from a stock that had been known not to be affected with smut; these grains I blackened with its dust, and the succeeding summer confirmed my opinion, as near half the produce was smut-balls. Here I stopped; and in my own small practice used some of the strongly recommended nostrums that were said alway to effect a cure, and which apparently they did, as I uniformly steeped the grain in rain water, before I made the addition of a disgustful fluid, or commixture of I know not what strange substances.

About two years since I was called upon by an intelligent farmer (Roger Treffey) of Devonshire, who *confidentially* (because he had a subscription in view) laid this simple process before me. I was immediately convinced, by comparing what I had practised with the principle he advanced.

I then repeated my former experiments, I took a handful of pure wheat, and blackened it, by rubbing in as much smut-brand as I was able, after which, I divided this corrupted handful into two equal parts; retained one part with all its corrupt impregnation *, and the other part I well cleansed in water from its baneful particles; these two parts I again subdivided into three portions each, two of which I dibbled in different situations, viz. a portion of the pure and impure, near to, but distinctly separated from, each other; two other portions some miles from the former two; and the remaining two, (the corrupted and the cleansed,) I committed to the care of an accurate neighbour, for his putting into the ground, at which I was present, and witnessed the exactness of the separation. The products of these several trials were uniformly the same; the unwashed was generally smutty; the washed good in quality, one single set excepted. Thus fully convinced, and confirmed in the efficacy of the means recommended, I engaged the farmers of a certain parish (Baburgh) to advance me a guinea for Roger Treffey's publication, assuring the principal occupier †, that he would

* Wholesome water has a tendency to promote vegetation; while some of the fœtid and corrosive fluids have a tendency to destroy its principle; of course, some, perhaps much, of the seed perishes in the soil.

† This farmer had been subject many years to brand, notwithstanding his constant use of saline and other substances; at length he changed these for a recipe from a gentleman, to whose opinion he paid much deference; but it proved, that on this

be convinced of its certainty, without waiting the issue of a harvest. The consequence of which has been, that I have neither seen nor heard of a smutty ear in this district; which, I believe, hath in no preceding year been free from them. In fine, not only from the experiments already adverted to, but from others which might be adduced, I am fully persuaded that the confirmation of this discovery (and it has been many years back suggested) will lead to an incalculable advantage; for it is not alone a preservation of the most indispensable article of human food from an appearance and flavour truly disgustful; but, while it renders it more nutritious, it also augments its quantity; for every smut-ball might have been a perfect grain, by using the simple process referred to. To this let me add, that other kinds of bread, as well as that more generally used, may be augmented and improved; since barley and oats equally escape this contamination and diminution, if their seeds are equally purified.

Account of a new method of bleaching Cotton. From the Repertory of Arts and Manufactures.

Read at the National Institute.

The success with which M. Berthollet has applied the oxygenated muriatic acid to the bleaching of vegetable substances, seems to have brought that art very nearly to perfection; but this method is not equally advantageous throughout all its branches; besides which, its execution requires very experienced workmen, that the articles may not be injured by using leys in an improper manner, or by employing such as are too strong. We should not, therefore, neglect to make known and to improve, all the other methods, in order that the manufacturer may choose that which appears to him the most advantageous. For these reasons, I shall now describe a process for bleaching cotton-thread, which is equally simple and economical.

Fifteen or sixteen inches above the iron bars of a common fire-place is to be fixed a copper caldron, of a round shape; its depth should be nineteen or twenty inches, and its diameter about four feet six inches. The edges of the caldron, which should be seven or eight inches wide, are to be turned back, so as to rest upon the brick-work. The remaining part of the furnace is to be of stone, built up to the height of six or seven feet; the width within being about five feet six inches. It should be contracted towards the top, so as to leave a round open-

change he had more brand than before; he thence resolved to use no more preparations, but brought all his seed-wheat to the pump, and has not had (he says) any brand since. And, what is still more confirming, a gentleman farmer, in this vicinity, applied to me for Roger Treffey's process, in consequence of his whole crop of wheat being so excessively infected with smut, that his threshers daily, at the close of their labour, cleansed themselves *in* water, they being, as he expressed it, as black as chimney-sweepers; yet his subsequent crop of wheat from *this* seed, scoured in repeated washings, escaped the taint, except a piece of land in contiguity with the homestead; which this gentleman ascribed to the pollution which fled over it from divers dressings.

ing of nineteen or twenty inches diameter. This opening is to be occasionally closed by a heavy stone, or by a copper cover fitted to it. On the edge of the copper caldron, which may be considered as the bottom of this kind of Papin's digester, is to be placed a grating, formed of bars of wood, very near each other, that the cotton laid upon them may not pass through them, and sufficiently strong to bear the weight of between seven and eight hundred pounds of cotton.

The caldron being finished in the manner above described, the cotton, in hanks, is to be impregnated with a weak solution of barilla, rendered caustic by quicklime. This operation is to be performed in a wooden or stone trough, in which the cotton should be trod by the feet, covered with wooden shoes. When the cotton is thoroughly and equally penetrated by the alkaline ley, it is to be carried to the caldron, and placed upon the wooden grating already spoken of. The superfluous liquor runs through the bars of the grating into the caldron, and there forms a stratum of liquor, which permits the whole to be heated, without fear of burning either the cotton or the metal.

To make the alkaline ley, a quantity of Alicant barilla, equal to one-tenth of the weight of the cotton intended to be operated upon, is to be employed: in a caldron of the dimensions above described, about eight hundred pounds of cotton may be operated upon at one time. The ley made use of, is generally of one degree of strength. As soon as the cotton is introduced, and properly placed in the caldron, the opening at top must be closed with its cover: which should fit in such a manner as scarcely to leave any vent for the vapours, that they may, when disengaged by the fire, acquire a great degree of heat, and thereby act powerfully upon the cotton.

Every thing being prepared as is here directed, the fire may be made in the fire-place *; and the ley must be kept gently boiling for twenty or thirty hours. The whole may be then suffered to grow cool; the cover may be taken off; the cotton taken out, and exposed in the field for two or three days, supporting it upon bars during the day, and letting it lie upon the grass during the night. The cotton will be found to have acquired a beautiful whiteness; and if, by chance, any of the hanks should appear still to retain any colour, they may be put again into the caldron, and be once more exposed to the effect of the ley; or they may be left a few days longer in the field. These shades in the bleached cotton happened from its not having been, in the first operation, completely and equally impregnated with the alkaline ley; or they may arise from the cotton having been heaped together too closely, in some parts, when put into the caldron.

When, during the operation,

* In the construction of this furnace, I have supposed that it was intended for burning sea or pit coal. If wood is to be burnt in it, the dimensions must be varied accordingly. In the latter case also, the iron bars will be useless, and the bottom of the furnace would be too high above the ground.

there is reason to suppose that the whole of the ley is exhausted by the ebullition, the cover of the caldron must be taken off, and the cotton, now become dry, must be sprinkled with a fresh quantity of alkaline ley; otherwise it would be in danger of being burnt.

It is easy to judge, by computing the value of the substances, and the time employed in the above operation, how very economical this method is, even if we had not a more simple and sure way of determining it, namely, the low price at which cotton is bleached in all the manufactories in which this process is employed. In the South of France, where it is pretty generally practised, cotton is bleached at the rate of about a shilling for nearly one hundred pounds.

This process was brought to us from the Levant, sometime after the introduction of the Adrianople or Turkey red dye. It has been long made use of there, though kept secret from us till this time, and is there called *bleaching by means of vapour*.

I do not know that this method has yet been applied to the bleaching of linen or hempen thread; but it certainly would be very well worth while to try it upon those substances. It would indeed be necessary to make use of stronger leys, and to continue the boiling for a longer time than with cotton; and I recommend it to manufacturers, to try this process, both with a view of rendering it more general, and of bringing it to greater perfection.

Method of purifying Honey and Molasses, so that they shall serve for the same Uses as Sugar in most domestic Preparations of Food, &c. By Mr. Lowitz. From the Repertory of Arts and Manufactures.

Having, after many painful experiments, ascertained that honey is not capable of being profitably reduced into the state of perfect sugar, in ordinary manufacture; I cannot, however, deem the pains I took in that investigation to be entirely lost; since it enables me to communicate a method for preparing honey, without waste, if not into sugar, yet at least into a state in which it shall serve equally well as sugar, for every common domestic use.

Into a sufficiently wide kettle, put 4lb. of common brown honey, with as many quarts of water. Add to this mixture ½ lb. of charcoal, that has been previously well pulverized, and freed, by sifting, from any ashes, or other extraneous matter that might adhere to it. Expose the vessel to the heat of a common fire; and leave the matters to boil together till they shall throw up a large proportion of impurities to the surface*. At the end of a quarter or half an hour, let the whole be strained through a clean linen bag. It is not necessary that the liquor which passes through the bag should be

* The author does not direct the impurities which rise to the top to be skimmed off. But it is obvious that they ought to be so skimmed, and to be put aside, in a proper vessel, for the second boiling.

perfectly clear. The mixture of honey and charcoal, which remains on the strainer, must be put back into the kettle; with the addition of two quarts of water, again boiled; then strained off, till there be no honey left with the charcoal on the strainer; and mixed, at last, with that which passed through the strainer before. The whole quantity of honey and water pressed through the strainer, is now to be mixed, a second time, with charcoal, to the quantity of two or three pounds. This mixture must be boiled, over a strong fire, to the consistency of a syrup. Fresh water must then be added; and the whole must be left to stand over-night in the boiler. Next day, let it be again brought to boil; and when it is boiled down to about two quarts, let it be pressed through the strainer. The coaly residue may then be liquified, with two quarts of fresh water, to its former degree of fluidity. Now, for the third and last time, add to the mixture of honey and water about a quarter of a pound of pulverized charcoal; boil down the mixture to the quantity of one quart; press this through the strainer, taking care that nothing pass which is not perfectly clear; then leave this solution of honey, now entirely free from its peculiar taste and flavour, to evaporate over a very gentle heat, to the consistency of a syrup. Or, in order to obtain precisely that gentle heat, which is employed in the sugar-works, to purify the last remains of the syrup from all extraneous colour, taste, and smell, it may be proper to expose the vessel, containing the honey and water, only to the heat of a water-bath, or to present it to the action of the fire, within another larger vessel, containing water, through which the heat may pass to it. Here, also, it must be exposed till the syrup shall have been evaporated to the desired thickness. To ascertain its progress to the proper consistency, take out, from time to time, a few drops into a cold cup. Thus may be obtained, from four pounds of honey, nearly an equal quantity of purified syrup of honey; provided sufficient care be taken to leave none of the honey in mixture with the powdered charcoal that was used in purifying it.

This syrup of honey may be very usefully employed, instead of sugar, to sweeten coffee, and, indeed, all sorts of meats and liquors. It is, however, to be remarked, that this syrup of honey, when it is prepared in any considerable quantity, and is put up in store, ought to be kept, not in close and strait, but in wide and roomy vessels; otherwise it will be apt, even in the course of a month, to acquire certain new properties, by which its nature will be greatly altered; it will experience a sort of crystallization, will become granulous, stiff, and of a consistency such as is fit to be cut with a knife. Tea and punch, sweetened with this purified honey, assume an unusual brown colour. I was desirous of finding out some means for remedying this unpleasant circumstance. I succeeded best in the manner following.

Pour upon 1 lb. of the purified honey 2 quarts of water; add 4 oz. of powdered charcoal; boil this mixture for the space of half an hour; then pass it through a

linen strainer. Let the coaly matter, which remains on the strainer, be diluted with two quarts of fresh water; add this to that which passed through; into the whole put two ounces of powdered charcoal. Care must be taken, however, that what was diluted, after being previously pressed in the strainer, be filtered when it is added to the purer liquid. Let both together be, with the additional charcoal, boiled down to the quantity of exactly $2\frac{1}{2}$ quarts. Then filter this for the last time, and set it aside for use. What remains on the filter may be washed through with 2 or $2\frac{1}{2}$ quarts of more water, and added to the former.

To make tea with this purified and diluted honey, you have only to pour it, in a state of heat sufficient for the infusion, into a tea-urn, or kettle, from which you may draw it out for use. The tea made with it will not now differ, in the smallest degree, in either taste or appearance, from that which is made with the best white sugar.

Punch may be also made with the same liquor of purified honey; with this difference, however, that 1 lb. of the diluted honey must, for punch, be boiled down, in the purifying preparation to $1\frac{1}{2}$ quart, in order that it may possess the required sweetness.

This preparation of honey, for use in tea and punch, is greatly recommended by the quickness and facility with which it may be performed. No more, therefore, needs to be prepared at once than will be sufficient for the consumption of three or four days. If an attempt were made to prepare it in larger quantities, and preserve it longer, the liquor would, of course, ferment, and undergo an entire change of nature.

This refining of honey would be still more profitable in the more remote parts of Russia, where bee-hives are very plentiful, but sugar scarce and dear, than here in St. Petersburgh.

The dark-brown syrup, or molasses of the sugar-houses, is here sold even cheaper than yellow honey. I have, therefore, made similar trials to purify that molasses. If boiled with powdered charcoal, it may be very easily freed from its peculiar colour, taste, and flavour, and made fit for all the ordinary uses of pure sugar.

Extract of the Report delivered to the Class of Mathematical and Physical Sciences of the National Institute, by the Commission appointed to repeat the Experiments of Mr. Achard on the Sugar of the Beet-Root. From the Repertory or Arts and Manufactures.

After Mr. Achard had published an account of his new discovered method of extracting sugar from the beet-root, the class of mathematical and physical sciences of the National Institute at Paris, thought proper to appoint a commission in order to verify his experiments, and ascertain with what degree of probable advantage this manufacture might be introduced into France. The following is an extract from the report of the commission, and contains the principal result of

the experiments which they made for this purpose.

In the first place it appeared necessary to ascertain what quantity of sugar the beet-root might contain.

With this view recourse was had to the process pointed out by Margraf, in his "Essay on the Sugar of Vegetables;" namely, to digest a determined weight of the dried beet-root for several days in rectified spirits of wine. The fluid being afterwards decanted off, and evaporated to the proper point, it deposited the whole of the sugar which it held in solution.

The result of this experiment gave the proportion of sugar contained in the beet-root at one-sixteenth of its weight.

This fact being ascertained, the commission proceeded to repeat the experiments of Mr. Achard.

The process described by this chemist consists in boiling the beet-root; after which the juice is pressed out, and evaporated to the consistence of syrup.

This syrup, after being kept for some time in a warm room, deposits saccharine chrystals in the state of Muscovado sugar.

The same process was repeated several times, and always with very nearly the same result; *i. e.* 1152 parts of beet-root yielded 18 parts Muscovado sugar. This sugar was of a brown colour, and a rather disagreeable taste.

By repeated purifications it acquired the qualities of Muscovado sugar of the third sort, which afforded reason to believe, that it might have been rendered as white as the sugar of commerce, had there been a sufficient quantity of it to subject it to all the operations usually employed in the refineries.

As these operations could not be performed, a certain quantity of this Muscovado sugar was dissolved in alcohol; by which means sugar-candy was obtained, that in no respect differed from that which is produced from the sugar-cane.

These experiments seemed sufficiently to demonstrate, that though, by following the process of Mr. Achard, sugar could be extracted from the beet root, it was however in much smaller quantity than what is obtained by the method with alcohol, indicated by Margraf.

Upon the same grounds there was every reason to conclude, that Mr. Achard's method contributed to effect the decomposition of a portion of the sugar contained in this root; so that what was actually collected was only that part which had escaped being decomposed.

On the presumption that it might be reasonable to remedy this inconvenience, the commission made several experiments in order to ascertain the fact.

Though the experiments which they made with this view did not fall out so successfully as they could have wished, they were however not altogether fruitless, as the following fact ascertained by them will evince.

Instead of employing the juice of the *boiled* beet-root, as Mr. Achard recommends, they extracted that of the root in its new state. This juice being evaporated, with the requisite precautions, to the proper point, and

kept in a warm room for the space of more than a month, yielded almost a whole quart more of Muscovado sugar, than the syrup formed from the expressed juice of the boiled root.

So considerable an augmentation, produced by such a slight variation of the process recommended by Mr. Achard, seems to point out that it might be carried still farther; and that, by dint of repeated trials, one might, at length, be enabled to extract from the beet-root, if not all the sugar which it contains, as in the method with alcohol, yet at least a larger quantity than has resulted from any of the processes hitherto known.

In considering the extraction of sugar from the beet-root, whilst the process has not yet been improved beyond that degree of perfection which it has already attained, it is undoubtedly a matter of curiosity to know whether or not this manufacture is likely to be productive of real profit, and whether Mr. Achard is right in asserting that with this root we should be able entirely to dispense with the produce of the sugar-cane.

In order that they might be able to answer the questions that might be put to them relative to this point, the commissioners proceeded in the following manner.

They supposed the experiment on the produce of the beet-root to be made upon a large scale, with an extent of ground amounting to 32,400 square-feet; and, in order to ascertain the quantity of this product, yielded by such a piece of ground, they applied to different farmers who were in the habit of cultivating the beet.

They likewise requested information of them concerning the charges of the cultivation.

Finally, they calculated the charges of the manufacture.

From the accounts they received relative to these points, it appeared,

1. That the average produce of 32,400 square feet of ground, cultivated with beet, was about 450 cwt. of the root.

2. That all the expences, for seed, labour, manure, &c. might amount to about 250 livres, nearly 10*l*. 10*s*.

3. That in this sum the rent of the land was not included, this being amply repaid by the produce of the leaves of the plant used as fodder for cattle.

4. Finally, that the charges of manufacturing the sugar ought to be reckoned at 150 livres, (6*l*. 5*s*.)

According to this calculation it appeared, that, at the expence of 400 livres (16*l*. 13*s*.), one might not only raise 450 cwt. of of beet-root, but likewise cover all the charges of converting this quality into a syrup fit for being manufactured into sugar.

It now remained to ascertain the quantity of sugar which this syrup might yield.

The commission could easily satisfy themselves upon this particular, by consulting the journal of their experiments.

As, from different trials which they had made, they knew what proportion of sugar was yielded by a given quantity of beet-root, it was easy to calculate how much would be obtained

by the same process from 450 cwt.

The result of this calculation was, that 450 cwt. of beet-root ought to furnish about 782 lbs. of Muscovado sugar, which, by the process of refining, would be reduced to 448 lbs. of *pure* sugar. The price of a pound of this sugar would consequently be about 18 sols, (9*d*.)

Though this price is abundantly moderate, it might still be considerably reduced, if, instead of Mr. Achard's method, another was adopted that should be less favourable to the decomposition of the sugar, and in either respects less expensive.

However profitable the extraction of sugar may appear to be according to the account here given, it is nevertheless by no means so much so as Mr. Achard represents it.

However, before we are authorised to tax this gentleman with exaggeration, we ought first to know whether the roots, upon which he made his experiments at Berlin, did not perhaps abound more with saccharine matter than those which are cultivated in France, and especially in the vicinity of Paris, where those which the commission used for their experiments were gathered. It would also be necessary to ascertain, whether it be possible, as Mr. Achard asserts it is, to render the beet-root more saccharine, by an improved mode of cultivation, than it is in its ordinary state.

Finally, we ought to be able to compare the beet-root of Berlin with that of France.

With regard to this last point, the commission have taken much pains to procure some beet-roots from Berlin, but hitherto they have not succeeded.

It is certainly very possible, that the beet-root of Berlin may abound more with saccharine juice than that cultivated in France. Should this be the case, it is easy to account for Mr. Achard's having produced sugar at so small an expence as 9 sols per pound.

Possibly also, there may be certain districts in France where the soil is better adapted for the cultivation of the beet-root than in the vicinity of Paris.

We understand that experiments are already making upon this subject; so that a short time may possibly enable us to decide with certainty upon the point in question.

From what has been said above, it results;

1. That the beet-root cultivated in France, which is distinguished by its white flesh streaked with red stripes, certainly contains sugar, as well as the root of the same species cultivated at Berlin, upon which Mr. Achard has made his experiments.

2. That this sugar may be extracted by various processes, and acquire, by means of frequent purifications, all the qualities of the cane-sugar.

3. That the quantity of sugar contained in this root is sufficiently considerable to repay the labour employed in extracting it.

4. That if, as Mr. Achard asserts, it be possible to increase the proportion of saccharine matter in the beet-root, by an im-

proved method of cultivation, it is to be wished that experiments might be made on this subject.

5. That, independently of such experiments, it would be useful to ascertain whether, amongst the different varieties of the beet, there may not be some that naturally abound more with sugar than that pointed out by Mr. Achard.

6. That supposing the experiments that are about to be made on this subject to prove successful, it would still remain to be demonstrated, that the beet-root is capable, to a certain degree, of affording a substitute for the sugar-cane.

7. That though the price of the beet-sugar cannot be accurately determined, before we are in possession of the results of experiments made upon the large scale, yet, as the question stands at present, there is every reason to believe that it will not exceed the price of the cane-sugar in ordinary years.

8. Finally, that if Margraf be entitled to the praise of being the first discoverer of the existence of sugar in the beet-root, yet that Mr. Achard is no less the first who has made a happy application of this discovery, not only by pointing out the advantageous use that may be made of it; but also by describing the processes to which we must have recourse in order to insure its success.

Such are the conclusions which the commissioners have drawn from their experiments on the beet-root.

They have not concealed from the society, that at the commencement of their labours they were far from expecting the results which they have since obtained; they have also been obliged to repeat their experiments several times, before they were justified that these results were such as might be relied upon.

At present, all their doubts are dissipated, and it only remains for them to wish, that experiments, made upon a larger scale than their own, may finally give Mr. Achard's discovery all that authenticity which it deserves; and insure to the ingenious inventor that tribute of public gratitude which is so justly his due.

On comparing the preceding account of the experiments made by the French chemists on the extraction of sugar from the white-beet, with the contents of the following letter from Mr. Achard, which contains the results of his latest experiments made upon this subject, the reader will readily perceive that these trials have turned out far more favourably at Berlin than at Paris. The rules which Mr. Achard insists upon as indispensibly requisite to the success of the process, but which seem not to have been attended to by the French chemists, and the great importance he attributes to an improved method of cultivation, whereby the white-beet may be rendered more rich in saccharine juice than it is when cultivated in the ordinary manner, with respect to which nothing appears to have been hitherto attempted in France, may serve to account for this difference in the results. The preceding account,

however, will prove acceptable to those of our readers who interest themselves in the success of this new manufacture, on account of the authenticity of the source whence it is taken, the important facts and observations which it contains, and the cautions which it will give to those who may be inclined to make similar experiments in our own country, not to form too sanguine expectations of their first essays, as these can scarcely succeed to the same extent as those of Mr. Achard, unless the same attention has previously been employed in the cultivation of the plant, and his improved method of expressing and boiling down the juice adopted.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Achard to Professor Scherer, dated June 2, 1800, on the latest Experiments on the Beet-Root.

Our this year's experiment with the manufacture of sugar from the white-beet, bids fair to answer our utmost expectations. From 1500 cwt. of root, syrup has been extracted which, sold at the rate of six rix dollars (about a guinea) per cwt. will leave a considerable profit in our hands. 1500 cwt. were to be manufactured into raw sugar; but, as it has not yet been completely crystallized, I am not able precisely to ascertain the amount of the profit. However, I am certain that I shall at least obtain from 6 to 8000 lbs. of very good raw sugar, besides a very large quantity of distilled spirits from the residue.

The method which I have pursued is very simple, and attended with the least expence. The beet-roots are washed, and cut down raw with the potato-machine; after which they are boiled soft in spring-water, 10 quarts being sufficient to boil a hundred weight of the roots. They are then pressed out hot from the pan, and the juice which they yield is immediately put, whilst hot, into the boiler, and boiled down to the consistence of inferior syrup. The crystallization succeeds extremely well, provided this boiling is performed in a short space of time: the juice may be condensed by the most violent boiling, without suffering any injury, if only it is not continued for any considerable length of time; whilst, on the contrary, the most gentle boiling, if long continued, renders the juice insusceptible of crystallization. The flatter therefore these boilers are, and the smaller the height of the column of liquid that is to be boiled down is at first, the more certain we are of obtaining good crystallizable sugar. By following the method of pressing out the boiled roots whilst hot, and boiling down the hot juice immediately, one is secured from all the consequences of fermentation; and, in order to prevent these from taking place, too great caution cannot be employed. In operations on a small scale they may easily be prevented, but in the large way it will be far more difficult, unless we follow the above mentioned method. A hundred weight of the first residue that remains after the boiled roots have been pressed out, yields between seven and eight quarts of spirits, of equal strength to the malt-spirits usually sold, and is

therefore equal in value to half a bushel of wheat employed for this purpose. That the whole advantage resulting from the manufacture of sugar from the beet-root depends entirely upon the manner of cultivation, and the choice of the best varieties of this plant, will again be proved beyond all possibility of doubt, by the experiments made during the course of the present year, under the inspection of his Prussian majesty's commissioners.

On Clay and Marl. By Mr. Josiah Rodwell, of Liverpool, near Bury, Suffolk. From the Repertory of Arts and Manufactures.

Being informed that you have voted to an excellent farmer in Surry, justly celebrated for his exertions, a mark of your approbation, it has been suggested to me by some neighbours, who have for twenty-eight years viewed what I have done to improve a poor and almost waste tract of land, to send you an account of my operations, which I have complied with, trusting that this is the most likely method of inducing others to examine well their soils, and whatever may be found beneath: my practice is confined and limited, but your attention can spread any knowledge throughout the kingdom, and render the exertions of an individual beneficial to a whole nation.

I wish, at present, to call your notice to the effect of digging and spreading marl and clay upon poor dry heaths producing fern and gorse, but chiefly ling; originally of small value, at best yielding but a scanty support to ill-fed sheep.

The Rev. Mr. Lathbury's father, about fifty years ago, was offered any quantity of this heath at 4*d.* per acre: the farm on which I have been working consists of 1400 acres, 700 of which were of this sort of heath; it had been occupied by my predecessor, Mr. Garnham, for thirty-six years, at the rent of 140*l.* and never more than 150*l.* the landlord (Bapt. Lee, Esq.) paying tithe; nor did Mr. Garnham at that rent do much more than make a living in it. In 1771 it was valued for raising the rent, and 350*l.* a year demanded, not tithe-free, at which rent Mr. Garnham refused it, as did several other farmers, who examined the land; and when I engaged at that rent I was pronounced a ruined man by most of my acquaintance who knew the farm. I had a lease of it thirteen years.

My operations at first were to inclose with thorn hedges, marl or clay, and break up 300 acres of the heath; and in the first seven years of the lease I finished what I meant to improve in that term; I marled or clayed 600 acres, at 70 loads an acre, being 42,000 large tumbril loads. In this work I employed three teams, two of my own, and one I hired for several years. It is severe work; and the second year I lost nine horses, attributed to feeding on pea-straw from the new broken heath, a circumstance that deserves the attention of improvers.

In the eleventh year of my lease I applied to my landlord for a renewal; on which the farm was valued again by Mr. Hare, the

surveyor at Peterborough, and I took a fresh lease of fifteen years, to commence at the termination of my old one, at the rent of 400*l.*

I immediately clayed and broke up 200 acres more, at 100 loads an acre, 40 bushels per load, inclosing all with quick hedges, and ditches five feet wide, and four deep; after this, I improved 100 acres more in the same manner.

In the two leases of twenty-eight years, I clayed or marled 820 acres; and I have clayed or marled so much over the second time, at 70 loads an acre, that the quantity I have carried in all is very little short of 140,000 loads.

Upon taking a third lease, I was, in 1798-9, particularly steady to this work, and, in forty-nine weeks and three days, carried 11,275 cubical yards, paying by measure of pits, and not by loads, which were filled and spread by four men and a boy, and carted by six horses and two tumbrils.

In this business of carrying clay or marl I have practised hand-barrowing; the men can make good earnings at 10*d.* a yard, wheeling it thirty rod; and down to 7*d.* a yard at shorter distances; and I am much inclined to think, that if we had workmen used to the operation, and handy at it, like those employed in navigations, that this method would be of all others the cheapest, especially on heavier soils. But by far the greatest part I have done by tumbrils, the expense of which put out is 5*d.* a yard for team, and 2¼*d.* a yard for labour, and paying for laying picks, wedges, &c. also for stones that rise, increase the whole expence to 8*d.* per yard, which is at least ½*d.* per yard cheaper than I can do it with my own teams: the reason of which is, that the man who contracts with me drives his own horses, and looks after them; at 8½*d.* per yard, 140,000 yards have cost me 4958*l.* excepting the small proportion *hired* at ½*d.* a yard lower.

I come now to mention a few circumstances which I hope may tend to render this paper useful to others, not having the experience which I have acquired: I shall use but few words, but they shall be founded on positive experiment, or attentive observation.

Clay is much to be preferred to marl on these sandy soils, some of which are loose, poor, and even a black sand. By clay is to be understood a grey clayey loam, some of it brick-earth, and all has with vinegar a small effervescence. Marl is a white, greasy, chalky, substance, that effervesces strongly with acids: I make an universal rule, on a second improvement, to lay clay on the fields marled before, sometimes marl where clay was spread before; but this not general, as clay answers best on the whole.

In the tillage of improved lands, I am attentive never to over-crop. My usual rotation has been,

1. Turnips.
2. Barley.
3. Clover, rye-grass, and trefoil, one or two years.
4. Peas.
5. Wheat.

On some I have sown oats on the layer, and omitted peas and wheat, which is more favourable to the land; and I should with longer leases have done more so. Peas, it is true, are an improving crop, but the two coming together

are perhaps working the marl too quickly. I have broken some heaths up and sown oats, and even wheat, designing to improve on the stubble; but sowing four bushels of oats I have gained but ten, and of wheat not more than three coombs * at first breaking.

My crops, by managing attentively, have been good; I have had 11½ coombs of barley an acre, and even 14, and these over large fields; I have had seven coombs an acre of peas over six score acres, and fine wheat after them.

On 90 acres, clayed 100 loads an acre, I have had after two crops, the one turnips, the other barley, close-seed, and sold it on the ground for 1000 guineas; then turnips, a famous crop, followed by barley, on 75 acres, 16 coombs an acre; and by oats on 15 acres (poorer land) 10 coombs an acre. These crops are for the soil *great;* but in general my products have been highly to my satisfaction.

In regard to other manures, my farm has had the fold of from 40 to 48 score sheep; they manure, one year with another, 150 acres; and I am never without bullocks for increasing the farm-yard dung. I top fold wheat from the beginning of November till Christmas, and even till February, and venture it on clayed land at the hazards of frosts at sun-rise, which sometimes injures it much, but the effect in general is great. Of all mucking, that for turnips pays me best, particularly on clayed land; I know many farmers in Norfolk prefer laying it on for wheat, the turnips to have it at second; but I prefer the other method. And let me note, that I use long muck to choose, which I think far better than turning, mixing, and rotting muck; here also are different opinions; I speak only from my own experience. Wheat stubble, I think, should always be whelmed in for turnips.

I once ploughed in a fine crop of buck-wheat for turnips, and the crop was so much worse than the rest of the field, that they were not penned regularly for the sheep; yet, with this disadvantage, the barley following, was better than where the turnips were much superior.

I have dibbled largely, and with good success, and think it the best method; and I approve much of the drill roller as the next best.

In tilling these improved sands, it is a common observation in Norfolk, that shallow ploughing is necessary to preserve *the pan;* I have not found this the case here; but, on the contrary, that the clay and marl works the better the more soil it has to incorporate with.

Having thus stated, shortly, the general managements of my improvements, I now come, with your permission, to the general result. Rent will speak this:

It is stated, that, twenty-eight years ago, the rent of the farm was 150*l.* a year, tithe free, and that it was then raised to 350*l.* a year, tithe payable. I may venture to assert, that, at that rent, without improvement, it might have so stood on my landlord's rent-roll till doomsday, for a mere living could only be made on it even in good times. But upon my taking the third lease, commencing 1799,

* The coomb is half a quarter.

it was raised to 600*l.* a year, at the same time that to the full value of a 100*l.* a year was taken from it; in other words, the present rent is 700*l.* a year. Thus, while, with the blessing of God, I have done well in the farm, and have put five children into the world out of twelve living, I have added 350*l.* a year to the value of the estate, which, at thirty years purchase, is 10,500*l.*; and, relative to the public at large, I may venture to assert, that these 1400 acres have, in the last twenty-eight years, yielded 30,000*l.* worth more of corn, meat, and wool, than they did in the twenty-eight preceding. A fact which tends strongly to shew the national importance of improvements in agriculture, and also the wisdom of establishing a public board for promoting and encouraging such exertions as may be deemed laudable.

On the Distillation of Sulphuric Acid, as it is practised at Bleyl, in Bohemia. From the Repertory of Arts and Manufactures.

I. Bleyl is a village in Bohemia, near the town of Bresnitz, in the circle of Soatz. It possesses, among its other manufactures, an establishment for the preparation of sulphuric acid, which I examined in the month of June, 1797. I then attended particularly to all the methods which are there used to separate sulphuric acid from sulphate of iron by distillation. There are, in that manufactory, two sheds for the distillation of sulphuric acid. One has three galleries, each containing 29 retorts on each side: the other has but two galleries, each of which holds only 21 retorts on each side.

II. Each gallery is a long square of brick-work, containing only a grate and an ash-pit. Its breadth at the base is 2 ells 1½ inch, Friburgh measure. The length of the stove is 6 ells and 19 inches. It is composed of two little walls of bricks, which, at the top, have their surface somewhat inclined inward. On each of its two sides is a sort of furnace, of the same length as the stove, and formed by means of another small brick-wall. These furnaces are intended to dry the vitriol; and they are covered with flags of gneis, forming a kind of balcony, on which the receivers stand. The height of the stove is 12 inches, its breadth 12½ inches. The breadth of the ash-pit is 9½ inches, its depth 16 inches. The breadth of the mouth of the stove is 15 inches, its height 12½ inches*.

III. The substance from which sulphuric acid (vitriolic acid, oil of vitriol,) is here distilled, is sulphate of iron, (vitriol of iron, green vitriol, green copperas,) for sulphate of copper (blue vitriol, vitriol of copper) is dearer, and yields less acid. In order to distil this sulphate of iron, it is necessary before hand to deprive it of its water of crystallization.

This is effected by calcining it to whiteness, in the drying furnaces, which have been already mentioned. The operation is easy. Nothing more is necessary, than to put the vitriol into the drying fur-

* The whole of this description is very obscure in the original.

naces, and there stir it from time to time. The heat employed in the distillation drives off the water.

IV. The distillation is performed in stone retorts, of the shape of a pear; each 16 inches in length, having the mouth $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, with the necks but little bent. The receivers for the reception of the acid are retorts. They are 15 inches long, their diameter is, at the mouth, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch, at the bottom 4 inches.

V. The retorts are mounted or set in the gallery two by two, that is, one on one side, the other on the other side; by supporting the bottom of one against the bottom of the other, their mouths are disposed a little higher than their bottoms; in order that nothing but acid pass into the receivers, the retorts are coated with luting before being placed in the furnace. As soon as the gallery is furnished with retorts, they are fixed on the walls of the stove with pieces of brick, and a kneaded mixture of burnt and unburnt potter's earth; next a layer of the same kneaded earth is put upon their necks, and over this another layer of bricks, which fixes the retorts in a firm and solid manner. When the retorts are thus mounted, long narrow bricks are placed on their ends, in a range the whole length of the furnace; this done, the whole is covered with large thick square bricks, which rest both on the bricks placed endways, and those above the necks of the retorts, which bricks are first coated with a layer of the kneaded earth. These large bricks are cut at their corners, to give issue to the smoke; which escapes also by a small chimney, at the end of the gallery, against the supporting wall.

VI. The next thing is, to put the calcined vitriol into the retorts. This is done with a long tinned iron spoon, in the form of a pan-tile, and fixed with nails to a wooden handle. Three spoons full are enough to fill one of the retorts. To push the copperas into the retorts, a small piece of board, with a handle fixed in the centre, in the fashion of a rake. Into each retort are put 3 lb. of copperas; and the product from each is $1\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of sulphuric acid. When the retorts are full, the fire is kindled in the furnace, and the phlegm is left to evaporate from the vitriol, which, even after its calcination, still contains a portion of water. This water rises in vapours, which hold in solution a part of the vitriol; and if these vapours were not suffered to escape, they would burst the vessels.

VII. The next thing is, to fix the receivers to the retorts; the mouths of which they must enter one by one. Lute them together, at the junctions, with potter's earth, pulverized, and wrought into a paste with water and sulphuric acid. The same luting will also serve to coat the retorts. The hardened luting, taken from the retorts and receivers, after the distillation, is broken, and, with the addition of a portion of fresh earth, wrought again into a soft paste, to be applied, in a subsequent distillation, to the same use as before.

VIII. The distillation commonly passes in the space of 32 hours. If the fire were removed sooner, there would be a great loss of

acid, which would still remain in the ill-burnt vitriol. The fire should be never excessively strong, but always equal, till the last six hours; when it is made more intense, that it may expel from the vitriol the last portions of its acid: 3 lb. of sulphate of iron afford $1\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of sulphuric acid, much concentrated.

IX. When, after the last strongest fire, the pots or receivers are observed to cool, the distillation is then known to be at an end, since vapours have ceased to communicate heat to them. It is then time to extinguish the fire, and to leave the furnace to cool, that the pots may be removed from it. Yet the furnace should never be allowed to become quite cold before these be removed, otherwise the residues in the retorts will attract back a part of the acid.

X. In this manufacture the receivers are emptied only after every third distillation. This management is attended with two advantages. It affords a saving of time, and prevents that waste of the acid which takes place when the retorts are emptied after each distillation. Another advantage attending it is, that it gives the acid in a more concentrated state; for every time the receivers are emptied, they must be supplied with a portion of water, to condense the acid vapours; but when the same quantity of water is used for three distillations, instead of one, the acid condensed in it must of course be stronger.

XI. The retorts will serve for three distillations, and to empty them after each distillation, they are not removed from their places, but the residues are taken out by means of a small round iron rake, made with its handle of the same metal. In order to know whether any of the retorts be cracked, they are sounded or struck with another small iron rod or rake. The sound indicates whether they be cracked or not. When any one is cracked, it is taken out; and another, prepared in the same manner as the rest, is put in its place.

The sulphuric acid is here sold at 24 creutzers.

Supplement.

XII. There is likewise a distillation of aqua-fortis, or nitric acid, carried on in the galleries of this manufactory. Retorts and receivers, similar to those for sulphuric acid, but somewhat larger, are employed in it. The retorts are somewhat of a square figure, and are made to belly out more than those for the other process, and in this distillation are inserted into the receivers. Aqua-fortis is distilled by the use of vitriol of iron, as an intermedium; nor is any other method known to the distillers. Such furnaces are certainly more convenient than the French galleries for distilling aqua-fortis, as they allow the fire to be better regulated, and are more easily put up and taken down.

Account of the Improvements on His Majesty's Farm, in the Great Park, at Windsor, by Nathaniel Kent, in a Letter to the Secretary of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.

Sir,

Upon mentioning to you some

time since, that there had been some practices in husbandry, on his Majesty's farms, under my superintendence, in Windsor Great Park, which I conceived were not generally known; and upon your giving me reason to think the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, &c. from its laudable desire to communicate to the public every thing that promises advantage to it, would not be unwilling to allow me a few pages in its next publication; and being indulged with his Majesty's gracious permission to state any matter that I may discretionally judge proper to communicate; I am induced to lay before you a few particulars, which some gentlemen and farmers, under similar circumstances, may, perhaps, think deserving notice.

But before I enter upon any particular description of what I have to offer, it will not, perhaps, be uninteresting to the Society to know the grounds upon which his Majesty's large system of agriculture has been founded.

In the year 1791, the Great Park, at Windsor, about 4000 acres, fell into his Majesty's possession. It might truly be called a rough jewel. The whole, as a natural object, was grand and beautiful, of a forest appearance; but the parts were crowded and indistinct. The soil was various, some parts clay and loam, and some sharp gravel or poor sand; a great part of the former was covered with rushes and mole-hills, and the latter with fern and moss.

About 1000 acres of the lightest part were separated from the rest at one extremity, and formed what is called the Norfolk farm; about 400 acres more, at the other extremity, of a good loamy soil, were separated, and called the Flemish farm, both being named from the nature of the husbandry meant to be adopted upon them.

The rest (about 2400 acres) remains still in plantations and park; and though so much reduced, yet, from the improvements which have been made upon it, is now capable of carrying more stock than the whole 4000 acres did before. All the unsound wet parts have been drained by the Essex mode, so as to be rendered firm, and productive of an improved herbage. The mole-hills have been levelled, chiefly by dragging, and the coarse and mossy parts fined by repeated harrowing and rolling; (being one of the first improvements upon park land of this description;) besides which, a variety of beauty has been laid open, by clearing the vallies and low parts, to give a bolder effect to the woody scenes upon the higher ground; and by making judicious openings, so as to break strait lines, and separate parts that were in some places too heavy and samely: so that the extent of land has now not only a much larger appearance, but exhibits a much greater variety of ground. The truth of this, every impartial person who knew the place before his Majesty caused these improvements to be made, must allow. I have only to add, that though prejudice may have taken up an idea that there has been too great a sacrifice of timber in effecting these improvements, truth will deny it. There has not been a tree taken down, but what was either in decay, or removed either to give room for the growth

of others, or to set them off to greater advantage in picturesque appearance.

I come now to the object in view, as before hinted, which is to state the motives which I am inclined to think induced his Majesty to adopt the farming system upon so large a scale; and next, to shew the result.—These I conceive were chiefly to create useful labour for the industrious poor in the neighbourhood, and for trying experiments in agriculture, to excite imitation where success might encourage it.

The Norfolk farm borders on that extensive waste called Bagshot-heath, hitherto considered too barren for cultivation, though large tracts of a similar quality have been long since rendered useful to the community in the south-west part of Norfolk. Arable land of this description is generally managed there under a five-course shift; first, wheat; second, turnips; third, barley, with seeds, which continue laid two years. But as the seeds turn to very little account after the first year, his Majesty's, which though a five-course shift likewise, of one hundred acres in a shift, is upon a much improved course of cropping: as thus—first, wheat or rye; second, the irregular shift; third, turnips; fourth, barley or oats; fifth, clover. The irregular shift, which is of great use on a light land farm, may perhaps want a little explanation. It is meant to be partly productive, and partly preparative. Forty acres of it are sown with vetches, to be fed off; forty are sown the latter end of August with rye, for early seed the next spring for the ewes and lambs; the remaining twenty acres are planted with potatoes, and the whole comes round for turnips the next year.

From the advantage of running sheep in the park, this farm has been brought surprisingly forward, considering the short time it has been cultivated; and a great part of it, which produced nothing but heath and moss, and would have been dear at five shillings an acre to rent, now produces crops worth more than the original fee-simple of the land.

Brevity checks me from going farther into a general description; but the following particulars may deserve notice.

The comparative advantages of the labour of horses and oxen have been for some time under the consideration of the public. His Majesty has unquestionably tried the latter upon a larger scale than any other person, as he does not work less than one hundred and eighty oxen upon his different farms, parks, and gardens, and has found them to answer so well, that there is not now a horse kept.—Upon the two farms and the Great Park two hundred are kept, including those coming on and going off. Forty are bought in every year, rising three years, and are kept as succession oxen in the park; one hundred and twenty are under work; and forty every year are fatted off, rising seven years.

The working oxen are mostly divided into teams of six, and one of the number is every day rested, so that no ox works more than five days out of the seven.—This day of ease in every week, besides Sunday, is of great advantage to the animal, as he is found to do better

with ordinary keep and moderate labour, than he would do with high keep and harder labour. In short, this is the first secret to learn concerning him; for an ox will not admit of being kept in condition like a horse, artificially by proportionate food to proportionate labour.

These oxen are never allowed any corn, as it would prevent their fatting so kindly afterwards. Their food in summer is only a few vetches, by way of a bait, and the run of coarse meadows, or what are called leasowes, being rough woody pastures. In winter they have nothing but cut food, consisting of two-thirds hay, and one-third wheat-straw; and the quantity they eat in twenty-four hours is about twenty-four pounds of hay and twelve of straw; and on the days of rest, they range as they like in the straw-yards; for it is to be observed, that they are not confined to hot stables, but have open sheds, under which they eat their cut provender, and are generally left to their choice to go in and out. Under this management, as four oxen generally plough an acre a day, and do other work in proportion, there can be no doubt but their advantage is very great over horses, and the result to the public highly beneficial.

The oxen, which are brought on in succession, run the first summer in the park, and in the leasowes and temporary straw-yards, in the winter; by which temporary straw-yards, I would have it understood, that they are made in different places, so that the manure which they make may be as near to the spot where it is wanted as possible.

The forty oxen which go off are summered in the best pasture, and finished with turnips the ensuing winter. The usual way has been to draw the turnips, and to give them either stalled or in cribs placed in the yard, with plenty of straw to browse and lie upon: but last winter an experiment was tried, which answered extremely well, and will be again repeated next winter: this was, penning the oxen by day upon the turnip-land, in the manner that sheep are penned, with this only difference, that the turnips were thrown up into cribs, instead of being left to be trodden into the ground: and in the nights they were driven into a yard, with a temporary shed well littered with rushes, fern, and leaves, and turnips and barley-straw given to them in cribs. They thrived very fast, and every one of them made at least eight loads of good muck in the night-yard, besides the benefit done in treading and dunging on the land in the day-time, which was very great, the soil being very light. The result of the ox system is, that charging the ox for his agistment the first year, for the value of the grass and turnips the last year, and putting what he has in three intermediate years as an equivalent for his labour, after every allowance for risk, each ox will pay at least twenty *per cent.* profit. In what instance does a horse produce so much?

I do not contend that the ox can be used on all soils; upon a very stony soil he cannot: nor can the horse in all places be wholly excluded from husbandry; but every occupier of a large farm may at least use some oxen to very great

advantage. They are all worked at Windsor in collars, as their step is found to be much more free than when coupled together with yokes; and they are found to do their work with much greater ease in collars than in yokes, which ought every where to be exploded.

The different kinds of oxen are in some measure suited to the soil. Upon the Norfolk farm, which is a light soil, the Devonshire sort are used; upon the Flemish farm, where the soil is strong and heavy, the Herefordshire; and in the park, where the business is carting, harrowing, and rolling, the Glamorganshire. They are all excellent in their different stations.

It may not be improper to mention a very simple method which has been discovered, of first training them to the collar, which is nothing more than putting a broad strap round their necks, and fastening one end of a cord to it, and the other to a large log of wood, and letting the ox draw it about as he feeds in his pasture, for three or four days, before he is put into harness, by which means he is very much brought forward in docility.

I have before observed, that twenty *per cent.* may be considered as the average profit of an ox; stating them to be bought in at 10*l.* and allowing them to sell for 25*l.* taking off 10*l.* for the two years they are not worked: but last year, beans being of very little value, they were kept longer than usual, by being stall-fed with bean-meal, which answered very well, as they were brought to an average of nearly 30*l.*; and one of them, a Glamorganshire ox, originally bought for 8*l.*, and, from his compact round make, always called the little ox, thrived to such a surprising degree, that he became too fat to be able to travel to Smithfield, and was therefore sold to Mr Charlwood, a neighbouring butcher, for 47*l.*

Next to the advantage obtained from oxen, as much benefit as possible has been endeavoured to be derived from sheep, by means of the fold. Two ewe flocks are kept, of four hundred each: the soil being light and dry, admits of winter-folding (except when the weather is wet) upon the young clover; a practice much to be recommended, as it is productive of a great crop of clover, and prepares the land the ensuing autumn for a crop of wheat without any further assistance. Another excellent practice is folding upon light land, in dry weather, immediately upon the sowing of the wheat, which may be put forward, or kept back, a fortnight or three weeks on that account; and it is not amiss to have the fold rather large, and to give the sheep a turn or two round the fold in a morning before they are let out, to tread and settle the land, which does a great deal of good, over and above their dung.

A third method of folding has been found to answer almost beyond description. This was first tried in the winter of 1793; but from an idea of the shepherd, that it injured the sheep, has been since disused: but as there is good reason to believe that there was no just ground for such an opinion, it is meant to be revived next winter.

A dry sheltered spot is selected, and sods of maiden earth, a foot deep, are laid over the space of a very large fold. It is then bedded thinly with rushes, leaves of trees,

fern, moss, short straw, or stubble; and in hard or wet weather, the flock, instead of being penned upon the clover, in the open fields, is put into this warmer fold, where the usual quantity of hay is given to them in racks; and every night they are so penned, the fold is fresh littered. When this has been continued, at intervals, during the winter, a layer of lime, chalk, rubble, or ashes, six inches thick, is spread over the whole surface; and when it has heated together, about the month of April, the whole is turned up, and mixed together, and makes the very best manure that can be used for turnips.

I have been particular in describing these methods of folding, as they are not common in any place, and in others entirely unknown, and to gentlemen who have parks and large plantations which afford abundance of leaves, this hint may be the more deserving attention.

Upon the Norfolk farm, the land not having been yet marled or clayed, the clover is apt sometimes to fail, which is also the case elsewhere, upon the same sort of land. When this happens, his Majesty does what every other person in a similar situation should do; instead of letting the ground remain unproductive, the next year it is sowed with vetches, which are nearly as valuable as the clover, and wheat always grows remarkably kind after them.

As to implements, the Norfolk-plough is chiefly what is used; and upon a light soil, it is certainly preferable to any other. It ploughs a cleaner furrow, by completely moving the whole body of earth, and inverts it much better than any other plough: and to establish its superiority over the common ploughs of the neighbourhood, I need only add, that from its construction it is nearly the draught of an ox easier. There is likewise a Norfolk-harrow, very useful for harrowing what are called brush-turnips, or any other turnips, preparatory to their being hoed. I must be allowed, likewise, to mention the drill-roller, which consists of cast-iron rings, made at the Norwich foundry, and slipped on upon a round piece of wood, as an axle-tree. This is one of the best things that has ever been introduced, for the preparation of the land for any sort of corn, where the soil will admit of its being used. By the corn being so well deposited, it takes better root, and at least one fourth of the quantity usually sown may be saved.

The Flemish farm, which I have before mentioned, was so named from an intention, at first, of carrying on a system of husbandry similar to that practised in Flanders, which consists of an alternate crop for man and beast: but the soil being strong and cohesive, upon trial it has been found to answer best under a four-course shift, more like some parts of Gloucestershire; as thus, first year, wheat; second, cabbage or clover; third, oats; fourth, beans. The quantity of arable land on this farm is one hundred and sixty acres, or forty acres in a shift. There are two things observed upon this farm, which may be worth notice: the first is the practice which has for these two years past been adopted, of taking off the tops of the beans just as the blossom is set; this not only improves the quality, but increases

the quantity, and causes them to ripen sooner, which is a considerable advantage, by giving time to get the succeeding crop of wheat in, perhaps, a fortnight earlier. The other is, that of sowing clover early in the spring, among twenty acres or one half of the wheat, and bush-harrowing and rolling it in. This has produced a very fair crop of clover the next year; and the other half, after the wheat, is winter and spring fallowed, and planted with cabbage. There is a double advantage resulting from this; that one half of this shift, so managed, becomes a summer crop, and the other half a winter crop; and by observing the next year to change the parts, by sowing the clover where the cabbage was before, the clover and cabbage do not come round upon the same ground but once in eight years.

Cabbage has been tried several years, but his Majesty's husbandmen never got into the right management of it till this year; but now the crop is remarkably fine.

It will not be improper to mention, that the drum-headed cabbage is the best sort; that the seed should be sown in August, the plants first set out in November, and transplanted for good in July. The next thing to be noted is their application: they are certainly inferior to turnips for fatting, but superior in the increase of milk, either of cows or ewes, and therefore they are particularly good where there is a dairy or a breeding flock of sheep: and I trust his Majesty will, the next yeaning season, try an experiment, of which I have high expectation, which is to slice or quarter the cabbage, and feed the ewes with them upon such of the meadows as want manuring, which I flatter myself will be of inestimable service to the ewes and lambs, and be the means of increasing the next year's crop of hay considerably.

The true light of viewing these improvements, is to consider them as a sort of new creation to the public; for, as it is a fact not to be controverted, that the reduced number of acres in the park, from their improved state, support as many deer and other cattle as the whole did before, the produce obtained from the farms is all clear gain; and as the crop of wheat and rye from the 140 acres sown, upon the most moderate calculation, may be set at 3,360 bushels, and allowing six bushels to a human mouth, this gives a yearly provision in bread for 560 people; to say nothing of the fatting off of 40 oxen, the breed of 800 sheep, and the growth of at least 5000 bushels of oats and beans; all of which, it must be observed, goes in aid of the public market, as the work is done by oxen entirely.

As more experiments are in future made, I may perhaps trouble the Society with an account of them, as I am persuaded they cannot be registered any where else, to give them the credit, and to excite the imitation I flatter myself they may deserve: but for the present, I shall close my observation upon his Majesty's farms with a description of his mill, which I consider as the most benevolent thing that can be done for the poor, and which I most earnestly recommend to all gentlemen of landed property, who have like means of doing it. A small over-shot mill is erected, and worked by the

waste water from the lake below the lodge, where a sufficiency of corn, two-thirds wheat and one-third rye, is ground, dressed, and given to all the labourers, at sixteen pence per stone of fourteen pounds, in quantities suitable to the size of their families, which is the first of all comforts to them, and a saving of at least twenty per cent. from what it would cost them to buy it from the mealmen or shopkeepers.

I am, sir,

Your obedient humble servant,

Nathaniel Kent.

Craig's Court, Oct. 30, 1798.

Project for extending the Breed of fine-woolled Spanish Sheep, now in the possession of his Majesty, into all parts of Great Britain, where the growth of fine clothing Wool is found to be profitable.

Drawn up and circulated by the Right Hon. Sir Joseph Banks, Bart. P.R.S. &c.

After experiments had been tried for several years by the King's command, with Spanish sheep of the true *Merino* breed, imported from various parts of Spain, all of which concurred in proving that the valuable wool of those animals did not degenerate in any degree in this climate, and that the cross of a *Merino* ram uniformly increased the quantity and meliorated the quality of the wool of every kind of short-wooled sheep on which it was tried, and more particularly so in the case of the South Down, Hereford, and Devonshire breeds, his Majesty was pleased to command, that some *Merino* sheep should be procured from a flock, the character of which, for a fine pile of wool, was well established.

Application was accordingly made to Lord Auckland, who had lately returned from an embassy to Spain; and in consequence of his Lordship's letters, the Marchioness del Campo di Alange was induced to present to his Majesty five rams and thirty-five ewes, from her own flock, known by the name of *Negretti*, the reputation of which, for purity of blood and fineness of wool, is as high as any in Spain; for this present, his Majesty was pleased to send to the Marchioness, in return, eight fine English coach horses.

These sheep, which were imported in the year 1792, have formed the basis of a flock now kept in the park of his Royal Highness the Duke of York at Oatlands, the breed of which has been preserved with the utmost care and attention.

The wool of this flock, as well as that of the sheep procured before from Spain, was acknowledged by the manufacturers who saw it, to be to all appearance of the very first quality, yet none of them chose to offer a price for it at all equal to what they themselves gave for good Spanish wool, lest, as they said, it should not prove in manufacture so valuable as its appearance promised; it became necessary therefore, that it should be manufactured at the King's expense, in order that absolute proof might be given of its actual fitness for the fabric of superfine broad cloath; and this was done year after year in various manners, the cloth always proving

excellent; yet the persons to whom the wool was offered for sale still continued to undervalue it, being prepossessed with an opinion, that though it might not at first degenerate, it certainly sooner or later would alter its quality, much for the worse.

In 1796 it was resolved to sell the wool at the price that should be offered for it, in order that the manufacturers themselves might make trial of its quality, although a price equal to its real value should not be obtained; accordingly, the clip of that year was sold for 2*s.* a pound, and the clip of the year 1797 for 2*s.* 6*d.*

The value of the wool being now in some degree known, the clip of 1798 was washed in the Spanish manner, and it sold as follows:

The number of fleeces of ewes and wethers was 89;		
Which produced in wool, washed on the sheep's backs		295lb.
Loss in scowering		92
Amount of scowered wool		203
Which produced, Raffinos, 167lb. at 5*s.* per lb.		
Finos, 23, at 3*s.* 6*d.*	} 47*l.* 8*s.*	
Terceros, 13, at 2*s.* 6*d.*		

The clip of 1799 was managed in the same manner, and produced as follows:

The number of fleeces of ewes and weathers was 101;		
Which produced in wool, washed on the sheep's backs		346lb.
Loss in scowering		92
Amount of scowered wool		254
Which produced, Raffinos, 207lb. at 5*s.* 6*d.* per lb.		
Finos, 28, at 3*s.* 6*d.*	} 63*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.*	
Terceros, 19, at 2*s.*		

The rams' wool of the two years sorted together produced as follows:

Quantity of wool, washed on the sheep's backs		314lb.
Loss in scowering		99
Amount of scowered wool		215
Which produced, Raffinos, 181lb. at 4*s.* 6*d.* per lb.		
Finos, 22, at 3*s.* 6*d.*	} 45*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.*	
Terceros, 12, at 2*s.*		

It is necessary to account for these extraordinary prices, by stating that in the year 1799, when both sales were effected, Spanish wool was dearer than it ever before was known to be; but it is also proper to add, that 5*s.* 6*d.* was then the price of the best Spanish piles, and that none was sold higher, except, as is said, a very small quantity for 5*s.* 9*d.*

The King has been pleased to give away to different persons, who undertook to try experiments, by crossing other breed of sheep with the Spanish, more than one hundred rams and some ewes; in order, however, to make the benefit of this valuable improvement, in the staple commodity of Great Britain, accessible to all persons who may choose to take

the advantage of it, his Majesty is this year pleased to permit some rams and ews to be sold, and also to command that reasonable prices should be put upon them, according to the comparative value of each individual; in obedience to which it has been suggested, that five guineas may be considered as the medium price of a ram, and two guineas that of a ewe; a sum which it is believed the purchaser will in all cases be able to receive back with large profit, by the improvement his flock will derive from the valuable addition it will obtain.

Though the mutton of the Spanish sheep was always excellent, their carcases were extremely different in shape, from that mould which the fashion of the present day teaches us to prefer; great improvement has however been already made in this article, by a careful and attentive selection of such rams and ewes as appeared most likely to produce a comely progeny; and no doubt can be entertained, that in due time, with judicious management, carcases covered with superfine Spanish wool may be brought into any shape, whatever it may be, to which the interest of the butcher, or the caprice of the breeder, may choose to affix a particular value.

Sir Joseph Banks, who has the honour of being intrusted with the management of this business, will answer all letters on the subject of it, addressed to him in Soho-square. The rams will be delivered at Windsor, the ewes at Weybridge in Surry, near Oatlands.

As those who have the care of his Majesty's Spanish flock may naturally be supposed partial to the project of introducing superfine wool into these kingdoms it has been thought proper to annex the following notice, in order to show the opinion held of a similar undertaking, in a neighbouring country, where individuals, however they have mistaken their political interest, are rather remarkable for pursuing and thoroughly weighing their own personal advantage, in all their private undertakings, and for sagacity in seizing all opportunities of improving, by public establishment, the resources of their nation.

French Advertisement.

On the 24th of May last, an advertisement appeared in the *Moniteur*, giving notice of a sale of two hundred and twenty ewes and rams of the finest woolled Spanish breed, part of the flock kept on the national farm of Rambouillet; also two thousand pounds of superfine wool, being the present year's clip of this national flock, and one thousand three hundred pounds of wool, the produce of the mixed breeds of sheep kept at the menagerie at Versailles.

This advertisement, which is official, is accompanied by a notice from Lucien Buonaparte, minister of the interior, as follows:

"The Spanish breed of sheep that produce the finest wool, introduced into France thirty years ago, has not manifested the smallest symptom of degeneration; samples of the wool of this valuable flock which was brought from Spain in the year 1786, are still preserved and bear testi-

mony that it has not in the least declined from its original excellence, although the district where these sheep have been kept is not of the best quality for sheep farming; the draughts from this flock, that have been annually sold by auction, have always exceeded in value the expectation of the purchasers in every country to which they have been carried, that is not too damp for sheep.

"The weight of their fleeces is from six * to twelve pounds each, and those of the rams are sometimes heavier.

"Sheep of the ordinary coarse woolled breeds, when crossed by a Spanish ram, produce fleeces double in weight, and far more valuable, than those of their dams; and if this cross is carefully continued, by supplying rams of the pure Spanish blood, the wool of the third or fourth generation is scarce distinguishable from the original Spanish wool.

"These mixed breeds are more easily maintained, and can be fattened at as small an expence, as the ordinary breeds of the country.

"No speculation whatever offers advantages so certain, and so considerable to those who embark in it, as that of the improvement of wool, by the introduction of rams and ewes of the true Spanish race, among the flocks of France, whether the sheep are purchased at Rambouillet, or elsewhere; in this business, however, it is of the greatest importance to secure the Spanish breed unmixed, and the utmost precaution on that head should be used, as the avarice of proprietors may tempt them to substitute the crossed breeds instead of the pure one, to the great disappointment of the purchaser.

"The amelioration of wool at Rambouillet has made so great a progress, that in a circle from twenty-four to thirty-six miles in diameter, the manufacturers purchase thirty-five thousand pounds of wool, improved by two, three, or four crosses. Those who wish to accelerate the amelioration of their flocks by introducing into them ewes of this improved sort, may find abundance to be purchased in that neighbourhood at reasonable rates."

List of Patents for new Inventions granted during the Year 1800.

William Turner, and John Turner, of Lane-End, in the parish of Stoke-upon-Trent, in the county of Stafford, potters; for a method of manufacturing porcelain and earthen ware, by the introduction of a material not heretofore used in manufacturing those articles. Dated January 9.

Isaac Sandford, of Hartford, in the state of Connecticut, in North America, gentleman, at present residing in the parish of St. Paul, Covent-garden, in the county of Middlesex; for a method of manufacturing and making bricks, tiles, and pottery-ware in general, and of discharging the moulds used therein. Dated January 13.

Thomas Parkinson, of Market-square in the parish of St. George,

* This must mean fleeces unwashed, or in the yoke, as it is technically termed.

Bloomsbury, gentleman: for an hydrostatic engine or machine, for the purpose of drawing beer, or any other liquors, out of a cellar or vault; or for raising water out of mines, ships, and wells; or for any other purpose where fluids are required to be raised. Dated February 1.

Edward Coleman, of ——; for an artificial frog, which, being applied to the natural frogs of horses' feet, will effectually prevent contracted hoofs, thrushes, and cankers. Dated February 1.

Edward Shorter, of Newington, in the county of Surrey, mechanic; for a machine or engine for working and causing the progressive motion of ships and vessels of every description, without the assistance of sails or oars. Dated February 4.

Samuel Miller, in the parish of St. Mary-la-bonne, in the county of Middlesex, engraver; for a machine and process for more easily dividing hard substances, as well as for raising all kinds of heavy weights, and driving all sorts of machinery. Dated Febuary 4.

Richard Lumbert, of the parish of Wickrissington, in the county of Gloucester, gentleman; for improvements on the plough or machine for draining of lands. Dated February 4.

Joseph Barnett, of Birmingham, in the county of Warwick, merchant; for a method of making buttons for wearing apparel. Dated February 4.

William Lester, of Cotton End, in the parish of Hardingstone, near Northampton, farmer and patent harrow-manufacturer; for an engine or machine for the purpose of cutting hay and straw into chaff, and other useful purposes for the use of cattle. Dated Febuary 4.

Jabez Carter Hornblower, of John's Row, City-Road, in the parish of St. Luke, in the county of Middlesex, engineer; for a method of glazing calicos, cottons, muslins, linens, &c. Dated February 4.

Phineas Crowther, of the town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, engineer; for a method of applying the power of a reciprocating steam-engine, to the crank or rotative axis, for drawing of coals, lead, tin, &c. out of mines, &c. Dated February 28.

Richard Maullin, of Cosely, in the county of Stafford, screw-maker; for a machine or contrivance to mould or withdraw patterns for the casting of wood, bed, and all other screws which are got up in cast-iron, brass, or other metallic compositions. Dated February 28.

Robert Stuart, at Blantyre cotton-mills, near Glasgow, cotton-spinner; for a method of starching and preparing cotton yarn in that state called the cop, by which means it is at once fitted for being made into warp, or the chain of the web, without undergoing certain operations at present in use; and also that the cotton yarn, so prepared by him in the cop, is in like manner at once fitted for the purpose of weft or woof, by which means certain expensive operations are also saved. Dated March 19.

Edward Steers, of the Inner Temple, London, esquire; for a machine to be applied to boats or vessels, for the purpose of moving

them along with ease and celerity. Dated March 19.

James Wood, of Hart-street, in the parish of St. Paul's Covent-garden, in the county of Middlesex, musical wind-instrument maker; for an improvement upon the musical instrument commonly called the clarionet; which invention is also, as to part thereof, applicable to an improvement upon most of such other musical wind-instruments as are played upon with keys. Dated March 19.

William Johnson, of Widmore-house, in the parish of Bromley, in the county of Kent, esquire; for a machine with new means of obtaining power in mechanical operations, of the nature of a self-moving power or perpetual motion. Dated March 19.

David Hardie, of St. James's-street, in the parish of St. James, in the county of Middlesex; for an apparatus for weighing, in a manner less liable to error, and with greater expedition than by any of the modes of weighing hitherto used. Dated March 19.

John Glover, of Great Lever, in the county of Somerset, manufacturer; for a method of bleaching linen cloth, and other cloths. Dated March 24.

John Horatio Savigny, of King-street, in the parish of St. Paul, Covent-garden, surgeon's instrument-maker; for an instrument called a tourniquet, for more effectually hindering and stopping the effusion of blood in gun-shot and other bad wounds, &c. Dated March 31.

Charles Random Berenger, of Old Bond-street, print-seller; for a method of printing and colouring transparencies on silk, cotton, linen, and other wove manufactures, for carriage and window blinds, screens, &c. Dated March 31.

Benjamin Blackmore, of Wandsworth, in the county of Surrey, bolting-cloth manufacturer; for an elactic spring, for the improvement and more complete manufacturing and forming of bolting-cloths without seams. Dated March 31.

John Antes, of Fulnick, near Leeds, in the county of York, gentleman; for a machine to turn over the leaves of any music-book, by means of a pedal, or a motion with the knee. Dated April 10.

William Pocock, of the parish of Leyton, in the county of Essex, carpenter; for a machine for raising, lowering, and moving heavy bodies. Dated April 23.

William Collins, of Greenwich, in the county of Kent, esq.; for the application of sundry articles and materials, to be used chiefly for the preservation of shipping and marine purposes. Dated April 23.

James Richards, of Sheldon, in the county of Warwick, gentleman; for a machine, or machines, for setting, or depositing in the ground, grain and seeds. Dated April 26.

Matthias Koops, of Queen-street, Ranelagh, in the county of Middlesex, gentleman; for a mode of extracting printing and writing ink from printed and written paper, and converting the paper from which the ink is extracted into pulp. Dated April 28.

John Marshal, of Gerrard-street, in the parish of St. Anne, Soho, in the county of Middlesex,

cabinet-maker; for a new-invented dining and other tables, on an improved construction. Dated April 29.

Robert Darby, bright-smith, and Morgan Nichols, surgeon, of the city of Bath; for a method of making portable ovens, in various sizes, forms, and shapes. Dated May 1.

William Raybould, of Great Sutton-street, Clerkenwell, in the county of Middlesex, brass-founder; for candlesticks upon entire new principles, which will receive, and hold firm, candles of various sizes. Dated May 1.

Richard Gillow, of Oxford-street, in the county of Middlesex, cabinet-maker; for improvements in the method of constructing dining and other tables. Dated May 1.

George Froschle, of Great-Pulteney-street, in the county of Middlesex, musical-instrument-maker; for improvements in the pedal-harp. Dated May 3.

William Moorcroft, of Oxford-road, in the county of Middlesex, veterinary-surgeon; for a further new and improved method of making and manufacturing horse-shoes. Dated May 3.

Edward Simpson, of Lilley-pot-lane, in the city of London, straw-hat manufacturer, and Caleb Isbister, of Banners-square, Old-street, in the county of Middlesex, cabinet-maker; for an improved manufacture of straw-plait, made of split straw, presenting only the outside surface of the straw to the eye; and also of other plait of split straw, laid, put, or stuck upon silk, paper, or wood. Dated May 8.

John Whitton, of Kingston-upon-Hull, merchant; for a lead saccharum, for the use of calico-printers, and several other useful purposes. Dated May 10.

Robert Fryer and Samuel Fryer, of Rastrick, in the county of York, woollen-manufacturers; for a mode of manufacturing the down or wool of seals, by mixing it with sheep or lamb's-wool, preparing it to be carded, roved, or spun, into yarn; which yarn will be capable of being woven into silk, linen, woollen, or cotton, into a cloth fit for garments. Dated May 13.

William Milner, of Leeds, in the county of York, white-smith; for a method of making women's pattens. Dated May 15.

Peter Davy, of the parish of Christ-Church, in the county of Surrey, coal-merchant; for improved fuel. Dated May 20.

Robert Mears, of Froome, in the county of Somerset, dyer; for a machine for cutting standing corn, grass, and the like. Dated May 20.

Chester Gould, of the town of Rome, in the county of Oneida, in the state of New York, merchant; for an instrument or log for ascertaining a ship's distance at sea. Dated May 20.

Joseph Gaston John Baptiste de Thiville, of Boulton-street, Piccadilly, in the county of Middlesex, gentleman; for a lamp or light, for lighting chambers, rooms, halls, &c. Dated May 26.

Dudley Adams, of Fleet-street, London, optician; for a method of rendering telescopes more portable than hitherto, upon a new principle. Dated May 30.

William Turner, of Penshurst, Kent, paper-manufacturer; for a

machine to be applied to, and adopted in, the construction of wheel-carriages; for improving the principle, and increasing the power, of the draught, so as to reduce the quantity of active force necessary to be employed therein. Dated May 30.

Joseph Weekes, of Plympton-Maurice, Devon, tanner; for an apparatus, or set of machinery, for a tannery. Dated June 10.

Samuel Wyatt, of Chelsea-college, Middlesex, architect; for a method of making and constructing bridges, warehouses, and other buildings, without the use of wood, as a necessary constituent part thereof. Dated June 10.

William Johnson, of Widmore-house, Bromley, Kent, esq.; for a machine with new means of obtaining power in mechanical operations of the nature of a self-moving power, or perpetual motion. Dated June 10.

Ebenezer Palmer, Cheapside, London; for a metallic hinge or chain, whereby the art of binding books is greatly aided and improved, particularly merchants' accompt-books. Dated June 13.

Henry Tickell, Mansel-street, Whitechapel, brewer; for a method of more effectually dissolving and extracting the virtues, and preserving the essential oil of hops, malt, and other vegetable substances used in brewing, distilling, &c. Dated June 13.

John Cooch, of Harleston, Northampton, farmer; for a machine for the purpose of winnowing or dressing of corn or grain for the use of bread, cattle, or seed. Dated June 17.

William Weller, Cavendish-street, Cavendish-square, Middlesex, gentleman; for a method of manufacturing, forming, making, and engraving, copper-plates, for printing policies to secure persons from loss of property of certain descriptions. Dated June 17.

George Smart, of Camden Town, Middlesex, timber-merchant; for a method of combining masts, yards, bowsprits, &c. hollow, so as to give them lightness and strength; and which may be applied to other useful purposes. Dated June 17.

Robert Fryer, of Rastrick, near Halifax, Yorkshire, woollen-manufacturer, and James Bennett, of Manchester, Lancaster, wool-stapler; for a method of manufacturing, cutting, dressing, dying, and finishing of cloth. Dated June 20.

Thomas Paton, of Christ-Church, Surry, engine maker and smith; for improvements in the construction of mills for grinding sugar-canes. Dated June 24.

George Harris, of Bunhill-row, Middlesex, working goldsmith; for new-invented boxes, on an entire new principle, for snuffs, essences, &c. Dated July 1.

John Elwick, of Wakefield, Yorkshire, upholder; for a new method of framing together chairs and sofas of every kind, and which invention is intended to be applied to every description of household furniture. Dated July 1.

Joseph Huddart, of Islington, Middlesex, esq.; for improvements in the tawning and manufacturing of cordage. Dated July 1.

George Holland, of Holborn, Middlesex, hosier: for improvements in woollen-yarn, worsted,

silk, and various other kinds of spun materials, for the purpose of manufacture. Dated July 2.

John Lockett, of Donnington, Berks, linen-manufacturer; for a new box and axletree for carriages of every description; and for lathes and grind-stones, upon a new and improved principle. Dated July 8.

Thomas Smyth, of Exeter, Devon, esq.; for a method of preparing colours in cakes and powder from logwood, and other vegetable substances, for dying and painting. Dated July 16.

John Baptist Denize, of George-street, Portman-square, Middlesex, chymist; for a cement for various purposes. Dated July 16.

Emanuel Hesse, of St. Mary-le-bonne, Middlesex, gentleman; for improvements in stirrups. Dated July 24.

Thomas Penn, of Nottingham, mechanic; for a mode of sinking, locking up the jacks, pressing, drawing back the needle-bar, and keeping up the jack in frames, for the more simple and expeditious frame-work knitting of silk, thread, cotton, and worsted. Dated July 24.

Anthony Cesari de Poggi, of New Bond-street, Middlesex, artist; for improvements in the construction and using of ordnance to be employed both in the sea and land service. Dated July 24.

Henry Cundell, jun. of the Minories, Middlesex, druggist; for a composition called *Cundell's Myoctonus*, for destroying rats, and other destructive vermin. Dated July 26.

Peter Litherland, of Liverpool, Lancaster, watch-maker; for a method of keeping in tune various musical instruments, by means of an apparatus. Dated July 31.

George Medhurst, of Battle-Bridge, Middlesex, engineer; for a method of driving carriages of all kinds without the use of horses. Dated August 2.

Innocenzo Della Lend, of Piccadilly, Middlesex, M.D. and surgeon; for a medicine called "Phlogistical and fixed Earth of Mars, or Powder of Mars," for the cure of various diseases. Dated August 2.

Matthias Koops, of Queen-street, Ranelagh, Middlesex, gentleman; for a method of manufacturing paper from straw, hay, thistles, waste and refuse of hemp and flax, and different kinds of wood and bark, fit for printing, and other useful purposes. Dated August 2.

Isaac Hadley Reddell, of Birmingham, Warwickshire; for a method of constructing carriages for the conveyance of merchandize either by land or water; which carriages may be removed, either loaded or unloaded, from the land to the water, or from the water to the land, with care, expedition, and safety. Dated August 2.

Isaac Hadley Reddell, of Birmingham, aforesaid; for a method of making stirrups. Dated, August 2.

Thomas Gill, esq. of Birmingham, aforesaid; for a new method of rifling the bores or calibres of cannon, and of musket, carbine, gun, and pistol barrels. Dated August 2.

Isaac Hadley Reddell, of Birmingham, aforesaid; for his new-invented method of constructing travelling carriages, which are more safe, and in many respects

more eligible, than those which are now in common use. Dated August 3.

John and James Robertson, engineers, Glasgow; for their new-invented method of applying steam in the working of steam-engines, by which a great saving of fuel is obtained. Dated August 13.

Robert Sutton, of Barton-upon-Humber, Lincolnshire, clerk; for his new-invented sails for windmills, on an improved construction, whose motion and power are regulated by gravitation. Dated August 13.

Joseph Egg, of Great Windmill-street, Westminster, gun-maker; for his new-invented method of bending steel without the assistance of heat, which may be applied to the manufacturing of surgical instruments, and to a variety of other useful purposes. Dated August 31.

Benjamin Batley, of the parish of Streatham, Surry, merchant; for his new-invented method of curing and preserving herrings and sprats. Dated September 11.

James Hitchcock, of Kirby-street, Hatton-garden, in the parish of St. Andrew, Holborn, gentleman; for his new-invented art or method of changing and converting skins of parchment and vellum into leather, and making such leather water-proof. Dated September 15.

Thomas Bowman, of New Bond-street, in the parish of Saint George, Hanover-square, in the county of Middlesex, perukemaker; for a new-invented method of making perukes or wigs, with fastenings made of a certain elastic compressed steel spring or springs, and also with other flat springs or wires, made of steel, for the closer adhesion of the points and whiskers to the head and face. Dated October 21.

William Plenty, of the town of Southampton, carpenter; for his new invented pump, and a plough upon an improved construction.—Dated October 11.

Thomas Binns, of Great Barlow-street, St. Mary-la-bonne, Middlesex, water-closet-maker; for his new invented method of applying heat for the purpose of melting and manufacturing animal fat, and a variety of other solid substances. Dated October 27.

Isaac Hawkins, of Glossop, Derby; for his new invention applicable to musical instruments; the principles of which are also designed to be applied to other machinery. Dated November 13.

David Mushet, of the city of Glasgow, gentleman; for his new-invented processes applicable to metallurgy, or the manufacturing of metal or metals, not only from their metallic state or states, to the completion of the various articles or utensils usually made of such metal or metals, but also, from the state of the ore into their metallic state or states, in bars, ingots, or otherwise. Dated November 13.

James Potts, of Belford, Northumberland, clock and watch-maker; for his new-invented artificial leg and arm, upon a new or improved construction. Dated November 15.

John Turnbull, junior, of Cordale-Printfield, Dumbarton, North Britain, calico-printer; for his new-invented processes, or improvements of processes, and apparatus applicable to the bleach-

ing or whitening, and to the purifying, washing, and cleansing, of cotton, flax, hemp, silk, and wool; and to the purifying of goods of every description made or manufactured of cotton, flax, hemp, silk, and wool. Dated November 15.

John White, of the parish of St. Paul, Covent-Garden, Middlesex, tin-plate-worker; and James Smethurst, of St. Margaret's Hill, Southwark, Surry, tin-plate-worker; for a new-invented lamp and burner. Dated November 15.

Thomas Grylls, of Launceston, Cornwall; for his new-invented stop-cock for barrels, and other vessels, which prevents the wasting of liquor. Dated November 15.

Joseph Sigmond, of Bath, Somerset, surgeon-dentist; for his new-invented preservative lotion and dentifrice, which he calls the British Imperial Lotion and Dentifrice, for preserving and beautifying the teeth and gums. Dated November 25.

Stephen Hooper, of Margate, in the Isle of Thanet, and county of Kent, gentleman; for his new-invented method, by means of certain machinery, of cleansing and deepening dry harbours, rivers, creeks, &c. part of which machinery may be applied to other useful purposes. Dated Dec. 4.

John Prosser, of Charing-cross, Middlesex, sword cutler; for a new-invented water-proof pan and hammer, for gun and pistol-locks; and also a breech for gun and pistol-barrels, for the purpose of a quicker and more forcible explosion of gunpowder. Dated December 9.

William Playfair, of Great Brook Street, Fitzroy Square, Middlesex, gentleman, and Nicholas le Farre, of Still-Organ, near Dublin, in Ireland, but now residing in George-yard, Lombard-street, in the City of London, esq.; for their new-invented improvements in naval architecture, whereby all vessels of all burdens may be enabled to sail faster than they now do, particularly in a heavy sea. Dated December 12.

Joseph Eyre, of Sheffied, Yorkshire, wood-turner; for a method or process of impressing the japan upon ornamented handles of knives, forks, razors, and other cutlery-ware, made of wood, paper, &c. in imitation of handles made of tin or horn. Dated December 13.

Martha Gibbon, of King-street, Covent-garden, Middlesex, dress-maker; for a new-invented stay for women and others. Dated December 17.

Chester Gould, late of Rome, in the county of Oneida, in the state of New York, but now of Red-Lion-street, Clerkenwell, Middlesex, merchant; for additional improvements on an instrument or log for ascertaining a ship's distance, for which he obtained former letters patent in May last. Dated December 17.

James Duxburgh, of Manchester, Lancashire, calico-printer; for a machine or instrument to print distinct sprigs or spots on calico, cotton, stuffs, linen, silk, satin, cloth, woollen, baize, or leather, in a more complete and expeditious manner than has been hitherto used. Dated December 17.

John Sharren Ward, of Bruton, Somerstshire, silk-throwster; for a machine, upon new and improved principles, for the purpose

of doubling either silk, cotton, flax, hemp, worsted, yarn, or other threads. Dated December 30.

Thomas Grace, of Neat-House, in the parish of Saint George, Hanover-square, Middlesex, white-lead maker; for a method of making an acid for corroding lead, and for other purposes; and also a new method of preparing and making white-lead; either with or without the said acid. Dated December 30, 1800.

Lawson Hudleston, of Shaftesbury, Dorsetshire, esq.; for the method of conveying boats or barges from a higher level to a lower, and *vice versa*, on canals. Dated December 30.

ANTIQUITIES.

Some Observations upon the Life of Cecily, Duchess of York, Daughter of Ralph de Nevil, Earl of Westmoreland and of Richmond, by Joan, natural Daughter of John, Duke of Lancaster. From the Archaeologia.

VERY few persons have lived to see such great revolutions in their family as Cecily, Duchess of York. Her father, from a baron, became a great and puissant earl; and no less than nine of his sons were, by descent, marriage, or creation, peers of the realm, his daughters matched suitably with the first nobility or gentry.

The Nevils, his grandchildren, were, if possible, still more illustrious: their vast honours and alliances gave them almost the sovereign power, at least it gained them the power of making and unmaking kings; to this combined strength it was owing that the House of York, the eldest branch of that of Plantagenet, was able to assert its rights to the crown, and finally to obtain it for Cecily, the youngest of twenty-one children of Ralph, Earl of Westmoreland and Richmond, marrying Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, the Nevils thought it their interest to set him upon the throne.

Cecily was by birth a Lancastrian, her mother being the daughter of John, Duke of Lancaster, by his last Duchess, but born before marriage, consequently illegitimate; so that Joan was half sister to King Henry IV. and Cecily was first cousin one remove to King Henry VI.; this was of no avail when she married the representative of the second son of King Edward III. whose just rights had been usurped by King Henry IV. son of the Duke of Lancaster, the third son of that monarch. Yet there appeared but little probability of her husband's ever obtaining the crown, because it had been possessed by the reigning branch of Lancaster by three sovereigns; and the father of Richard her husband had been attainted and executed for treason.

Notwithstanding these discouraging circumstances, she saw her Lord, by the assistance of her family interest, raised to the important post of governor of the kingdom, and declared heir-apparent of the crown; the Parliament acknowledged his claim to be founded in justice, but permitted King Henry VI. the possessor, to enjoy the legal honours for his life, and, cutting off his son Edward, Prince of Wales, and

all others claiming from the unfortunate monarch, settled the succession in the Yorkists.

The ministers of King Henry VI. having given the Duke of York, her husband, the government of France and Normandy, taught him how to command, not to obey; this was tempting him beyond the power of forbearance, his just rights aided his ambition: nothing but success, or destruction, could be expected; his rashness only prevented the former, and though he fell, his acknowledged claim naturally vested in his son, who established it upon the ruin of the reigning branch of the Plantagenets.

It may be fairly asked, was it a fortunate or an unhappy event, that the Yorkists prevailed, even to themselves, and their friends, as it laid the foundation of so many misfortunes, and of such atrocious murders amongst them, as never, I think, have been paralleled in the Christian world? Very many of these Cecily lived to be a witness of, and after her death this cruel shedding of blood continued to rage with equal violence until the younger branches became remote, whilst the eldest one was more established.

These dreadful enormities were occasioned by the original quarrel between "the white and the red roses," and by the criminal ambition of the Princes of the former when they had obtained the crown, by the cruel policy of extirpating all those that were near in affinity to those two sanguinary characters King Henry VII. and King Henry VIII. and by the different settlements in remainder of the crown, as interest, affection, or caprice suggested to the several Princes who gained the throne.

The Duchess Cecily saw her own family, the Nevils, as great as subjects could be; she lived to see them confined within less than their original bounds under her father, with the misfortune of their being obnoxious to the Princes from a just jealousy of their former splendour, and the turbulent ambition that they had displayed, raising and debasing monarchs at their pleasure.

She saw her husband when just ascending the steps of the throne, by his rashness, killed in battle, and his head, separated from his body, in derision crowned with a paper diadem.

Of her sons, five died children *. Edward, the oldest surviving one, became King. The second Edmund, a youth of twelve years of age, was cruely put to death after the battle of Wakefield. George, the third son, who had been sometimes true, at others disloyal to his eldest brother and sovereign, was convicted, and put to death by the procurement of one, and at the order of another of his brothers. Richard, the youngest son, after usurping the regal honours, and disgracing himself by many murderous deeds, fell in the field of battle, fighting against a Prince who was descended from an illegitimate branch of the Lancaster line.

She had four daughters; Ursula, the youngest, died young and un-

* Henry, the eldest son of Cecily, Duchess of York, was so named in compliment to his godfather, King Henry VI.

married; Ann, who had two husbands, was married to Henry Holland, Duke of Exeter, godson to King Henry VI. who was so greatly attached to that pious, but weak Prince, that he never would desert his interest, though so contrary to his own; this displeased his Duchess so much, that she never was satisfied, until she procured a divorce from him; she saw him reduced to the most abject state of human wretchedness and woe at the court of Burgundy, as the faithful de Comines relates; he was soon after murdered. Ann married in his life-time a very inferior character, Sir Thomas St. Leger, Knight; she survived this alliance only two years, dying January 14, 1475. St. Leger was put to death at Exeter by King Richard III. for attempting to dethrone him, and this probably because that monarch had given the preference to the Earl of Lincoln in the succession of the crown to his daughter Ann, who became the wife of Sir George Manners, who in her right was Lord Roose; he is ancestor of the Dukes of Rutland. Elizabeth, second daughter of Cecily, married to John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, whose descendants were so peculiarly unfortunate. Margaret, the third daughter of the Duchess of York, was married to Charles the Rash, Duke of Burgundy, slain in 1477; she was the only one of her children who survived her, she not dying until 1503, and was the celebrated enemy to King Henry VII. and all the Lancastrians, spending her rich dower in projects to ruin that monarch, though the fate of Elizabeth his Queen, her niece and her children must have been included in it. The Emperor Charles V. was her godson, and was named after the Duke of Burgundy her late husband.

The Duchess Cecily of York was extremely unfortunate in the quarrels of her sons. Clarence was peculiarly turbulent, fickle, ambitious, avaricious, and rash. His quarrel with his brother Richard about his marriage, desirous of retaining the whole of the great possessions of the Earl of Warwick, Richard Nevil, significantly called the "king-maker," whose eldest daughter he had married, was perhaps the first cause of their extreme dislike to each other; and King Edward IV. never forgave him his disloyalty.

But if the relations of our common historians are to be credited, Cecily's sons were as defective in maternal, as fraternal affection; they say, that King Edward IV. slighted the good advice she gave him, when she requested his Majesty not to marry a subject, though he had thought it his duty to consult her upon it.

These writers relate that Clarence openly accused his mother of adultery, to stigmatize the King with bastardy, that he might claim the diadem at the expence of her honour, and that this was one of the accusations brought against him at his trial.

They also allege that Richard, improving upon the hint, persuaded the infamous Dr. Shaw at St. Paul's, and the Duke of Buckingham in Guildhall, that she had taken to her bed certain persons perfectly resembling Edward IV. and Clarence, by whom she had them, and that Richard only had

the features of the Duke of York, her husband, and consequently was the only son she had by the Duke.

All this is evidently only "Lancastrian tales." If Clarence was weak, the other brothers were not. All men would have looked upon Richard as such a monster, that he would never have gained his aim, if these relations had been made by his means.

The honourable Horatio Walpole, now Earl of Orford, calls Cecily "a Princess of spotless character," and she seems to have justly deserved it. Whatever Clarence might do against her fame, King Edward IV. and King Richard III. behaved with great honour and respect towards her.

The Paston Letters say she came to Coventry December 8, 1459, when her husband had just been attainted, with their eldest son, and many others, by the parliament. In January 1459-60 she was "still again received in Kent," whilst the Duke of York, her husband, was at Durham, "strengthened with his Earls and homagers." Christopher Hausson writes to John Paston, esq. a letter dated from London, October 12, 1460, that "the Monday after our Lady-day, there came hither to my master's place, my master Bowser, Sir Harry Ratford, John Clay, and the harbinger of my Lord of March, desiring that my Lady of York, and her two sons, my Lord George and my Lord Richard, and my Lady Margaret, her daughter; which I have granted them, in your name, to lie here until Michaelmas; and she had lain here two days, but she had tidings of the landing of my Lord at Chester. The Tuesday next after, my Lord sent for her, that she should come to him at Harford, Hereford, and thither she went, leaving the children, whom the Lord of March, her eldest son, every day paid visits to."

Soon after this, namely, December 31, 1460, the Duke, her husband fell at Wakefield. Here are proofs sufficient of her love to her children, obedience to her husband, and the regard of the public towards her.

She was equally respected in her widowed state, and this too at a time when her late husband was attainted, and she stripped of every thing which rank and fortune gave: for her person was then safe, even amongst her enemies, and her reputation remained unsullied, though it was so much to the interest of the Lancastrians to have aspersed her character, if there had been even a shadow, or semblance of probability of doing it, so as to gain belief.

In the reign of King Edward IV. she was treated with the respect due to his mother. In 1461 he sent under his sign manual a letter acquainting her of his having defeated King Henry VI. with every particular of the bloody battle of Towton. Fabian says, that in February 1470, when the nobility strove to make up the breach between King Edward IV. and Clarence, these royal brothers met for that purpose at Baynard Castle, where the Duchess, their mother, then lay.

She opposed the marriage of her eldest son King Edward IV. with his subject Elizabeth, widow of Sir Richard Widvile, knight, as highly impolitic, and injurious

to his dignity and interest. But love was a more powerful passion than duty, or even his own security. The King, however, does not appear to have in the least derogated from his wonted respect to his mother afterwards, though the influence of his Queen was superior to that of the widow of his father.

The Queen was more beautiful than wise, more accomplished than politic, for she studied more to fill the court of her husband with her own relations, than to gain the friendship of the King's. This impolitic conduct gave a mutual disgust to the royal family and the nobility. Elizabeth was as intriguing as her predecessor, Queen Margaret, and it was equally ruinous to the interest of her offspring.

No doubt it was on this account that Cecily joined with the grandees, upon King Edward IV.'s death, in wishing to see the administration, even the kingdom, put into the hands of her only surviving son, who became King Richard III.

By the "Historic doubts" it appears that King Richard's first council was held in her house, and that he wrote her a most affectionate letter from Pontefract, June 3, after he was King. The language is humble and respectful.

However, it must be supposed she was greatly shocked at his conduct, when he had thrown off the mask. When he had bastardized all King Edward IV.'s children, when he had imprisoned, if not destroyed, the sons of that monarch, and she saw the daughters of Edward, instead of sharing the thrones of the greatest potentates in Europe, doomed to be only the wives of some of their father's subjects; when she saw him change the succession so frequently, and at length saw it taken by him from the Plantagenets, she must have been extremely hurt. But all those tales about Richard's defaming her character, as well as the pretended aspersions of it by Clarence, Shaw, and Buckingham, appear totally unfounded.

All Richard's projects failed, and by his death in the battle of Bosworth, she saw the crown go to an illegitimate stem of the Lancastrian line. It was, however, some satisfaction to her, no doubt, to have it settled in her issue by the marriage of King Henry VII. with her eldest grand-daughter, Elizabeth, the heir of King Edward IV. She lived to see several children of this union.

This prospect of having the succession of the crown permanent in her descendants was not, however, without great alloy, for Henry, from fear and hatred to the Yorkists, proscribed every branch of her family, and which, in a few years after her death, were involved in one common ruin; this cruelty in a little time the Tudors retaliated upon themselves. Cecily's venerable age and virtues prevented the royal miser from stripping her of the rich dower she possessed.

The Duchess appears to have had her general residence at Baynard castle, in London, and Berkhampstead, in Herts. The former was given by King Henry VI. to Richard, Duke of York, her husband, upon the death of Humphry Duke of Gloucester. In this palace

in 1458 the Duke of York lodged his train of four hundred men, and all his noble partizans with their warlike suits, to deliberate about the most effectual means of asserting his claim to the crown: in this palace also, his son Edward, Earl of March, in 1460, with the friends of the house of York, met and voted to crown him; and here likewise Richard III. with seeming reluctance was prevailed upon to take the kingdom. King Henry VII. obtaining it upon the Duchess's death, rebuilt it, says Stow in his History of London, more in the manner of a palace than a castle. Berkhampstead castle also came again into the crown; in this castle King James I. had his children brought up; it was burnt in the reign of King Charles I. and now there is scarce a vestige remaining.

Though these were the usual, yet they were not the only residences of the Duchess, for in August 1475, in the reign of King Edward IV. she was at the Mitred abbey of St. Bennet at Holm, in the parish of Horning, in Norfolk; this we learn by a letter which Sir John Paston wrote to his son: in it he says, "My Lady of York, and all her household, were there, and where she proposed to reside until the King, her son, came from beyond the sea, and longer if she liked the air there, as it was said." Edward IV. was then in France.

In the reign of King Richard III. she resided in London, but she died at her castle of Berkhampstead, and was buried at her own desire at Fotheringay, in Northamptonshire, by the Duke of York, her late husband: of whose splendid funeral Sandford gives a particular relation; it was all but regal: she died in more frugal times. The chancel of the choir being destroyed, Queen Elizabeth, her great-great-granddaughter, ordered the bodies of this illustrious couple to be placed in a vault prepared for that purpose in the church *.

Many and great were the changes this Princess saw; she lived in the reign of five sovereigns. She saw the crown of France wrested from the infant brow of King Henry VI. and she saw him deprived of that of England, restored, again dethroned, and his innocent blood cruelly spilt. She saw her son, King Edward IV. crowned, dethroned, restored, and cut off by his intemperance at an early age. She saw her grandson King Edward V. upon the throne, but deprived of his sceptre, imprisoned, and murdered, by whom, and when, perhaps, she never knew. She saw her youngest son King Richard III. usurp the regal honours, and

* In "a collection of ordinances and regulations for the government of the royal household made in divers reigns from King Edward III. to King William and Queen Mary," printed by this society, is "a compendous recytacion compiled of the order, rules, and constructione of the house of the Righte Excellent Princesse Cecill, late mother unto the right noble Prince, Kinge Edward the Fourthe." In which is also given, an account how she spent her time; it does her great honour. She not only attended to prayers in her chapel, but at meals had "lectures of holy matter read to her." The orders and rules seem to have been taken in the reign of King Henry VII.

lose them soon after, with his life, when not more than thirty-two, or at the most thirty-five years of age; and finally, she saw the enemy of her family, who had vanquished him, proclaimed by the name of King Henry VII.

In her life-time there were these Queens: Joan, relict of King Henry IV. Catherine, the dowager of King Henry V. Margaret, Elizabeth, Ann, and Elizabeth, the consorts of King Henry VI. King Edward IV. King Richard III. and King Henry VII. It is difficult to say which of these illustrious females was most unfortunate. Cecily was deprived of the title of Queen only by the premature death of her husband, owing to his own intemperate anger.

She saw these Princes of Wales: Edward, the amiable son of the unhappy King Henry VI. Richard, Duke of York, her husband, for so was he created. Edward, her grandson, the son of King Edward IV. and who afterwards was styled King Edward V. Edward, son of King Richard III. also her grandson, and Arthur, her great-grandson, the son of King Henry VII. None of these Princes of Wales were fortunate, for they all came to violent deaths, except the two last, and they died at a very early age.

She lived to see all these different modes of succession settled as power or interest prevailed. Edward, Prince of Wales, was recognized as successor to his father, King Henry VI.; but this Prince was deprived of all claim to the crown, it being transferred from him, to be vested in the Duke of York, her husband: she saw him attainted, as has been mentioned; after which Prince Edward was restored to his birth-right, but she saw him again deprived in favour of King Edward IV. and what issue he might have; but Prince Edward was again reinstated in the order of succession, with remainder over to George, Duke of Clarence, and his issue, in exclusion of the exiled King Edward IV. and his progeny. But all these strange projects were overthrown by the restoration of King Edward IV. when the succession was renewed to his children. Upon the death of that luxurious monarch she saw his issue bastardized, and the reversion of the crown given to Edward, Prince of Wales, son of King Richard III. and after his death, she saw the usurper, her son, settle the succession upon Edward, Earl of Warwick, son of the late Duke of Clarence; but upon some new turn of affairs, it was taken from this grandson of hers, to be given to another; it being settled by Richard upon John de la Pole, the son of her daughter Elizabeth, by John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk: but this disposition of things was overturned soon after by the event of the battle of Bosworth, and this unfortunate Prince, who became Earl of Lincoln, hating the change of affairs, was slain in 1489, at the battle of Stoke, fighting against King Henry VII. in whose issue the succession at length rested.

Of the family of Nevil I cannot but observe, that it has given one Queen, five Duchesses, an Archbishop of York, a Duke of Bedford, a Marquis Montacute, six Earls of Westmoreland, two Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, an

Earl of Kent, an Earl of Northumberland, and an Earl of Richmond, the former resigned for the higher title of Marquis of Montacute, and the latter given only for life, to the first Earl of Westmoreland of this family, several Countesses, and a Bishop of Durham. These Baronies were possessed by different branches of this house, Nevil, Furnival, Talbut, Ferrers of Oversley, Seymour, Latimer, and Abergavenny, now erected into an earldom; and many of the females by marriage became baronesses. There were these great officers of the name, two Lord Chancellors, an Earl Marshal, a Lord High Admiral of England, two Admirals of the North, and two Judges. They numbered eight Knights of the Garter, and ten of the Bath.

Of the Poles I must remark, that our peerages do not tell us whether Sir Richard Pole, who married Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, daughter of George, Duke of Clarence, was in any way related to John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, the husband of Elizabeth, one of the daughters of Cecily, Duchess of York. Of the Poles who intermarried with the Clarence branch of the royal Plantagenets, there were a Cardinal Archbishop of Canterbury, a Baron Montague, and a Knight of the Garter. Of the de la Poles, were four Earls, and two Dukes of Suffolk, one earl of Lincoln, a Lord High Chancellor, two Prime Ministers, one Lord High Admiral of England, one Admiral of the North, one Judge; three Knights of the Garter, one of the Bath, and a Banneret.

These are the observations that have occurred to me in contemplating the eventful life of Cecily, Duchess of York, from whom all the succeeding sovereigns of England are descended.

It was the period of "illustrious unfortunates" owing to the constant revolutions that followed fast upon each other.

Wretchedness marked the fate of the Plantagenets and the Nevils, alike remembered for their ambition and their crimes.

The de la Poles were the only family of that time who rose from trade to splendour, and it even exceeded the Nevils in dignity, in power, and in misfortunes.

A complete List of the Royal Navy of England, in 1599. *Extracted from an Original Manuscript in the possession of Dr. Leith, of Greenwich. From the Archaeologia.*

A complete list of the Royal Navy of England in the year 1599, together with the number of Brass and Cast-Iron Ordnance, of the different species then in use, viz. *Cannon, Demi-Cannon, Culverins, Demi-Culverins, Sakers, Mynions, Falcons, Falconetts, Portpece-halls, Portpece-Chambers, Fowler-Halls, Fowler-Chambers,* and *Curtalls,* on board of each, or as it is expressed in the title-page, "At the Shippes or Navy Royall lying in harborowe as well in the Roade by Chatham in the Ryver of Medwey-waters, as also upon present occasyons by Gravesend in the Ryver of Thames. And lastly, at her Highenes Shippes then serving

abroade on the Seas." Taken by the Queen's Commission, dated at Westminster, 3d of March, in the 37th Year of her Reign, and directed to William, Lord Burleigh, Lord High Treasurer of England, Charles Lord Howard, Lord High Admiral of England, Henry Lord of Hunsdon, &c. &c. and subsequent Orders of the above Commissioners, the last whereof is dated April 6, 1599.

1. *The Achatis*, of five brass *falcons*, six *demi-culverins* of cast-iron, and two *mynions* of the same.

It appears from Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts that *the falcon* was a species of ordnance of two inches and a half bore, weight of the shot two pounds; that the *demi-culverin* was another species of four inches bore, weight of the shot nine pounds and a half. And the *mynion*, another of three inches and a half bore, weight of the shot four pounds,

2. *The Adventure*, of four *culverins* of brass, eleven *demi-culverins* of the same, and five *sakers* of the same, with two brass *fowler-halls* and four brass *fowler-chambers*. The above authority states that the *culverin* was a species of ordnance of five inches and a half bore, weight of the shot seventeen pounds and a half. The *fowler* is not described by Monson, but is mentioned by Mr. Lodge in his Illustrations of British History, Vol. i. p. 4. in an account of "Ordenance and Artilery." Temp. Hen. 8. as follows:

Fowlers with their apparell, with *two chambers*.

The sacar, according to Monson, was a piece of ordnance of three inches and a half bore, weight of shot five pounds and a half.

3. *The Advantage*, of six *demi-culverins*, eight *sakers* and four *mynions*, all of cast-iron.

4. *The Amity* of Harwich *, a *drumler*, of four *demi-culverins*, and two *sakers* of cast-iron.

5. *The St. Andrew*, of six *culverins*, seven *demi-culverins*, three *sakers*, and one *mynion*; three *fowler-halls*, seven *fowler-chambers*, and two *curtalls*, all of brass; with two *culverins*, fourteen *demi-culverins*, four *sakers*, and one *mynion*, all of cast-iron.

Curtalls are not described by Sir William Monson, but are mentioned in Lodge's Illustrations of British History ut supra.

† *Curtowes* of metall, with all their apparell. 1.

* "*Dromunder*, Navigii genus apud veteres, quod Latini inferioris ævi *Dromones* nec non *Dromundos* dixêre. Vide Du Fresne, in Gloss. Et. Casiodorus. Lib. v. Epist 17. Gall. vet. *Dromond*. Angl. *Drumbler*. Vid. Nicod. Lex. Angl. A Græco δρομος, cursus, derivat Spelmannus, et cum illo quicquid fere est criticorum. Solus in diversa abit Verelius, qui exinde, quod *Dromunder* apud nos, *naves onerarias* tantum designare videtur, eas a Gothico *Droma*, lento gradu procedere, derivat."

Johannis Ihre Glossarium Suio-Gothicum in Verbo.

† In the original MS. account of Ordnance, &c. 1 Ed. VI. in the Archives of this Society, in the account of Calis, is the following article: "Shott of yrone for *gret Curtowes* two hundred; as are the subsequent in the account of Hurst Castle.

"*Curtall Cannon* of brasse oone."

"*Curtoll Cannon* Shot of *six ynches and a quarter* thirty-five."

The following, Ibid. is in the account of West Cowes Castle;

"*Curtoll Cannon* of *brasse* furnyshed, oone.

6. *The Antelope*, of four *culverins*, five *demi-culverins*, four *sakers*, one *falcon*, two *portpece-halls* *, four *portpece-chambers*, two *fowler-halls*, four *fowler-chambers*, all of brass; with eight *demi-culverins* and four *sakers* of cast-iron.

Portpieces are not described by Sir William Monson, but are mentioned in Mr. Topham's Historical Description of a Second Ancient Picture in Windsor Castle. Archaeologia, Vol. vi. p. 190.

Porte pieces of Irone with *Shotte for porte pieces.*

Also Ibid. p. 216. as Furniture of the Harry Grace de Dieu.

For the meaning of the word "*Chambers* †" used here, see Mr. King's Account of an Old Piece of Ordnance. Archaeol. Vol v. p. 150. "Being composed of two parts, thirty or forty *chambers* may be always at hand, ready charged, and with the greatest facility adapted to the place made for receiving them."

7. *The Advice*, of four *sakers*, two *mynions*, and three *falcons*, all of brass.

8. *The Arke*, of four *cannon*, four *demi-cannon*, twelve *culverins*, twelve *demi-culverins*, six *sakers*, four *port piece-halls*, seven *port piece chambers*, two *fowler-halls*, and four *fowler chambers*, all of brass.

The Ark appears to have been a First Rate. Sir William Monson, ut supra, describes the *cannon* to have been of eight inches bore, weight of shot sixty pounds, and the *demi-cannon* of six inches and three-quarters bore, weight of shot thirty-three pounds and a half.

9. *The Aunswere*, of two *fowler-halls*, and four *fowler-chambers* of brass, with five *demi-culverins*, eight *sakers*, and two *mynions*, of cast-iron.

10. *The Ayde*, of one *saker*, two *mynions*, four *falcons*, of brass; with eight *demi-culverins*, one *saker*, and two *mynions*, of cast-iron.

11. *The Beare*, of two *sakers*, of cast-iron.

12. *The White Beare*, of three *cannon*, six *demi-cannon*, seven *culverins*, seven *demi-culverins*, two *portpeece halls*, and seven *fowler-halls*, all of brass; with five *demi-cannon*, and three *demi-culverins*, all of cast-iron.

13. *The Charles*, of eight *sakers*, and two *falcons*, of brass; with two *fowler-halls*, and four *fowler-chambers* of the same.

14. *The Crane*, of two *demi-*

The same entry occurs in the account of Yarmouth Castle.
In the account of East Tilbury Bulwark, Essex, we read of
"*Curtall Sacres of yron* mounted uppon cariage with shodde wheles."

* In an original MS. containing an account of Ordnance, &c. 1 Ed. VI. in the Archives of this Society, in the account of those in Wark Castle, in Northumberland, is the following article:
"*Halls of a porte pece* dismounted, oone."

† In "England's Elizabeth by Haywood, 1632, p. 186. is the following passage, wherein the word "*Chambers*" stands alone for a piece of ordnance.
"As she went through Temple Barre, the ordinance and *Chambers* of the Tower went off, the report whereof gave much content."
In the above-mentioned original MS. in the Archives of this Society, in the account of Calis, is the following entry:
"Great *Chambers* of yron serving no piece, eight."

culverins, two *sakers*, two *mynions*, two *fowler-halls*, and three *fowler-chambers*, all of brass; with four *demi-culverins*, five *sakers*, and four *mynions*, all of cast-iron.

15. *The Cygnett*, of two *falconetts* of brass, and one *falcon* of cast-iron. Sir William Monson, ut supra, describes the *falconett* to have been a piece of ordnance of two inches bore, weight of the shot one pound and a half.

16. *The Due Repulse*, of two *cannon*, three *demi-cannon*, thirteen *culverins*, fourteen *demi-culverins*, six *sakers*, two *port-peece halls*, four *port-peece chambers*, two *fowler halls*, and four *fowler chambers*, all of brass.

17. *The Dreadnought*, of two *cannon*, four *culverins*, eleven *demi-culverins*, ten *sakers*, two *falcons*, four *fowler halls*, and eight *fowler chambers*, all of brass.

18. *The Defyance*, of fourteen *culverins*, fourteen *demi-culverins*, six *sakers*, two *port-peece halls*, four *port-peece chambers*, two *fowler halls*, and four *fowler chambers*, all of brass.

19. *The Daysey, a drumler*, of four *sakers* of cast-iron.

20. *The Elizabeth Jonas*, of three *cannon*, two *demi-cannon*, eight *culverins*, four *sakers*, one *mynion*, two *falcons*, one *port-peece hall*, two *port-peece chambers*, five *fowler halls*, and ten *fowler chambers*, all of brass; with four *demi-cannon*, nine *demi-culverins*, and five *sakers*, of cast-iron.

21. *The Eliza Bonaventur*, of two *cannon*, two *demi-cannon*, eleven *culverins*, fourteen *demi-culverins*, four *sakers*, two *mynions*, two *port-peece halls*, four *port-peece chambers*, two *fowler halls*, and four *fowler chambers*.

22. *The Foresight*, of ten *demi-culverins*, eight *sakers*, three *mynions*, two *falcons*, (and two *Spanish*) three *fowler halls*, and six *fowler chambers*, all of brass; with four *demi-culverins* of cast-iron.

23. *The Guardland*, of sixteen *culverins*, twelve *demi-culverins*, two *sakers*, two *port-peece halls*, four *port-peece chambers*, two *fowler-halls*, and three *fowler chambers*, all of brass; with two *demi-culverins*, and two *sakers*, of cast-iron.

24. *The Hoape*, of two *cannon*, four *demi-cannon*, nine *culverins*, eleven *demi-culverins*, four *sakers*, four *port-peece halls*, eight *port-peece chambers*, two *fowler halls*, and four *fowler chambers*, all of brass.

25. *The Lyon*, of four *demi-cannon*, eight *culverins*, twelve *demi-culverins*, nine *sakers*, one *falcon*, eight *fowler halls*, and sixteen *fowler chambers*, all of brass; with two *demi-culverins*, of cast-iron.

26. *The Marie Rose*, of four *demi-cannon*, ten *culverins*, seven *demi-culverins*, four *sakers*, three *port-peece halls*, seven *port-peece chambers*, all of brass; with one *culverin*, and three *demi-culverins* of cast-iron.

27. *The Mere Honora*, of four *demi-cannon*, fifteen *culverins*, sixteen *demi-culverins*, four *sakers*, and two *fowler-halls*, all of brass.

28. *The St. Mathew*, of four *cannon*, four *demi-cannon*, sixteen *culverins*, eight *demi-culverins*, two *sakers*, three *mynions*, and two *falcons*, all of brass; with six *demi-culverins*, two *sakers*, and one *mynion* of cast-iron.

29. *The Mercury*, or Galley *Mercury*, of one *culverin*, one *saker*,

and four *fowler chambers*, all of brass.

30. *The Marlin*, of three *falcons* of brass, and four *falcons* of cast-iron.

31. *The Moone*, of four *sakers*, four *mynions*, and one *falcon*, all of brass.

32. *The Nonpareille*, of two *cannon*, three *demi-cannon*, seven *culverins*, eight *demi-culverins*, twelve *sakers*, four *port-peece halls*, eight *port-peece chambers*, four *fowler halls*, and eight *fowler chambers*, all of brass.

33. *The Quittance*, of four *demi-culverins*, four *sakers*, two *fowler halls*, and four *fowler chambers*, all of brass; with two *culverins*, two *demi-culverins*, three *sakers*, and four *mynions*, all of cast-iron.

34. *The Rainbowe*, of six *demi-cannon*, twelve *culverins*, seven *demi-culverins*, and one *saker*, all of brass.

35. *The Skoute*, of four *sakers*, and six *falcons*, all of brass.

36. *The Swift-suer*, of two *cannon*, five *culverins*, eight *demi-culverins*, five *sakers*, two *falcons*, four *fowler halls*, and eight *fowler chambers*, all of brass; with four *demi-culverins*, and three *sakers*, of cast-iron.

37. *The Spye*, of four *sakers*, two *mynions*, and three *falcons*, all of brass.

38. *The Swallowe*, of two *mynions*, one *falcon*, two *port-peece chambers*, and three *fowler-chambers*, all of brass.

39. *The Sonne*, of one *demi-culverin*, and four *falcons*, all of brass.

40. *The Triumphe*, of four *cannon*, three *demi-cannon*, seventeen *culverins*, eight *demi-culverins*, six *sakers*, one *port-peece hall*, four *port-peece chambers*, five *fowler halls*, and twenty *fowler chambers*, all of brass.

41. *The Tremontana*, of twelve *sakers*, seven *mynions*, and two *falcons*, all of brass.

42. *The Teyger*, of six *demi-culverins*, fourteen *sakers*, and two *falcons*, all of cast-iron.

43. *The Vauntguard*, of four *demi-cannon*, fourteen *culverins*, eleven *demi-culverins*, and two *sakers*, all of brass.

44. *The Victory*, of four *culverins*, twelve *demi-culverins*, nine *sakers*, seven *fowler halls*, thirteen *fowler chambers*, all of brass; with eight *culverins*, and six *demi-culverins*, of cast-iron.

45. *The Wastspight*, of two *cannon*, two *demi-cannon*, thirteen *culverins*, ten *demi-culverins*, and two *sakers*, all of brass.

ATTESTATION.

"For the remayne viewed and taken at Her Majesties Shippes lying in harborowe as well in the road by Chatham within the river of Medway waters, as also by Gravesende or other place within the ryver of Thames. Wee who receaved order as aforesaide for the accomplishment of that duty doe witness the contents thereof by subscripc'on of o'r names.

"Step. Rislesden, John Conyers.
Jhon Lee, J. Linewraye, Fra. Gofton, G. Hegge.

"Concerning the testimonial and acknowledgmen't of so muche as in this booke is avouched then to remayne in such her Highenes Shippes as were ymploied in service on the seas, Wee the officers of her Majesties Ordinance, and tha foresaid John Conyers and Fraunes Gofton, her Ma'' auditors

of the preste whoe have perused the Indentures of the Mr. Gouners of those shippes in that behalfe have here unto subscribed o^r^ names.

"Step. Rislesden, J. Linewraye, Jhon Lee, Jo. Conyers, Fra. Gofton, G. Hegge."

---

*Copy of an original Manuscript entitled "Instructionns for every Centioner to observe duringe the continuance of the Frenche Fleet uppon this Cost until knowlege shal be had of ther dispercement, given by Sir George Carye, Captein, this fyrst of September, 1586 *." From the Archaeologia.*

Imprimis, that all the beacons, especially thos of the est and west forlands be dubled, garded with such watchmen as shal be of judgment and descretionn, uppon the fyrst occasion of approche offered by the ennymie to rayse the laram by bells or hoblers; and yf they shall procead forthe to landing to fyer the beacons.

That yow appoynt the serchers of every beacon dilligentlye to attend ther charge from tyme to tyme, to advertis yow the centioners what shal be discryed, and that uppon anny matter discovered yow advertise me with dilligens what shal be seen.

That yow appoynt the beacons sufficientlie to be supplied with fuell, and that yow appoynt for every day watche a gare †, reddy

* The subsequent extract from Strype's Annals, A. D. 1586, contains the history of this event.

"The Queen this year had enemies on all hands of her, and continual apprehensions of invasion, especially from Spain, now that the Queen had taken the people of the Low Countries under her protection. And to secure herself by sea Sir Francis Drake was sent out with forty gallies, for defence and offence, and did notable execution, which our historians mention: and of this Sir George Carew, governor of the Isle of Wight, gave intelligence from thence unto the Earl of Sussex, Lord Lieutenant of the county of Southampton, upon occasion of the strong report that came to court, that they were all up in that Isle of Wight, which, as things then stood abroad, inclined men to believe. Whence the said Lord Lieutenant dispatched a letter to the said governor for information, which was answered on the day following, June 8, in the negative. He observes, however, that 'the beacons of Ride should be well watched, to advertise his Lordship upon any occasion whatsoever,' and goes on as follows with further intelligence of the dangers on that side of the kingdom: "That it might please his Lordship further to understand, that yesterday there arrived there a bark of that island that came from Newhaven, the company whereof made report that the speeches there were, that the King of France had sent to St. Tavies in Portugal sixty sail of ships for salt, and was then preparing a fleet to go against Rochel, whereof ten sail came out of Newhaven, who were appointed to haul out of Newhaven as the day before; and that there were two English ships of Alborough, of the burthen of 140 ton a piece, the one had paid thirty crowns to be released, and the other stayed to serve. And that the common report was, that the King had sent to her Majesty an ambassador, that if she would by any means aid Rochal, he would have war with her. That they further said, that the common report in Newhaven was, that the King of Spain had sent against Sir Francis Drake forty galliasses and caracks, and that Sir Francis Drake had burnt divers cities and towns in the India, which proved true enough."

Strype adds, that he repeats this letter, "that by this news and these reports the present condition of this kingdom may hence be better understood, and with what good reason the state now, at this juncture, had to look about them."

† Sir Henry Englefield thus explained the word gare—"Gare, in French, is beware.

uppon the fyrst occasionn to be hanged up.

That yow take order in all the perrisshes within your canten that no bells be ronge in the churche for service, christeninge, or burriall, but only on bel during this tyme, and uppon the alaram al the bells to be ronge out.

That yow appoynt som of your hoblers* duringet his tyme stil to attend yow, and that ther horses be alwais in a reddines to pas in hast as occasion shal be offered.

That yow charge al your centens, as they wil answer to the contraire at their perrills, to provide themselves with powder, shott, and matche sufficient, and that they be in a reddines uppon the fyrste stroke of an alaram, to marche to the place of ther fyrst assembly, but that al that can com on horsebacke repayre in al hast to meet me at the place from whence the alaram shal be fyrst raysed.

That every man carry into the feelde with him, when he goethe abroad, his furniture, that he may the sooner be in a reddines to answer the alaram.

That every housholder make provision in a reddines of meale or breade for on monthe, accordinge to the proportion of his housholde, that we may kepe the feeld yf wee shall se occasion.

That yow observe, as well in watching and firinge of beacons, as in other occasionns of servis presented at this time in my former booke of Instructionns, and consider wel the contents thereof.

GEORGE CAREY.

This to pas from M^r^ Dingley to M^r^ Erlsman, M^r^ John Basket to M^r^ Bowrnniam, from hande to hande in post.

Copy of an Original Letter from Queen Elizabeth to the Earl of Warwick. Exhibited to the Society of Antiquities by Peter Renouard, Esq. F.A.S. in whose Family this curious Paper has long remained. From the Archaeologia.

(Copy)

BY THE QUEEN.

"ELIZABETH R.

Right trusty and right wel beloved cousin we greete yow well. We have at sundry tymes heard and conferred with S^r^. Hugh Pawlet Knight upon suche matters as he had in commission to informe or demaunde of us. And therein we thinke, before this tyme yow ar advertisid at good lengthe by L^rr^es from our cownsell. And therein we have also particulerly debatid with the said S^r^. Hugh Pawlet upon all the matters by

Carriages passing in a crowd are obliged to cry Gare, and are not answerable for mischief done by their horses after that notice. Gare was also used on another occasion at Edinburgh, and the persons throwing filth from their windows were subject to prosecution, if they defiled passengers, without that word of notice.

"A Gare was therefore probably a signal flag, or some notice of that kind, hung out from the beacons by day when fire light would have been invisible."

* Camden tells us, in his Britannia, "It has been the custom antiently for horsemen, then called hobelers, to be stationed in most places, in order to give notice of the enemy's approach in the day."

him to us propoundid, not doubting but he will declare unto yow our earnest determination to go through with all things that any wise shall concerne the defence of that Towne against all vyolence and force, that can be devised by the ennemy *. And considering the substance thereof dependith upon thre principall things, men, money and vittell, we ar resolved and have alreadye putte in execution, that there shal be no lacke of any of them. And we praye yow to notifye unto all our good servaunts and subjects the gentlemen and capteins there, that we take it no small augmentacion to the hon^r. of our crowne and realme, and specielly to our nation, that they have hitherto so manfully and skilfully acquyted themselfs against the Rhingrave and his best soldiours. And although the preservacion of that Towne tendith to the importance of great commoditie to our crowne: yet beside that we make no small accompt, that by the straite defence therof against the whole force of France: this our nation shall recover the ancient fame which heertofore it had, and of late with the losse of Callais, lost also. This our opinion we praye yow to communicate to our subjects there, in such sorte as ye shall thinke meetist. And for your self, we assure yow, the constant good reporte made by all persons comming from thence, of your honorable and servisable behaviour in that charge, meritethe such singular fav^r. at our hands, as we meane rather to shew some argument therof by our deedes and reward, then by wryting. Yeven under our signet at our mano^r of

* Queen Elizabeth, in the year 1563, appointed Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, (to whom this letter is addressed) "her Lieutenant and Captain-general of her subjects that should in any wise pass over into Normandy." And in the month of October he landed at Newhaven (Havre de Grace) with a body of three thousand English troops. He employed every means for putting it in a posture of defence, and was successful in several skirmishes with the enemy near the town, but was not able to retain the possession of it longer than the 28th of July following, when it was delivered up to the French, to whom it became a much easier acquisition than was expected, in consequence of the plague which broke out among the English soldiers, and which was afterwards brought by them to England. See Holinshed's Chron. Vol. iii. p. 1195 to 1204, edit. 1517. Hume's Hist. Vol. v. p. 79, 8vo.

Mr. Hume says that "Warwick, who had frequently warned the English council of the danger, and who had loudly demanded a supply of men and provisions, found himself obliged to capitulate, and to content himself with the liberty of withdrawing his garrison. The articles were no sooner signed than Lord Clinton, the admiral who had been detained by contrary winds, appeared off the harbour with a reinforcement of three thousand men, and found the place surrendered to the enemy." He adds that "Queen Elizabeth's usual vigour and foresight did not appear in this transaction." Hume's Hist. Vol. v. p. 80.

The following passage from Holinshed shews that the Queen kept her word in sending a speedy supply: "The fourteenth of July Sir Hugh Paulet, Knyght, landed at Newhaven, bringing with him eight hundred soldiers out of Wiltshire and Gloucestershire," p. 1203, which was the last supply the garrison received.

A particular account of two skirmishes with the Rhingrave and his soldiers on the 22d of May and the 5th of June, may be seeu in Holinshed, Vol. iii. p. 1201, 1202. It is probable that the latter is alluded to in this letter. The historian observes "that Englishmen verily in thys service shewed that they were nothing degenerated from the auntiente race of theyr nobile projenitors."

Grenewiche the 4th of July the fyveth yere of our Reign." (What follows is all in the Queen's hand writing.) "My deare Warwik if your honor and my desir could accord with the los of the nidefuls fingar I kipe, God helpe me so in my most nide as I wold gladly lis that one joint for your safe abode with me, but sins I can not that I wold, I wil do that I may, and wil rather drinke in an asm cup than you or yours shude not be soccerd both by sea and land yea and that with all spede possible, and let this my scribling hand witnes it to them all

Yours as my own E. R.
Elizabeth R."

(Indorsed) (seal lost.)

"To our right trusty and right wel beloved cousen the earl of Warwik our lieutant general in Normandy and defendour of the towne of Newehaven."

Indorsed also in another hand.

"The Qu. Majestie by Mr. Paulet promisis a spedy supplye
4 July 1563."

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

General Reflections on the History of Greece. From Herder's Philosophy of Man.

We have considered the history of this celebrated region in several points of view, as it is in some measure a general basis for a philosophy of history in all countries. The Greeks not only remained free from any intermixture with foreign nations, so that their progress has been entirely their own; but they so perfectly filled up their period, and passed through every stage of civilization, from its slightest commencement to its completion, that no other nation can be compared with them. The people of the continent have either stopped at the rudiments of civilization, and unnaturally perpetuated them by laws and customs; or become a prey to conquest, before they had advanced beyond them: the blossom withered before it was blown. Greece, on the contrary, enjoyed its full time: it formed every thing it was capable of forming, and a happy combination of circumstances aided it in its progress to perfection. On the continent undoubtedly it would soon have fallen a victim to some conqueror, like its Asiatic brethren: had Darius and Xerxes accomplished their designs, the age of Pericles would never have appeared. Or had a despot ruled over the Greeks, he would soon have become himself a conqueror, according to the disposition of all despots, and, as Alexander did, have empurpled distant rivers with Grecian blood. Foreign nations would have been introduced into their country, and their victories would have dispersed them through foreign lands. From all this they were protected by the mediocrity of their power, and even their limited commerce, which never ventured beyond the pillars of Hercules and of Fortune. As the botanist cannot obtain a complete knowledge of a plant, unless he follow it from the seed, through its germination, blossoming, and decay; such is the Grecian history to us: it is only to be regretted, that, according to the usual course, it is yet far from having been studied

like that of Rome. At present it is my place, to indicate, from what has been said, some points of view in this important fragment of general history, which most immediately present themselves to the eye of observation: and here I must repeat the first grand principle: *Whatever can take place among mankind, within the sphere of given circumstances of time, place, and nation, actually does take place.* Of this Greece affords the amplest and most beautiful proofs.

In natural philosophy we never reckon upon miracles: we observe laws, which we perceive every where equally effectual, undeviating, and regular. And shall man, with his powers, changes, and passions, burst these chains of nature? Had Greece been peopled with Chinese, our Greece would never have existed: had our Greeks been fixed where Darius led the enslaved Eretrians, they would have formed no Athens, they would have produced no Sparta. Behold Greece now: the ancient Greeks are no more to be seen; nay frequently their country no longer appears. If a remnant of their language were not still spoken; if marks of their way of thinking, if ruins of their cities and works of art, or at least their ancient rivers and mountains, were not still visible; it might be supposed, that Greece was not less fabulous, than the island of Calypso, or the gardens of Alcinous. But as the modern Greeks have become what they are only by the course of time, through a given series of causes and effects, so did the ancient; and not less every other nation upon earth. The whole history of mankind is a pure natural history of human powers, actions, and propensities, modified by time and place.

This principle is not more simple, than it is luminous and useful, in treating of the history of nations. Every historian agrees with me, that a barren wonder and recital deserve not the name of history: and if this be just, the examining mind must exert all its acumen on every historical event, as on a natural phenomenon. Thus in the narration of history it will seek the strictest truth; in forming its conceptions and judgment, the most complete connexion: and never attempt to explain a thing which is, or happens, by a thing which is not. With this rigorous principle, every thing ideal, all the phantoms of a magic creation, will vanish: it will endeavour to see simply what is: and as soon as this is seen, the causes why it could not be otherwise will commonly appear. As soon as the mind has acquired this habit in history, it will have found the way to that sound philosophy, which rarely occurs except in natural history and mathematics.

This philosophy will first and most eminently guard us from attributing the facts, that appear in history, to the particular hidden purposes of a scheme of things unknown to us, or the magical influence of invisible powers, which we would not venture to name in connexion with natural phenomena. Fate reveals its purposes through the events that occur, and as they occur; accordingly, the investigator of history developes these purposes merely from what is before him, and what displays itself in its whole extent. Why did the enlightened Greeks appear

in the world? Because Greeks existed; and existed under such circumstances, that they could not be otherwise than enlightened. Why did Alexander invade India? Because he was Alexander, the son of Philip; and from the dispositions his father had made, the deeds of his nation, his age and character, his reading of Homer, &c., knew nothing better, that he could undertake. But if we attribute his bold resolution to the secret purposes of some superior power, and his heroic achievements to his peculiar fortune; we run the hazard, on the one hand, of exalting his most senseless and atrocious actions into designs of the Deity; and, on the other, of detracting from his personal courage and military skill; while we deprive the whole occurrence of its natural form. He who takes with him into natural history the fairy belief, that invisible sylphs tinge the rose, or hang its cup with pearly dew-drops, and that little spirits of light encase themselves in the body of the glow-worm, or wanton in the peacock's tail, may be an ingenious poet, but will never shine as a naturalist or historian. History is the science of what is, not of what possibly may be according to the hidden designs of fate.

Secondly, *What is true of one people, holds equally true with regard to the connexion of several together: they are joined as time and place unites them; they act upon one another, as the combination of active powers directs.*

The Greeks have been acted upon by the Asiatics, and the Asiatics reacted upon by the Greeks. They have been conquered by Romans, Goths, Christians, and Turks: and Romans, Goths, and Christians have derived from them various means of improvement. How are these things consistent? Through place, time, and the natural operation of active powers. The Phœnicians imparted to them the use of letters: but they had not invented letters for them; they imparted them by sending a colony into Greece. So it was with the Hellenes and Egyptians; so with the Greeks that migrated to Bactra; so with all the gifts of the muse, which we have received from their hands. Homer sung; but not for us: yet as his works have reached us, and are in our possession, we could not avoid being instructed by him. Had any event in the course of time deprived us of these, as we have been deprived of many other excellent works, who would accuse some secret purpose of fate, when the natural cause of the loss was apparent? Let a man take a view of the writings that are lost, and those that remain, of the works of art that are destroyed, and those that are preserved, with the accounts that are given of their destruction and preservation, and venture to point out the rule, which fate has followed in transmitting to us these, and depriving us of those. Aristotle was preserved in a single copy under ground, other writings as waste parchments in chests and cellars, the humorist Aristophanes under the pillow of St. Chrysostom, who learned from him to compose homilies; and thus the whole of the cultivation of our minds has depended precisely upon the most trivial and precarious circum-

stances. Now mental cultivation is unquestionably a thing of the greatest importance in the history of the world: it has thrown almost all nations into commotion, and now with Herschel explores the milky way. Yet on what trifling events has it hinged; the events to which we are indebted for glass and a few books! Insomuch, that, but for these, we should still perhaps be wandering about in waggons, with our wives and families, like our elder brothers, the immortal Scythians. Had the course of things so ordered, that we had received Mungal letters instead of Greek, we should now be writing in the Mungal manner: yet the earth would still pursue her grand career of years and seasons, nourishing every thing, that lives and acts upon her, according to the divine laws of nature.

Thirdly, *The cultivation of a people is the flower of its existence; its display is pleasing indeed, but transitory.*

As man, when he comes into the world, knows nothing, but has all his knowledge to learn; so an uncultivated people acquires knowledge from its own practice, or from intercourse with others. But every kind of human knowledge has its particular circle, that is its nature, time, place, and periods of life. The cultivation of Greece, for example, grew with time, place, and circumstances, and declined with them. Poetry and certain arts preceded philosophy: where oratory or the fine arts flourished, neither the patriotic virtues, nor martial spirit, could shine with their highest splendour: the orators of Athens displayed the greatest enthusiasm, when the state drew near its end, and its integrity was no more.

But all kinds of human knowledge have this in common, that each aims at a point of perfection, which, when attained by a concatenation of fortunate circumstances, it can neither preserve to eternity, nor can it instantly return, but a decreasing series commences. Every perfect work, as far as perfection can be required from man, is the highest of its kind; nothing, therefore, can possibly succeed it, but mere imitations, or unsuccessful attempts to excel. When Homer had sung, no second Homer in the same path could be conceived: he plucked the flower of the epic garland, and all who followed must content themselves with a few leaves. Thus the Greek tragedians chose another track: they ate, as Æschylus says, at Homer's table, but prepared for their guests a different feast. They too had their day: the subjects of tragedy were exhausted, and their successors could do no more, than remould the greatest poets, that is, give them in an inferior form; for the best, the supremely beautiful form of the Grecian drama had already been exhibited in those models. In spite of all his morality, Euripides could not rival Sophocles, to say nothing of his being able to excel him in the essence of his art; and therefore the prudent Aristophanes pursued a different course. Thus it was with every species of Grecian art, and thus it will be in all nations: the very circumstance, that the Greeks in their most flourishing periods perceived this law of nature, and sought not to go beyond the highest in some-

thing still higher, rendered their taste so sure, and its developement so various. When Phidias had created his omnipotent Jove, a superior Jupiter was not within the reach of possibility: but the conception was capable of being applied to other gods, and to every god was given his peculiar character: thus this province of art was peopled.

Poor and mean would it be, if our attachment to any object of human culture would prescribe as a law to all-disposing Providence, to confer an unnatural eternity on that moment, in which alone it could take place. Such a wish would be nothing less, than to annihilate the essence of time, and destroy the infinitude of all nature. Our youth returns not again: neither returns the action of our mental faculties as they then were. The very appearance of the flower is a sign that it must fade: it has drawn to itself the powers of the plant from the very root; and when it dies, the death of the plant must follow. Unfortunate would it have been, could the age, that produced a Pericles and a Socrates, have been prolonged a moment beyond the time, which the chain of events prescribed for its duration: for Athens it would have been a perilous, an insupportable period. Equally confined would be the wish, that the mythology of Homer should have held eternal possession of the human mind, the gods of the Greeks have reigned to infinity, and their Demosthenes have thundered for ever. Every plant in nature must fade; but the fading plant scatters abroad its seeds, and thus renovates the living creation. Shakspeare was no Sophocles, Milton no Homer, Bolingbroke no Pericles: yet they were in their kind, and in their situation, what those were in theirs. Let every one, therefore, strive in his place, to be what he can be in the course of things; this he will be, and to be any thing else is impossible.

Fourthly, *The health and duration of a state rest not on the point of its highest cultivation, but on a wise or fortunate equilibrium of its active living powers. The deeper in this living exertion its centre of gravity lies, the more firm and durable it is.*

On what did those ancient founders of states calculate? Neither on lethargic indolence, nor on extreme activity; but on order, and a just distribution of never slumbering, ever vigilant powers. The principle of these sages was genuine human wisdom, learned from nature. Whenever a state was pushed to its utmost point, though by a man of the greatest eminence, and under the most flattering pretext, it was in danger of ruin, and recovered its former state only by some happy violence. Thus when Greece entered the lists with Persia, it was on a dreadful verge: thus when Athens, Lacedæmon, and Thebes, contended together at outrance, the loss of liberty to all Greece ensued. Thus, too, Alexander, with his brilliant victories, erected the edifice of his state on a bubble: he died, the bubble burst, and the edifice was dashed to pieces. How dangerous Alcibiades and Pericles were to Athens their history shows: though it is not less true, that epochs of this kind, particularly if they terminate speedily and happily, display rare effects, and set

incredible powers in motion. All the splendour of Greece was created by the active operation of many states and living energies: every thing sound and permanent, on the contrary, in its taste, and in its constitution, was produced by a wise and happy equilibrium of its active powers. The success of its institutions was uniformly more noble and permanent, in proportion as they were founded on humanity, that is, reason and justice. Here the constitution of Greece affords us an ample field for reflection, in what it contributed by its inventions and institutions both to the happiness of its own citizens, and to the welfare of mankind. But for this it is yet too early. We must first take a view of many periods and nations, before we can form conclusions on these subjects with security.

On the Character of Ajax. From the second Volume of Letters from a Father to his Son, on various Topics relative to Literature and the Conduct of Life, by J. Aikin, M.D.

Almost ever since I was a reader of Homer, the character of *Ajax* in the Iliad has struck me, among the group of personages so admirably painted by the poet, as one of the most meritorious; and I have wondered that in common opinion it should have been held in such inferior estimation. The cause, I suppose, has been, that the general idea of Ajax has been drawn from various other sources, and particularly from Ovid's Metamorphoses, where all the eloquence of Ulysses is employed to fix upon him the stain of ferocious and brutal stupidity. The discussion of a character of fiction is of little importance in itself, and I confess I have been sufficiently disgusted with the air of importance given to some of these investigations; yet I think Homer's Ajax may afford a not uninteresting subject for a letter, especially as I consider him as the exemplar of a *moral class* among mankind, to which sufficient justice is not rendered. This is the very valuable class of persons, well qualified for the stations they occupy, and *always ready* to employ their best exertions when called upon, from a steady unvarying principle of duty, which requires no animation from temporary feelings or particular circumstances;—a class of more consequence in the real business of life, than all the splendid enthusiasts who are the favourites of poetry and romance, and too much so even of history.

Let us run through, in order, the principal events of the Iliad in which this hero bears a share.

The bodily strength and martial port of Ajax, by virtue of which he is placed immediately after Achilles in the military muster, are not the proper objects of my consideration, which concerns soul rather than body; yet it may be allowed, that in those heroic times, as they are called, they were the qualities which essentially marked him out for the post of a warlike chieftain. But the first display of *character* also well justifies his reputation. When Agamemnon takes a survey of the confederate army previously to the battle in book IV., he finds different leaders in different states

of preparation; but the two Ajaxes (for here their merits are blended) are distinguished as having already formed their troops in perfect order to march. The formidable appearance of their *cloud* of infantry is illustrated by one of the noblest similes in the poem; and Agamemnon, at the sight, breaks out into a fervent wish that all his commanders were inspired with the same spirit, in which event Troy could not fail soon to sink under the Grecian arms.

When Hector, in the seventh book, challenges to single combat any of the Greek leaders, Ajax, as well as the rest, remains silent, apparently through modest reserve, till Nestor's speech rouses them to a voluntary offer of meeting the defiance. The determination, however, is committed to chance, and the lot, to the great joy of the whole army, falls upon Ajax. He expresses a soldier's confidence in the result, but in terms sufficiently modest; and he desires the Greeks to pray to Jupiter for his success; which circumstance may serve to obviate any charge of impiety that his little commerce with the gods afterwards may have brought upon him. That he is no favourite with any one of the deities, and neither asks nor receives their peculiar aid, will scarcely injure his character with those who are shocked at the injustice committed by Homer's divinities from their partialities, which are generally represented as founded upon the most unworthy motives. Whatever was the poet's intention in thus distinguishing Ajax from his other heroes, he is certainly a gainer by it in the true estimate of worth, since from native strength of mind he performs actions which, in others, are made the result of a supernatural impulse.

In the duel with Hector, Homer has been swayed by Grecian partiality to give so decided a superiority to Ajax, as interferes with the leading principle of the poem, which is, the necessity of the return of Achilles, as the only proper antagonist of the Trojan hero. Ajax, however, not only signalizes himself as a warrior on the occasion; his language and conduct are praise-worthy. If he boasts, it is not personally, but of his countrymen. "Besides Achilles," says he, "there are many among us able to meet your challenge." And when the chance of battle is clearly in his favour, he makes no objection to the proposal of the heralds to suspend hostilities, provided Hector, as the challenger, chooses to ask it.

When he goes as one of the deputies to Achilles, for the purpose of persuading that resentful hero to intermit his wrath against Agamemnon, and return to his duty, on finding Achilles inexorable to all the eloquence and offers of Ulysses, he breaks out in a strain of generous and patriotic impatience, and proposes to put an end to their supplications, and carry back their answer to the Grecians, unwelcome as it may be. His speech is somewhat blunt and inartificial, but suitable to one whose own attachment to the common cause makes him unable to excuse the dereliction of another.

In the battle of book XI. so adverse to the Grecians, Ajax, after rescuing the wounded Ulysses, is attacked by the whole host of Trojans, with Hector at their head.

Jupiter, likewise, strikes a preternatural terror into his breast; so that, throwing his broad shield behind him, he slowly and unwillingly retreats. But his retreat is like that of a lion from a crowd of foes; and the awe with which he still inspires the enemy is the strongest testimony of his valour. The noted comparison of the ass, introduced in this place, will not degrade the hero in the opinion of any judicious reader. I do not, indeed, think that the poet is justified by the usual apology made for him, that this animal was a more respectable object in Greece at that time than now among us; for, in fact, the circumstances dwelt upon in the description are his greediness for food, and his insensibility to blows, qualities in their own nature ignoble. But it is Homer's manner to be very little nice in his similes, either as to their subject, or their adaptation; and he is usually satisfied if they apply to the single point for which he adduces them. Ajax was driven from the field of battle by the Trojans with as much difficulty as an ass from a corn-field by a troop of boys,—this is the whole of the parallel. In like manner, the Greeks and Trojans contending for the body of Patroclus, are resembled to curriers stretching a hide: an apt comparison for the action of two parties tugging at an object on contrary sides, which was all that the poet wanted. But this is a digression.

In the succeeding combats about the wall and before the ships, Ajax is, as he is termed by the poet, the great bulwark of the Greeks, ever occupying the post of danger and importance, unwearied in his exertions, and solely intent upon performing every office of a warrior and chieftain in repelling the foe. All the other leaders are wounded, or have retired to their tents, and the whole care and toil of the day devolves upon him. He is unable to resist the torrent of attack breaking in from all quarters, yet he resolves rather to die than yield. As the last effort, he takes his station on the very ships, and thence beats off the assailants. At length, quite spent with fatigue, and disarmed of his sole weapon, he withdraws a while from the storm; and instantly, as if no other obstacle remained, the first ship is set on fire by the Trojans. It is impossible for genuine valour, active and passive, to be exhibited in more striking colours; and I believe no hero can be found in the Iliad who sustains a trial equally severe.

When Patroclus is slain, and the great point of honour is on one side to seize, and on the other to rescue, his dead body, Ajax is again called upon, and again takes upon himself the burthen of the field. Though Hector and the Trojans rush on with the confidence of success, and Jove himself manifestly favours them, Ajax abides by the body of his friend. It is in this emergency, when overwhelmed with a mist or darkness which intercepts his view of the Grecian host, he makes the address to Jupiter which has been so much admired for its moral sublimity:

Lord of earth and air,
Oh king! oh father! hear my humble pray'r:
Dispel this cloud, the light of heaven restore:
Give me to see, and Ajax asks no more:

If Greece must perish, we thy will obey,
But let us perish in the face of day!
POPE.

One of the similes employed on this occasion is singularly apt and expressive. The two Ajaxes keeping back the assailing crowd are resembled to a mound stretched across a plain, and repelling the waters of a vast inundation. This defensive effort is the last martial exploit of Ajax in the Iliad: every other hero being judiciously made to give way to Achilles on his return to the war.

Why Homer has chosen to represent Ajax as a loser in all the games in which he is engaged at the funeral of Patroclus is not easily explained; especially as they are of a kind in which his bodily strength and vigour would have fair scope for exertion. But having fixed his reputation by making him the resource of his countrymen on all serious occasions, it is of little consequence that others surpass him in sportive conflicts.

Such is the Ajax of the Iliad;—a hero (as far as so rude an age admits of heroism) *in grain*; tried and proved by every difficulty and danger; not the meteor of a day, but, shining with equal lustre through the whole period of action; always in his place; resorted to on every emergency, and never in vain; not hurried along by idle bravado or enthusiastic ardour, but making utility the guide of his exertions; finally, never yielding but when mortal resistance was unavailable, and when a heaven-born champion, with celestial aid, was necessary to turn the tide of fortune. He may then stand at the head of *able* and *useful* men, whose value is superior to their fame;—a class of which there are members in every profession and rank of life, and to whose assistance the first-rate characters owe great part of their celebrity and success.

Such was the Antipater of Philip of Macedon, of whom the latter, when reproached for his late rising, said, "I slept, because I knew Antipater was awake;"—who, while Alexander the Great was rambling he searcely knew whither, and acting the conqueror among effeminate Asiatics, held the reins of warlike Greece; quashed the revolt of the generous Agis, and continually supplied his master with fresh bodies of disciplined soldiers. Such was the Labienus of Cæsar, the Agrippa of Augustus, the Sully of Henry IV., the Cecil of Elizabeth, the Ireton of Cromwell. Such appear to be the generality of those officers in the British navy, under whose conduct the empire of the ocean has been maintained for their country every where, against all foes, by dint of equal valour and unvarying skill. In science, in the arts, in the common business of life, such men might be pointed out. In general, they are those whom the leaders in important affairs would choose for their seconds, to supply their places on occasion, act according to their plans, and take the management of separate and dependent parts. Their essential qualifications are, a perfect fitness for their posts, and a constant readiness to bring all their powers into full exertion, firmness, vigilance, order, and the habit of fixing the attention upon particular objects. *Pares negotiis*

neque supra has been thought but subaltern praise; but if we be allowed to translate these words, by "masters of their business, and not above it," the idea of the character here intended will be adequately expressed, and surely it implies no mean commendation. The enthusiasm of genius, and the creative faculty of invention, do not belong to it; but it reaches the mark of known excellence in what it undertakes. Without these Ajaxes, the greatest geniuses may be foiled, and the most brilliant enterprizes prove abortive. With them, the world will go on well in its ordinary train, and steady prosperity will compensate the want of striking improvement.

An Essay on the Origin of the Italian Language: from the German.

The learned differ very much in their opinions relative to the origin of the Italian language. Leonardo Bruni, of Arezzo, a celebrated writer of the fifteenth century, Cardinal Bembo, and among the modern writers, Quadrio, maintain that the Italian was as old as the Latin language, asserting that the latter had been the language of the learned, whilst the former had been spoken by the multitude, and in common conversation. They say, that the ancient Romans had learned the genuine Latin language in the schools, and that in the comedies of Plautus and Terence, who, from the nature of their compositions, were the least able to deviate from the language of the multitude, words and idioms are found, which are not to be met with in works of science. Hence they conclude, that the common language of the people had been a peculiar language, as widely different from the Latin as the Italian is now.

Nothing can be easier than to refute this opinion. When Plautus wrote his plays, and caused them to be acted at Rome, the difference between the language of the learned and that of the common people could not but be very trifling. The Romans then began to be ambitious of literary eminence. The Latin language, of course, could not be so much transformed as to be materially different from that of the common people. The language of Plautus's comedies was the language of the learned as well as of the populace; and although there occur in them many expressions which are not usual with the other Roman authors, yet they are far from being so numerous as would be sufficient to cause an essential difference.—There is not a sufficient number of works of other authors of that epocha extant to enable us to prove that the particular words and expressions, occurring in Plautus, were used exclusively by the populace.

We cannot, indeed, deny, that when the Romans had conquered all Italy, and Rome had become the general resort of all Italian nations, the language of the Romans underwent a very great and striking alteration; but it cannot thence be concluded that there had been formed among the people a language totally different from that of the learned. All the nations of Italy Proper, excepting those of Great Greece, in fact had only one

language, distinguishing themselves from each other only by the difference of dialect: therefore they did not bring with them to Rome a language essentially different from that of the Romans. Having cultivated the arts and sciences long before the Romans, their dialects could not but be more copious and harmonious than the Roman dialect; consequently they also could produce no other alteration in the language of the Romans, but what contributed to enrich and refine it. The first reformers of the Roman language were Livius Andronicus, Nævius, Ennius, Cæcilius, Statius, Pacuvius, and L. Accius, who all had been born and educated in different provinces of Italy, and were as well understood at Rome as in the places of their nativity; for, at that time, even the Bruttians, inhabiting the most distant part of Calabria, spoke a language not essentially different from that of the Romans.

I cannot, therefore, conceive how by means of the conflux of many Italian nations at Rome, there could be produced a language totally different from that of the ancient Romans, unless this difference had been brought about by the learned. However the learned may refine a language by their writings, they cannot possibly transmute it entirely. Their writings, if not composed in the language of the people, would have been as unintelligible as hieroglyphics and riddles. A language of the learned, wholly differing from that of the people, cannot possibly have existed. It is said to have been the language of the senate, of the comitiis, the forum, the tribunals of justice, of the laws, the generals of the armies, the priesthood, and of all legal compacts, without being generelly understood by the people. An idea more absurd than this cannot possibly be conceived. The necessity of a competent knowledge in the Latin language was so indispensable and essential to a Roman subject, that whole foreign nations substituted it in the room of their vernacular language. If any one should object, that the Romans learned the Latin language of the grammarians and rhetoricians, we need but to observe, that they applied to them for instruction only in order to be initiated into the elegance of diction, and for the purpose of juridical eloquence, an essential requisite for a Roman citizen.

We know that the Latin language in Upper Italy and in Gaul superseded the Gallic, and in England the British language: how much the more would it have expelled a totally different language from its original seat, if it had there taken its rise!

The celebrated Marquis Maffei was of opinion that it owed its real origin and gradual formation exclusively to the progressive deviation of the Italians from the grammatical correctness of the Latin language, interruptedly continuing for several centuries. He, at the same time, denies that the invasions of barbarous nations had contributed any thing towards it; asserting, that if this had been the case, it would have produced a language totally different from that of Italy. But Maffei, in this supposition, is under a manifest mistake; for any one who has only

a slight knowledge of both languages, will easily observe that the Italian language differs from that of the Romans not only in the most striking deviation from the rules of the latter, but also in an infinite number of foreign words and phrases.

This opinion is generally adopted by the learned; but I can find it no where so clearly illustrated as I wish, and therefore shall attempt to inquire how far this opinion is tenable.

While eloquence was essentially necessary for a Roman citizen, the Romans could not but be animated with an universal desire of acquiring purity and elegance of diction. But when the loss of civil liberty occasioned a total neglect of eloquence, no great attention was paid to elegance in writing the Latin language. The classic authors were neglected, and learning was left to necessitous foreigners. These presumed to be more learned and witty than Cicero, Virgil, and Horace; and took all possible pains to render the style and language of these great men contemptible.

None of all these corrupters of the Latin language were worse than the Greeks, who, we will not decide whether it was owing to their being more pliant, or superior to the Romans in point of learning, met with a very favourable reception at the imperial court, and in the palaces of the great. This attracted a numerous crowd of Greek rhetoricians, philosophers, and sophists to Rome, and the Greek language was generally adopted by the great, and all those that were desirous of being thought people of good taste. It was a disgrace not to know the Greek language; and many a Roman, though little acquainted with it, listened to the declamations of the Greek sophists with the loudest tokens of applause. The principal object which these infatuated talkers strove to attain, was to found their fame on the depreciation of the Latin language and learning. Those that know what injury the German language sustained, in the beginning of the present century, from the contempt with which it was branded by the French and their silly admirers in Germany, will easily be able to calculate what injury the Latin language must have suffered from the scorn with which it was treated by the Greeks and their servile admirers. This contempt caused the Romans to disregard the writings of their ancestors, to deviate from the original spirit of their language, and rendered them incapable of discerning the genuine words and phrases from those that were interpolated.

The Latin language being thus left at the mercy of the populace, it could not but become highly vitiated, especially as Rome continued to be inundated by numerous crowds of foreigners, who flocked to the capital and Italian provinces. This conflux of foreigners now consisted no longer of nations, who had one language in common, but of Gauls, Britons, Germans, Bohemians, Illyrians, Pannonians, Dacians, and other conquered nations, whose languages were essentially different from each other, and who, by the superiority of their number, and their incapacity of learning, the Latin language properly, naturally

must have occasioned the greatest corruption.

This evil increased rapidly when the Roman provinces, from the time of the Emperor Probus, were garrisoned with foreign auxiliaries.—Amongst these the Herulians and Goths, who had settled in Italy in considerable numbers since the government of Valens, undoubtedly caused the greatest mischief.

The Herulians and Goths were the first of all foreign nations that usurped a dominion over Italy, divided the lands with the natives, lived according to their own laws, or rather customs and religion, and learnt the language of the country only as far as they wanted it, in order to converse with the ancient inhabitants. They gradually became better acquainted with the language of the country, and imagined to speak elegantly when they expressed the phrases of their own language by mutilated Latin words, or even gave to the words of their mother-tongue Latin terminations. The Italians, having already greatly deviated from the correctness of their language, and caring little or nothing for its purity, they became accustomed to foreign expressions and words, adopted them as a current coin, and at last could not discern any longer the foreign impression.

Thence arose, towards the close of the fifth century, a language which by the learned was called *Lingua Romana Rustica.* This period might be called the first epocha of the Italian language.

During the ruinous wars between the Greeks and the Goths, and the invasions of the Longobards, all means of restoring the language to its original purity were totally lost; the schools became deserted, the teachers were suffered to starve, a great number of libraries were consumed by the flames, and books became extremely scarce. There were, indeed, few people who could either read or write; therefore the language of the people could not but necessarily differ still more from the genuine Latin under the Longobards, than it had under the Goths.

It can, however, be proved, that the common people in Italy understood the genuine Latin language till the ninth century. This appears clearly by the Latin sermons which were at that time publicly preached, and are still extant, as well as by the Latin laws framed by the Longobard and Franconian kings, and the performance of public worship in the Latin language.

This was also the cause why, under the Longobards, the numerous alterations in the language of the people continued analogous to the rules of the Latin grammar, till at last the copious intermixture of Franconian idioms and words produced a total alteration in the language. If we compare the French and Italian manner of declining and conjugating with the radical words of both languages; it clearly appears that the Italian was almost totally formed after the rules of the French language.

This grand alteration, which was occasioned by the Franconians, may therefore be considered as the second epocha of the Italian language.

The Latin language became now very little known among the com-

mon people, or even among the clergy. However numerous the Latin schools founded by the king Lotharius might be, all his endeavours to restore the language to its pristine purity proved ineffectual. The language of the people had already deviated too much from the genuine Latin tongue. The principles of religion, and the laws, propounded to the people in the Latin language, were unintelligible to them; and this seems to be one of the principal causes of the licentiousness by which all ranks, the clergy not excepted, distinguished themselves in the tenth century. The mercantile intercourse of Pisa, Genoa, Venice and Amalfi, with the other Italian towns, rendered their respective dialects intelligible all over Italy, and gradually produced an universal language of trade.

The formation of this new language was greatly facilitated by the civil wars, which, after the death of Charles the Corpulent, convulsed all Italy. The cities, eager to shake off the yoke of foreign emperors, united themselves first with one and then with another party, as it best suited their individual interest. The campaigns which were jointly undertaken by different cities, the alliances which they at different times formed among themselves, and the conquests made by them, gradually consolidated the peculiar dialects of the cities into an universal language. The armies being composed of natives from all parts of Italy, every individual was compelled by necessity to make use of those words and expressions in which he agreed with others, and to refrain from using his provincialisms, which were unintelligible to natives of other parts of Italy, with whom he was connected, and thus accustomed himself to select such expressions as enabled others to comprehend the ideas which he wished to convey. In this language were the armies commanded by unlettered generals, alliances and concordates between citizens and towns concluded, and the constitutions of the new republics framed by illiterate legislators.

Thus arose, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, from the combination of the dialects of the Italian nations, an universal language, different from that of the ancient Romans, which, indeed, possessed already the collective copiousness of the present Italian language, but in all its component parts was still so uncouth, that no man of learning ventured to make use of it in his writings. The chronicles, histories, and other literary works of that epocha, continued to be composed in Latin, which also was made use of in all important public documents: not because no writings at all were composed in the universal languages, but merely because it was customary to employ notaries and lawyers in the framing of legal deeds and documents. As for the rest, the common language was used in all oral and written private transactions.

It was reserved for the literati, especially the poets, to have the merit of refining the common language of the people. It is, however, difficult to ascertain the exact period when the first attempts of this nature were made. It is commonly believed that the first essays were attempted towards the close of the twelfth century. As a proof

of this assertion, the following passage in Dante's works is quoted: "*E non è molto numero d'anni passati, che apparirono questi poeti volgari.....e se volemo guardare in lingua d'oco (in lingua provenzale) e in lingua di si (lingua volgare) noi non troviamo cose dette anzi il presente tempo centocinquant, anni.*" Dante having wrote this in the year 1295, his opinion is clearly, that previous to the year 1145, not a single poem had been written either in the Provenzal or in the Italian language. But as for the Provenzal rhymes, Dante commits here a manifest error; as it is certain that William IX. Count of Poitiers, composed already in the eleventh century poems in Provenzal rhymes. And as Dante had no knowledge of *these* ancient rhymes, it may fairly be supposed that Italian rhymes of a more ancient date, of which he knew not any thing, may have been extant or lost. I must, however, observe, that he denies not absolutely that no rhymes were written prior to that period, maintaining only that none of an anterior date could be found.

Dante and Petrarca agree, however, in affirming that the Sicilian poets (amongst whom those of the continent opposite the island are included) had been the first who rhymed in the common language, and by their example animated the other Italians to do the same in their respective dialects. If that really was the case, this may, as the authors of the literary history of France are of opinion, have been done already in the eleventh century, when the Normans introduced this taste from France. Thus much is certain, that when Frederic II. in the twelfth century, came, while yet a boy, to Palermo, he met with poets who induced him by their example and persuasions to rhyme in the common language. Dante relates, that Frederic and his successor Manfredi, by their liberality, had drawn to their court the learned from all parts of Italy; and that the latter by their writings had occasioned all other literary works, even those composed in the common language, to be called Sicilian compositions, and that the custom of rhyming in the common language, had spread from Sicily to Apulia, Tuscany, the Mark Ancona, Romagna, Lombardy, and Treviso.

Many years elapsed before the Italian language was completely formed in all parts of Italy. As late as in the middle of the thirteenth century, a Milanese poet expressed himself in the subsequent uncouth verses:

Como Deo a facto lo monda,
E como de terre fo lo homo formo,
Cum el descendè de cel in terra
In la vergene regal polzella,
Et cum el sostene passion
Per nostra grande salvation,
Et cum, vera el di del, ira
La e serà la grande roina.
Al peccator darà gramezza
Lo justo avrà grande allegrezza,
Ben e raxon ke l'homo intenda
De que traita sta legenda.

It was not decided, either then or at the close of the thirteenth century when Dante wrote, which dialect of the common language was the best. Dante himself did not deem the dialect of Tuscany the most eligible, and in his writings made use of a great many Lombard, Neapolitan, and Venetian words and expressions. Rustigielo, of Pisa, wrote in the year

1299 the travels of Marco Polo, not in his own, but in the Venetian dialect, which already at that time had attained a certain degree of harmony, as appears by the following lines:

Qui comenza il prologo del libro chiamado De la istinzione del mondo.

Vui Signori Imperadori, Duchi, Marchesi, Chonti, e Kavalieri, e tuta zente, quale volete intender e chonosser le diverse generazione de li homeni e del mondo, lezete questo libro, in lo qual trouverete de grandissimi miracholi e diversità dell Armenia mazore, de Persia, e de Tartaria, e de molte altre provinzie secondo chomo nara, &c. &c.

Had the Venetians at that time had more writers like this, their dialect would, undoubtedly, have gained the superiority in Italy. But Brunetto Latini Ricco de Varlungo, Dino Fiorentino, Salvino Doni, Uga da Siena, Guido Novello, Farinata, Degli Uberti, Lambertuccio Frescobaldi, Pannuccio dal Bagno, Guirtone d'Arezzo, and other Tuscans, who lived also at the close of the thirteenth century, by their elegant compositions turned the scale in favour of the Tuscan dialect, and surpassed all authors who had hitherto written in the common language. If we compare the sonnets of Guirtone d'Arezzo, the poems of Ugolino Ubaldini, and others, which are quoted in the Anthologia Poetica Italiana, with the specimens of the Venetian and Milanese dialects above cited, we cannot be surprised at the superiority which the Tuscan dialect acquired. Dante himself made use of no other dialect but that of Tuscany in his smaller poems and prosaic writings, and seems to have repented of his former neglect of his vernacular language.

Brunetto Latini and Guirtone d'Arezzo had, above all others, the merit of having imparted grammatical correctness to the Italian language; whilst it owes its energy and precision to Dante Alighieri. It was, however, still destitute of that high degree of suavity and harmony, by which it at present distinguishes itself eminently from all other languages. This peculiar charm it obtained by the exertions of Cino of Pistoja, of his pupil Francesco Petrarca, and John Boccaccio. These celebrated authors brought the Tuscan dialect to such a charming perfection, that from that time no good author of the other provinces hesitated to prefer it to his own dialect. Thus the close of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century form the epocha when the Italian language attained the highest degree of perfection.

POETRY.

ODE FOR THE NEW YEAR.

By Henry James Pye, Esq. *Poet Laureat.*

I.

Incessant down the stream of Time,
And days, and years, and ages roll,
Speeding through Error's iron clime
To dark Oblivion's goal;
Lost in the gulf of night profound,
No eye to mark their shadowy bound,
Unless the deed of high renown,
The warlike chief's illustrious crown,
Shed o'er the darkling void a dubious fame,
And gild the passing hour with some immortal name.

II.

Yet, evanescent as the fleeting cloud,
Driv'n by the wild winds o'er the varying skies,
Are all the glories of the great and proud,
On Rumour's idle breath that faintly rise.
A thousand garbs their forms assume,
Woven in vain Conjecture's loom;
Their dyes a thousand hues display,
Sporting in Fancy's fairy ray;
Changing with each uncertain blast,
Till, melting from the eyes at last,
The shadowy vapours fly before the wind,
Sink into viewless air, "nor leave a wreck behind."

III.

But if the raptur'd train, whom Heaven inspires
Of glory to record each deathless meed,
Tune to heroic worth their golden lyres,
And give to memory each godlike deed,
Then shall th' eternal guerdon wait,
The actions of the wise and great;
While, as from black Oblivion's sway,
They bear the mighty name away,
And waft it, borne on pinion high,
With joyful carol to the sky,
Sage History, with eye severe,
Tracing aloft their bold career,
Clears the rich tale from Fiction's specious grace,
And builds her sacred lore on Truth's eternal base.

ODE FOR HIS MAJESTY'S BIRTH-DAY, JUNE 4, 1800.

By H. J. Pye, *Poet Laureat.*

I.

Still the expecting Muse in vain
Reluctant Peace impatient woos,
Still cruel War's destructive train
O'er half mankind their vengeance loose;
Still o'er the genial hours of Spring
Fell Discord waves her crimson wing,
O'er bleeding Europe's ravag'd plains
The Fiend in state terrific reigns;
Nor oaten pipe, nor pastoral song,
Resound her waving woods among,
But floating on the burthen'd gale afar,
Rolls in tremendous peal the thund'ring voice of War.

II.

Yet far from Albion's tranquil shores
The storm of desolation roars;
And while o'er fair Liguria's vales,
Fann'd by Favonius' rapid gales,
O'er Alpine heights that proudly rise
And shroud their summits in the skies,
Or by the Rhine's majestic stream,
The hostile arms of Gallia gleam;

Fenc'd by her naval hosts that ride
Triumphant o'er her circling tide,
Britannia, jocund, pours the festive lay,
And hails with duteous voice her George's natal day.

III.

Yet though her eye exulting sees
Valour her daring offspring crown,
And glory wafts on every breeze
The swelling pæans of renown,
Not from the warrior's laurel leaves
The votive garland now she weaves,
Sweeter than Maia's balmy breath,
Concord perfumes the civic wreath
Of flowers, embued with dew divine,
Which Albion and Ierne twine
To deck his brow whom each, with grateful smiles,
Owns heir of Ocean's reign, lord of the British Isles.

IV.

God of our father's rise,
And through the thund'ring skies
Thy vengeance urge,
In awful justice red,
Be thy dread arrows sped,
But guard our monarch's head,
God save great George!

V.

Still on our Albion smile,
Still o'er this favour'd isle,
O spread thy wing!
To make each blessing sure,
To make our fame endure,
To make our right secure,
God save our king!

VI.

To the loud trumpet's throat,
To the shrill Clarion's note,
Now jocund sing;
From ev'ry open foe,
From ev'ry traitor's blow,
Virtue defend his brow,
God guard our King!

AN INSCRIPTION. *By* Mr. Roscoe.

Stranger, that with careless feet,
Wand'rest near this green retreat,
Where through gentle bending slopes,
Soft the distant prospect opes;

Where the fern, in frigid pride,
Decks the lonely valley's side;
Where the linnet chirps his song,
Flitting as thou tread'st along;

Know, where now thy foosteps pass,
O'er the bending tufts of grass,
Bright gleaming through the encircling wood,
Once a Naiad roll'd her flood:

If her urn, unknown to fame,
Pour'd no far extended stream,
Yet along its grassy side
Clear and constant flow'd the tide.

Grateful for the tribute paid,
Lordly Mersey lov'd the maid:
Yonder rocks still mark the place
Where she met his stern embrace.

Stranger, curious would'st thou learn
Why she mourns her wasted urn?
Soon a short and simple verse
Shall her hapless fate rehearse.

Ere yon neighb'ring spires arose,
That the upland prospect close;
Or ere along the startled shore
Echo'd loud the cannon's roar;

Once the maid in summer's heat,
Careless left her cool retreat,
And by sultry suns opprest,
Laid her weary limbs to rest;

Forgetful of her daily toil,
To trace each tract of humid soil:

From dews and bounteous show'rs to bring
The limpid treasures of her spring;

Enfeebled by the scorching ray,
She slept the sultry hours away;
And when she op'd her languid eye,
Found her silver urn was dry.

Heedless stranger, who so long
Hast listen'd to an idle song,
Whilst trifles thus thy notice share,
Hast thou no urn that asks thy care?

BANNOCKBURN.

Robert Bruce's Address to his Soldiers.

(From the Fourth Volume of the Works of Robert Burns.)

Scots, wha hae wi' Wallace bled;
Scots, wham Bruce has aften led;
Welcome to your gory bed,
Or to glorious victorie.

Now's the day, and now's the hour;
See the front o' battle lour;
See approach proud Edward's power—
Edward! chains and slaverie!

Wha will be a traitor knave?
Wha can fill a coward's grave?
Wha sae base as be a slave?
Traitor! coward! turn and flee!

Wha for Scotland's king and law
Freedom's sword will strongly draw,
Free-man stand, or free-man fa',
Caledonian! on wi' me!

By oppression's woes and pains!
By your sons in servile chains!
We will drain our dearest veins,
But they shall be—shall be free!

Lay the proud usurpers low!
Tyrants fall in every foe!
Liberty's in every blow!
Forward! let us do, or die!

TO MARY, IN HEAVEN.

(From the First Volume of the same Works.)

THOU ling'ring star, with less'ning ray,
That lov'st to greet the early morn,
Again thou usher'st in the day
My Mary from my soul was torn.
O Mary! dear departed shade!
Where is thy place of blissful rest?
See'st thou thy lover lowly laid?
Hear'st thou the groans that rend his breast?
That sacred hour can I forget,
Can I forget the hallow'd grove,
Where by the winding Ayr we met,
To live one day of parting love!
Eternity will not efface
Those records dear of transports past;
Thy image at our last embrace;
Ah! little thought we 'twas our last!
Ayr gurgling kiss'd his pebbled shore,
O'erhung with wild woods, thick'ning green;
The fragrant birch, and hawthorn hoar,
Twin'd amorous round the raptur'd scene.
The flow'rs sprang wanton to be prest,
The birds sang love on ev'ry spray,
'Till too, too soon, the glowing west,
Proclaim'd the speed of winged day.
Still o'er these scenes my mem'ry wakes,
And fondly broods with miser care;
Time but the impression deeper makes,
As streams their channels deeper wear.
My Mary, dear departed shade!
Where is thy blissful place of rest?
See'st thou thy lover lowly laid?
Hear'st thou the groans that rend his breast?

ODES OF ANACREON.

(From Mr. Moore's Translation.)

ODE II.

Give me the harp of epic song,
Which Homer's finger thrill'd along;
But tear away the sanguine string,
For war is not the theme I sing.
Proclaim the laws of festive rite,
I'm monarch of the board to-night;
And all around shall brim as high,
And quaff the tide as deep as I!
And when the cluster's mellowing dews
Their warm, enchanting balm infuse,
Our feet shall catch th' elastic bound,
And reel us through the dance's round.
Oh Bacchus! we shall sing to thee,
In wild but sweet ebriety!
And flash around such sparks of thought,
As Bacchus could alone have taught!
Then give the harp of epic song,
Which Homer's finger thrill'd along;
But tear away the sanguine string,
For war is not the theme I sing!

ODE XV.

Tell me, why, my sweetest dove,
Thus your humid pinions move,
Shedding through the air in showers
Essence of the balmiest flowers?
Tell me whither, whence you rove,
Tell me all, my sweetest dove.
Curious stranger! I belong
To the bard of Teian song;
With his mandate now I fly
To the nymph of azure eye;
Ah! that eye has madden'd many,
But the poet more than any!

Venus, for a hymn of love,
Warbled in her votive grove,
('Twas in sooth a gentle lay,)
Gave me to the bard away.
See me now his faithful minion,
Thus with softly-gliding pinion,
To his lovely girl I bear
Songs of passion through the air.
Oft he blandly whispers me,
" Soon, my bird, I'll set you free."
But in vain he'll bid me fly,
I shall serve him till I die.
Never could my plumes sustain
Ruffling winds and chilling rain,
O'er the plains, or in the dell,
On the mountain's savage swell;
Seeking in the desert wood
Gloomy shelter, rustic food.
Now I lead a life of ease,
Far from such retreats as these;
From Anacreon's hand I eat
Food delicious, viands sweet;
Flutter o'er his goblet's brim,
Sip the foamy wine with him.
Then I dance and wanton round
To the lyre's beguiling sound;
Or with gently-fanning wings
Shade the minstrel while he sings:
On his harp then sink in slumbers,
Dreaming still of dulcet numbers!
This is all—away—away—
You have made me waste the day.
How I've chatter'd! prating crow,
Never yet did chatter so.

ODE XXI.

Observe when mother earth is dry,
She drinks the droppings of the sky;
And then the dewy cordial gives
To ev'ry thirsty plant that lives.
The vapours, which at evening weep,
Are beverage to the swelling deep;
And when the rosy sun appears,
He drinks the ocean's misty tears.

The moon too quaffs her paly stream
Of lustre, from the solar beam.
Then, hence with all your sober thinking!
Since Nature's holy law is drinking;
I'll make the laws of nature mine,
And pledge the universe in wine!

ODE XXXVIII.

Let us drain the nectar'd bowl,
Let us raise the song of soul
To him, the god who loves so well
The nectar'd bowl, the choral swell!
Him, who instructs the sons of earth
To thread the tangled dance of mirth;
Him, who was nurs'd with infant Love,
And cradled in the Paphian grove;
Him that the snowy Queen of Charms
Has fondled in her twining arms.
From him that dream of transport flows,
Which sweet intoxication knows;
With him, the brow forgets to darkle,
And brilliant graces learn to sparkle.
Behold! my boys a goblet bear,
Whose sunny foam bedews the air.
Where are now the tear, the sigh?
To the winds they fly, they fly!
Grasp the bowl; in nectar sinking,
Man of sorrow drown thy thinking!
Oh! can the tears we lend to thought
In life's account avail us aught!
Can we discern, with all our lore,
The path we're yet to journey o'er?
No, no, the walk of life is dark,
'Tis wine alone can strike a spark!
Then let me quaff the foamy tide,
And through the dance meandering glide;
Let me imbibe the spicy breath
Of odours chaf'd to fragrant death;
Or from the kiss of love inhale
A more voluptuous, richer gale!
To souls, that court the phantom Care,
Let him retire and shroud him there;

While we exhaust the nectar'd bowl,
And swell the choral song of soul
To him, the god who loves so well
The nectar'd bowl, the choral swell!

ODE LV.

While we invoke the wreathed spring,
Resplendent rose! to thee we'll sing;
Resplendent rose, the flower of flowers,
Whose breath perfumes Olympus' bowers;
Whose virgin blush, of chasten'd dye,
Enchants so much our mortal eye.
When pleasure's bloomy season glows,
The Graces love to twine the rose;
The rose is warm Dione's bliss,
And flushes like Dione's kiss!
Oft has the poet's magic tongue
The rose's fair luxuriance sung;
And long the Muses, heavenly maids,
Have rear'd it in their tuneful shades.
When, at the early glance of morn,
It sleeps upon the glittering thorn,
'Tis sweet to dare the tangled fence,
To cull the timid flowret thence,
And wipe with tender hand away
The tear that on its blushes lay!
'Tis sweet to hold the infant stems,
Yet dropping with Aurora's gems,
And fresh inhale the spicy sighs
That from the weeping buds arise.
When revel reigns, when mirth is high,
And Bacchus beams in every eye,
Our rosy fillets scent exhale,
And fill with balm the fainting gale!
Oh! there is nought in nature bright,
Where roses do not shed their light!
When morning paints the orient skies,
Her fingers burn with roseate dyes;
The nymphs display the rose's charms,
It mantles o'er their graceful arms;
Through Cytherea's form it glows,
And mingles with the living snows.
The rose distils a healing balm,
The beating pulse of pain to calm;

Preserves the cold inurned clay,
And mocks the vestige of decay:
And when at length, in pale decline,
Its florid beauties fade and pine,
Sweet as in youth, its balmy breath
Diffuses odour e'en in death!
Oh! whence could such a plant have sprung?
Attend—for thus the tale is sung.
When, humid, from the silvery stream,
Effusing beauty's warmest beam,
Venus appeared, in flushing hues,
Mellow'd by ocean's briny dews;
When, in the starry courts above,
The pregnant brain of mighty Jove
Disclos'd the nymph of azure glance,
The nymph who shakes the martial lance!
Then, then, in strange eventful hour,
The earth produc'd an infant flower,
Which sprung, with blushing tinctures drest,
And wanton'd o'er its parent breast.
The gods beheld this brilliant birth,
And hail'd the Rose, the boon of earth!
With nectar drops, a ruby tide,
The sweetly orient buds they dyed,
And bade them bloom, the flowers divine
Of him who sheds the teeming vine;
And bade them on the spangled thorn
Expand their bosoms to the morn.

LINES UPON A GARLAND. By Angerianus.

From the Notes to Mr. Moore's Anacreon.

By Celia's arbour all the night
Hang, humid wreath, the lover's vow;
And haply, at the morning light,
My love shall twine thee round her brow.

Then, if upon her bosom bright
Some drops of dew shall fall from thee,
Tell her, they are not drops of night,
But tears of sorrow shed by me!

EPIGRAM. By Dionysius.

From the same.

I wish I could like zephyr steal
To wanton o'er thy mazy vest;
And thou wouldst ope thy bosom-veil,
And take me panting to thy breast!

I wish I might a rose-bud grow,
And thou wouldst cull me from the bower,
And place me on that breast of snow,
Where I should bloom, a wintry flower.

I wish I were the lily's leaf,
To fade upon that bosom warm;
There I should wither, pale and brief,
The trophy of thy fairer form!

LINES. By St. Pavin.

From the same.

Fair and young, thou bloomest now,
And I full many a year have told;
But read the heart and not the brow,
Thou shalt not find my love is old.

My love's a child; and thou canst say
How much his little age may be,
For he was born the very day
That first I set my eyes on thee!

LINES TO THE MEMORY OF ANACREON.

By Antipater Sidonius. *From Mr. Moore's Anacreon.*

Around the tomb, oh, bard divine!
Where soft thy hallow'd brow reposes,
Long may the deathless ivy twine,
And summer pour her waste of roses!

And many a fount shall there distil,
  And many a rill refresh the flowers;
But wine shall gush in every rill,
  And every fount be milky showers.

Thus, shade of him, whom Nature taught
  To tune his lyre and soul to pleasure,
Who gave to love his warmest thought,
  Who gave to love his fondest measure!

Thus, after death, if spirits feel,
  Thou may'st from odours round thee streaming,
A pulse of past enjoyment steal,
  And live again in blissful dreaming!

ACCOUNT OF BOOKS.

Planta's History of the Helvetic Confederacy. In 2 vols. 4to.

The emancipation of Swisserland from the despotism of Austria, and its gradual formation into the freest and most independent associations of small states that has ever existed in modern Europe, are in themselves subjects of high interest and importance: and when to these is added its recent conquest, through a system of fraud and violence almost unprecedented in the records of History, it is natural that at the present moment public attention should be peculiarly attracted towards this brave and unfortunate people, and that their character, institutions, and military and political history should become objects of general research and inquiry.

Hitherto our own language has not supplied any satisfactory sources of information upon these topics. Mr. Coxe's View of the Constitutions of the Cantons, though a useful and valuable work, does not pretend to be an historical one; Stanyan gives little more than political and topographical description, and the Universal History devotes no separate portion to Swisserland. The celebrated Gibbon began a History of Swisserland in French; the reasons which induced him to prefer a foreign language to his own do not appear, but it was probably owing to this cause, that his success did not equal his expectations, and that he ultimately relinquished the attempt.

The author of the present publication, himself a Swiss, has undertaken to give a connected history of his native country, from the earliest notices of the Helvetic nations to the fatal battle of Frauenbrunnen, in 1798, and the dreadful excesses by which it was followed. Well fitted for the office which he has assumed, by a perfect knowledge of the German language, and a thorough acquaintance with the works of his predecessors in this particular branch of history, Mr. Planta also possesses those habits of impartial inquiry and acute investigation, without which an historical writer may please and amuse, but can never gain the confidence, or satisfy the judgment, of an enlightened reader.

In a sensible and well written preface, after noticing the chasm which the want of a good History of Swisserland occasions in English literature, Mr. Planta details at length the authors from whose

works he has derived assistance, and the names of Muller, Lauffer, Meister, and several others, are mentioned in terms of high praise, and with the most unqualified acknowledgements. He then proceeds to touch, with great feeling and moderation, upon those consequences of the French Revolution which have entailed destruction upon the peace and liberty of Swisserland; and while he apologizes for any warmth of expression, which, as a man and a Swiss, could not but occasionally escape him, in recording the lamentable events connected with the recent subjugation of his country, he guarantees to his readers the impartiality essential to an historian, by referring them to the accounts of the invaders themselves, as one of his principal sources of information. The Preface concludes with a spirited defence of the Swiss from the various charges which have been brought against their national character, and indeed successfully proves that many other nations might have been comprehended by Voltaire, in the bitter sarcasm which brands them as barbarians.

——— "dont la guerre est l'unique mêtier,
Et qui vendent leur sang á qui le veut payer."

The limits of our publication confine us to a brief outline of the arrangement of the work, and a few extracts from its most striking and interesting passages. The History of Swisserland naturally divides itself into two distinct portions, and Mr. Planta has very judiciously adopted this division. The first part commences with the origin of the Helvetic nations, and terminates with the complete establishment of the confederacy. The second part narrates the History of the Confederacy, its decline, dismemberment, and final dissolution. In the beginning of the first volume, Mr. Planta takes us back to the Helvetii, the Rhæti, &c. &c. details their extirpation, and the settlement of the Franks and Burgundians in the dispeopled countries.

"The Rhæti* are reported to have been a people of Tuscan origin, who, flying from the oppressions of the Gauls who ravaged their country, took refuge among the higher Alps, eastward of St. Gothard, to the farther confines of the Tyrol, and down to the lake of Constance†. Here they erected strong castles on many eminences ‡; and built another Lavinium, an Ardea, a Susa, and a Faliscum, of which Camillus never had any knowledge §. This people, perhaps exasperated by the losses they sustained, or rendered callous by the extreme asperity of their newly adopted country, became martial to a degree of savage ferocity. They

* This name was either indigenous Tuscan, or derived from that of the chief who led them into the Alps.—The Leponti were a tribe of uncertain origin, likewise seated among these mountains.

† Liv. l. v. c. 33.

‡ Arces, Alpibus impositas tremendis. Hor.

§ Lavin, Ardetz, Susch, Flæsh, the present names of townships in the Grisons. To these many more Roman or Tuscan names of towns, and of some families, might be added.

harassed their neigbours on every side, and exercised on them all manner of rapine and cruelty. Amidst the triumphs of the Romans all around them, they preserved their sullen independence *; until the days of Octavianus Augustus, when his two sons-in-law, Cl. Drusus and Cl. Tiberius Nero, with a considerable army penetrated far into their country, seized on the most hardy of their youths, whom they incorporated into the Roman legions, and established a strong camp, which kept the natives in awe, and enforced the payment of a stipulated tribute. Most of the Rhæti fell in these struggles for independence †; and scarce one-third of the Helvetii survived their wars with Cæsar. Such was the havoc necessary to curb these stubborn mountaineers.

"Although subdued by Cæsar, the Helvetii still retained considerable privileges, and among the rest were allowed to garrison a fort near the frontiers of Germany, with their own militia. The Romans at the same time settled in many parts. The Colonia Augusta Rauracorum ‡, on the Rhine, soon became equally eminent for strength and splendor. Aventicum § was considered as the capital of the country. Vindonissa ‖ and Ebrodunum ** appear to have been places of some note: and many inscriptions are still extant, from which we collect, that during the auspicious reign of Augustus, this country enjoyed a degree of prosperity, which, under his profligate successors, was soon converted into a most degrading state of servitude.

"The twenty-first legion, when Vitellius assumed the purple, was stationed at Vindonissa. From its extortions it had acquired the name of the *rapacious* ††. It took offence at the loyalty the Helvetii had maintained in favour of Galba; and being joined by the Thracian and other legions, and headed by Aulus Cæcina, a man of great audacity and unheard of cruelty, ravaged the country from Baden ‡‡, which he demolished, up to Aventicum, where Julius Alpinus, the chief magistrate, was demanded for instant execution. His daughter Alpinula implored for mercy; but she implored in vain. Her sepulchral inscription, found not long since, expresses in pathetic lan-

* Their posterity, to this day, speak a language which is thought to be derived from these rude ancestors: it consists of two main dialects, the *Romansh* and *Ladin*. v. Phil. Trans. vol. lxvi. p. 129. Coxe's Travels in Swisserland, vol. iii. p. 279.

† Such was the fierce resistance made by this people, that even their women are reported to have fought with desperate fury, and to have dashed their children in the faces of the Roman soldiers.

‡ Augst, near Basle, is the name of the village which now stands on the site of this once important station.

§ Avenche, where many remains of the ancient city are still extant.

‖ Windish, near the conflux of the Reuss and Aar.

** Yverdun.

†† *Rapax*. Tacit. hist. l. i. c. 67; and l. ii. c. 43. 61.

‡‡ *Respublica Aquensis*, was already noted, and resorted to for its salubrious waters.

guage the sorrow which seems to have abridged her days*. The whole Helvetic nation was doomed to utter destruction. Claudius Cossus, the chief of a deputation sent to crave for mercy, succeeded by his eloquence and supplicating demeanor, to soften, not only the obdurate emperor, but even the exasperated legions, and saved what yet remained of the desponding people †.

"A short series of better emperors succeeded, and Helvetia, as well as the rest of the Roman world, experienced a less disastrous interval. Vespasian, whose father had carried on a profitable traffic in this country, strengthened Aventicum by a colony of veterans ‡, perhaps some of the legionaries whom Titus had brought back from Asia, after the conquest of Judea; whence, and from some resemblance between the lakes of Morat and Neuchattel, and those of Merom and Genezareth, which alike communicate with each other, this country is said to have been once named Galilee §. A college of physicians, and other public seminaries, were established in this favoured city. Rocks ‖ were perforated in the vicinity, to facilitate trade and mutual intercourse. Timber, wine, and cheese, were exchanged for corn and other necessaries. The industry of man penetrated into the higher Alps, explored their natural produce ¶, and extended culture to the farthest limits of vegetation. The people paid grateful homage to the gods: they worshipped the sun under the name of the invincible Belinus, and his sister, Isis, the moon. They honoured the sylphs as their peculiar guardians; and revered the gods of the shades below **. Many inscriptions bear witness to the domestic felicity they enjoyed; and cheerfulness is even observed on their sepulchral monuments. 'They lived,' as one of them caused to be inscribed on his tomb, 'as we do: we shall die like them: thus do men drive each other through the world: go passenger, and mind thy business ††.'

"But prosperous days like these were not to be of long continuance. Trajan was still holding together the unwieldy power of Rome, when the Alemanni from the north, spread their arms and led their cattle to the confines of Helvetia. They wandered freely throughout the ample waste ‡‡.

* Julia Alpinula hic jaceo, infelicis patris infelix proles, deæ Aventiæ sacerdos: exorare patris necem non potui; male mori in fatis illi erat: vixi annos xxiii. Gruter Inscrip. 319. 10.

† Tacit. l. i. c. 67, et seq.

‡ Colonia Flavia, pia, constans, emerita, Aventicoerum Helvetiorum. Murat. Thes. 1102.

§ Fredegarius.

‖ Pierre Pertuise.

¶ Described by Pliny in various parts of his Nat. Hist.

** *Dis manibus*, occurs often on inscriptions.

†† Vixi ut vivis, morieris ut sum mortuus; sic vita truditur; vale, viator, et abi in rem tuam. Gruter, 898. 1.

‡‡ The obsolete German word *almend* here used, means a common pasture. Among the many derivations of the name *Alemanni*, this is not an improbable one. The Suavi, or Suabians, were the same people.

They despised walls; and stood in no need of social aid, for each man supplied his own wants. They feared and worshipped the invisible powers of nature; and probably sacrificed horses at the great Cataract, near Shaffhausen; where the dark tumultuous scene (which even now, after the effects of time and culture have softened its features, strikes the beholders with awe and admiration), favoured the gloom of their barbarous rites *. After various attempts, whilst the feeble Gallienus had thirty rivals to contend with, they penetrated, in great numbers, into the valleys of Rhætia, und crossing the mountains, overspread Italy as far as the gates of Ravenna. The northern nations seemed now in a general fermentation. The Burgundians from the Saale, the Heruli from the fenny sands of Brandenburgh, the Ostrogoths, Franks, and Saxons, assailed the empire on every side. The situation of Helvetia was too centrical to escape the depredations of these ferocious invaders.

"The city of Aventicum was probably burnt in one of these incursions; and the whole nation seems, about this time, to have been totally extirpated: but no historian has recorded even the dates of these calamities. Geographers, who mention Helvetia during this period, represent it as a mere desert; and Ammianus Marcellinus, at the end of the fourth century, speaks of Aventicum as of a place, at that time, wholly abandoned, but whose former greatness might be justly inferred from the large and extensive ruins that covered its site. Had Rome chosen to conciliate the friendship, rather than to subdue the people of the Alps, they would perhaps have fought more strenuously for their common welfare, and averted, both from Italy and their own country, the disasters that finally brought on the ruin of both.

"In this state of devastation, Helvetia became now an easy prey to the first adventurers who were inclined to occupy it: and yet some centuries appear to have elapsed before the new possessors rose to the rank of a nation."

The following interesting little narrative of the origin of the Swiss is afterwards given.

"While the Dukes of Zæringen were, under the supremacy of the empire, exerting their authority over the fairest part of Helvetia, and many powerful counts and prelates were struggling with the rising cities for pre-eminence and local franchises, there existed in the midst of them, a race so little known, so unobserved, that the Abbot of Einsidlen, when he obtained grants in the parts it occupied, found it practicable to conceal its very name from the emperor; thus precluding an accurate demarcation of the boundaries, and the limitation of future claims. This small tribe was no sooner noticed, but it immediately displayed all the firmness and energy, joined with temper and moderation, it has since manifested on numberless occasions. Amidst gay mea-

* Horse shoes have been found in the cleft of the rocks, which still remain at the great fall near Shaffhausen.

dows, at the foot of a lofty mountain *, and not far from the banks of the lake of Lucern, stood its capital burgh Schwitz †, from which all Helvetia has since derived its name and independence. The sides of the surrounding mountains are variegated with gay verdure, and the dusky hue of pine forests: several of their summits are bare rocks. This alternate mixture of dreary waste, of fertile lawns, of scattered dwellings, and peaceful flocks and shepherds wandering on the downy turf; the variety of glowing tints displayed by the sunbeams on the massy rocks, the splendor of the lake, the pureness of the air; the consciousness of security, derived, not from artificial fences, but from the perpetual bulwarks of insurmountable precipices; the ease and freedom of a pastoral life; all tended to inspire this people with a contented cheerfulness, and dauntless intrepidity, to which they owed the ardent love of independence, which to our days has eminently distinguished them even from their free-minded neighbours and confederates. Never, unless when misled by artful demagogues, have they deviated from their primitive maxims of justice, candour, and inflexible integrity.

" Concerning their origin, the following is the oral tradition which has been handed down through many generations, and still obtains amongst them. 'An ancient kingdom in the north, either in Friesland or Scandinavia, was once visited by a famine: the people assembled, and the majority decreed that every tenth man, with his family, should evacuate the country. Lots were cast; and those on whom they fell quitted their native seats, amidst the cries and lamentations of their friends and kinsmen: the mothers, in deep dismay, led out their helpless infants. In three bands, under three leaders, came forth six thousand hardy gigantic men, with their wives, children, and most valuable effects. They swore never to forsake each other; and prayed to God to grant them a land like that of their forefathers, where they might graze their cattle, without fear of molestation or oppressive power. God brought them to a vale in the Alps, where they built Schwitz. The people increased in number. They spared no labour in clearing away the woods; but when the vale could no longer contain them, some went over to the black mountain ‡, and some to the white lands §.' If these traditional songs be compared with what we learn

* The Haken.

† *Suites*, occurs in the ancient records. It will be a useful orthographical distinction to write *Schwitz* and *Schwitzers*, when this particular town, canton, or people are meant; and to appropriate *Swiss* and *Swisserland* to the nation and country at large. Fastidious critics, would, no doubt, reprobate as a quaintness, the softening the former appellations into *Switz* and *Switzers*; but *Switzérland* is manifestly a spurious derivation.

‡ Mount Brunig in Underwalden.

§ Oberhasli a mong the glaciers, between St. Gothard and the lake of Thun.

from more credible historians*, it appears well attested that this original race gradually spread itself all over the high mountainous tract between Schwitz and Gruyeres. The date and circumstances of this migration are not known; people like these, paid little attention to the lapse of time †; and the traditional accounts of famines in the north are frequent, and common to various countries: nor can the names and incidents related in these songs, since the ancient language of the Swiss has been gradually disused, afford any clue to the industrious antiquary."

After the death of the last Duke of Zæringen, the dominions of that powerful family became separated between various claimants, and there is little for an historian to pause upon till the famous Rudolph, of Hapsburg, commences his extraordinary progress from the castle hall of a petty noble, who could view the entire extent of his domain from his own windows, to the possession of an enormous extent of territory, and the summit of an imperial throne. This celebrated warrior was used to describe himself as "elevated by the grace of God from the *huts* of his ancestors." Long before his death he bestowed separate sovereignties upon his sons, and he left behind him a race of princes, who have for many centuries continued to extend their dominions and increase their power, and whose splendid career has frequently in its course endangered the freedom of Europe. Rudolph and his successor are thus described.

"Rudolph was high in stature, and of a graceful figure and deportment: he was bald, his complexion pale, his nose aquiline; his mien was grave, but so engaging as to command the confidence of all those who approached him. Both at the time when, with scanty means, he performed eminent achievements, and when, in his exalted station, a multitude of pulic concerns claimed incessant attention, he preserved a gay and tranquil mind, and a disposition to facetious mirth. His manners were simple and unassuming: his diet was plain: and he was still more temperate in the use of spirituous liquors. He once in the field appeased his hunger with raw turnips; he usually wore a plain blue coat; and his soldiers have often seen him darn his doublet with the same hand that grasped his conquering sword in fourteen battles. It is recorded, that he ever preserved his conjugal fidelity to his consort Gertrude‡, who bore him ten children. He enjoyed pleasures without being subservient to them; and hence did he never want either time for labour or relaxation, or in old age, health and vigour for powerful exertions.

"Albert of Hapsburg, Duke of Austria, the only surving son of King Rudolph, had, during a nine years administration of his own territories, and the share he

* Paul Warnefrid, Etterlin, Bertin, &c.

† Events are frequently blended together in old traditions, though thousands of years may have intervened.

‡ Of the house of Froburg and Hohenhurg. He married her in 1245, and she died in 1281.

had long borne in all the transactions of his father's reign, given such early proofs of his supercilious temper and ambitious views, as filled all the neighbouring states with reluctance against the further aggrandizement of the house of Hapsburg. The character of no prince, perhaps, who has moved in so eminent a sphere as Albert, has ever been so variously represented, by the jealousy and hatred of some whom he had offended on the one hand, and on the other, by the fear and adulation of those who had adhered to his family and person.

"He possessed an inflexible perseverance. The improvement of his treasures and armies, the latter of which he commanded with admirable skill and courage, seems more strongly to have actuated his conduct, than the more general principles of sound policy and justice. Eager to extend his dominions, he scorned the trammels of the laws which controuled his power. He was impressed with a laudable spirit of order and propriety, which manifested itself in his high commendations of modesty in women, learning in the clergy, and valour in the soldier. Such was the controul he had over his passions, that, when most violently agitated, he could still command his utterance; nor did he ever allow himself to be diverted by the allurements of pleasure: and yet, neither was he beloved in life, nor after death was his memory revered either by his kindred, his father's friends, his subjects, or the German nation. His wealth surpassed that of all other princes; and his forces, consisting of Hungarian light horse, heavy-armed cuirassiers, a select body of knights in rich uniforms, and an infantry of young freemen, were both numerous and highly trained. For sieges, he had a hundred waggons loaded with rams, cats, pitch-balls, and all manner of destructive implements. So stern was his severity, that, in an insurrection, he compelled the magistrates of Vienna to come to him bare-headed and bare-footed to a neighbouring mountain, and surrender the keys of their city; and there, in their presence, he tore every document of their obstructive privileges. His insatiate thirst after wealth and territory, his stubborn pertinacity, an unseemly disorder in his eyes, and a gloomy aspect, all these forbidding features rendered him so odious, that even virtue in him wore the semblance of selfishness. The man whom all hate can never govern all. Albert was about forty-two years of age when he succeeded to the hereditary dominions of his father."

Our readers will naturally expect us to give them Mr. Planta's account of the well known history of William Tell; but some disappointment will probably be experienced, when it is found that the popular tale of the apple, which the tyrant commanded him to aim at when it was placed upon the head of his son, is passed over in silence. A note informs us that no such circumstance is recorded by the best German historians; and, indeed, the simple narrative is in itself so interesting that it loses little by the omission.

"In the night preceding the 11th of November, came Furst,

Melchthal, and Stauffacher, with each ten associates, men of approved worth, and who had freely declared their abhorrence of the unwarranted oppressions of the bailiffs. These three and thirty undaunted patriots *, deeply impressed with the sense of their hereditary freedom, and firmly united by the dangers that threatened their country, being thus met in the field Rutli, suffered neither the vindictive wrath, nor the whole formidable power of the house of Hapsburg to divert them from their purpose, but with one heart and mind resolved—'that in this great enterprize none of them would be guided by his private opinion: that none would forsake his friends; but that they would all jointly live and die in the defence of the common cause: that each would, in his own vicinity, promote the object they had in view, trusting that the whole nation would one day have cause to bless this friendly union: that the Count of Hapsburg should be deprived of none of his lands, vassals, or prerogatives; and that his bailiffs, their officers and attendants, should not lose one drop of blood: but that the freedom they had inherited from their forefathers they were determined to assert, and to hand down to their posterity, untainted and undiminished.'. Thus fixt in their resolve, while with tranquil countenances and honest hands, each beheld and clasped his friend: while at this solemn hour they were wrapt in the contemplation that on their success depended the fate of their whole progeny; Werner, Walter, and Arnold, held up their hands to heaven, and in the name of the Almighty, who has created man to an inalienable degree of freedom, swore, jointly and strenuously, to defend that freedom. The thirty heard the oath with awe, and with uplifted hands, attested the same God and all his saints, that they were firmly bent on offering up their lives for the defence of their injured liberty. They then calmly agreed on their future proceedings; but, for the present, each returned to his hamlet, observed profound secrecy, and tended his cattle.

"Meanwhile, the progress of wanton oppression put a period to the life and cruelties of the Bailiff Herman Gesler. Prompted either by restless suspicion, or by some intimation of a meditated insurrection, he resolved to mark those who bore his yoke with most reluctance, and had recourse to an expedient which, perhaps, had been practised by the ancestors of this people before they left their northern seats †. He raised a hat on a pole at Uri, to which he commanded all passengers to pay obeisance. William Tell of Burglen, in the valley of Uri, son-in-law to Walter Furst, a man in the

* The word Patriot, when this was written (Anno 1798) had incurred an odium, because it had been misapplied. The day, it is to be hoped, will yet return, when a true friend of his country may resume that name without a blush.

† Grasser, a Swiss writer, has pointed out some resemblance between various incidents in Tell's history, and those of Tocco, a Scandinavian, whose feats are recorded by Saxo. The popular tale of the apple, which Tell was ordered to shoot at on the head of his infant son, is wholly omitted by Muller.

full vigour of life, of an undaunted spirit, and one of the sworn friends of liberty, scorned to pay the respect Gesler had ordained to this symbol of his usurped authority. An unguarded declaration of his contempt for this badge of servitude, induced the bailiff to seize his person; and, thinking it unsafe, on account of the many friends and relations he had in his native valley, to detain him there, he resolved (contrary to the privilege of the people, which forbad their being sent to foreign prisons) to convey him across the lake. They had not navigated far beyond the Rutli, when on a sudden a boisterous south wind burst forth from the inlets of St. Gothard, and raised the waves on the lake to a tremendous height. The bailiff, justly alarmed at his own danger, ordered Tell, whom he knew to be an expert boatman, to be freed from his fetters, and intrusted with the helm. They rowed in anxious suspense under the towering precipices on the right of the lake, till having approached the Axelberg, Tell steered close to a projecting cliff, sprung on shore, and leaving the boat to contend with the rocks and raging billows, climbed up the steep, and fled to Schwitz. The bailiff likewise escaped the storm, and landed at Kusnacht, near the lower extremity of the lake; but Tell, aware of his own danger while such a foe survived, met him in a hollow road, and shot him with an arrow. Such was the end of Herman Gesler. He fell before the appointed hour for the deliverance of the country, without any co-operation on the part of the indignant people, but merely by the provoked resentment of a free, high-minded individual. The deed, it is true, cannot be justified on legal principles; and Tell has been more than once branded with the opprobrious appellation of conspirator and assassin; but it was a deed similar to many which have been highly extolled in history: nor is it at all expedient, or necessary, towards a well regulated government, that oppression should have no limits, and that tyrants should have nothing to fear. This deed of William Tell cheered the hopes, and animated the courage of the sworn associates: but many feared lest the anticipation might rouse the vigilance, and call forth all the efforts and precautions of the surviving bailiff. They, however, continued carefully to conceal their project: and thus ended the year one thousand three hundred and seven.

"One of the confederates, a youth of Underwalden, who was paying his addresses to a maid-servant in the castle of Rossberg, was frequently admitted to nightly visits in her chamber. One of these visits he paid at the first hour of the year thirteen hundred and eight, when he ascended by a rope to one of the windows of the castle. No sooner had he been introduced, than twenty of his companions, who lay concealed in the moat, were likewise drawn up, and entered at the same window. These immediately secured the keeper, his four soldiers, and all his attendants; took possession of the gate, and observed strict silence. Soon after day-break, twenty other men of Underwalden came to Sarnen with

their usual new-year's gifts to the bailiff, which, on this occasion, consisted of a large number of calves, goats and lambs, and abundance of poultry and game. Landenberg, whom they met on his way to church, commended their liberality; and ordered them to convey the presents to his castle. Being arrived at the gate, one of them blew a horn, and each drew out a pointed weapon, and fixed it on his staff. Thirty more of the confederates hastened from a neighbouring wood; and these jointly took possession of the castle, and secured all those they found within its walls. The appointed signal being now given, and instantly repeated from alp to alp, the whole country of Underwalden rose in arms. The men of Uri seized on Gesler's opprobrious tower; and the Schwitzers, led by Stauffacher, flew to the lake Lowerz, and possessed themselves of the castle of Schwanau. So punctual and expeditious were all these movements, that the messengers who reciprocally conveyed the tidings of the successes, met near the middle of the lake. Landenberg, aware of his danger, endeavoured to escape across the fields between Sarnen and Alpenach, but was overtaken and seized. He and all the keepers, officers and soldiers, found in the castles, were conducted to the frontiers, where, after they had taken a solemn oath never to return within the confines of the three cantons, they were dismissed without the least hurt or molestation. The blind father of Melchthal, on this memorable day, once more blessed his existence: the chaste wife of Alzelen exulted in the safe return of her gallant husband: Walter Furst publicly extolled the courage of his son-in-law; and the wife of Stauffacher received with joyful festivity, in her house at Steinen, all the brave and trusty friends who had accompanied her husband to the Rutli and the lake Lowerz. The consciousness of returning liberty exhilarated every mind; and yet, amidst all the tumult and confusion that ever attends popular commotions, all the exultation that unavoidably succeeds the happy issue of so hazardous an enterprize, it is well attested that, in this instance, not one drop of blood was shed, and no proprietor whatever had to lament the loss of either a claim, a privilege, or a single inch of land. Landenberg repaired to King Albert; and the Swiss met on the next succeeding Sunday, and once more confirmed by oath their ancient and (as they have ever fondly named it) their perpetual league."

After the murder of Albert of Austria by his nobles, the Confederacy gained ground by degrees, and, in 1315, three of the Forest Cantons entered into a species of league, which became the foundation of the general Helvetic Union. It enacted that all the Confederates, however divided by mountains, lakes and torrents, were ever after to be considered as one people, firmly united, and at all times ready for the defence of their well-earned liberty. Other cantons gradually became members of this league, and by the beginning of the fifteenth century the Confederacy was acknowledged throughout all Helvetia, although it did not attain complete

perfection until the peace of Arau, in 1718. At this latter period Mr. Planta pauses in his history, to give a statistical view of the Confederacy, which is compiled from the best authorities, and detailed with great care and accuracy.

Before we proceed to the melancholy office of accompanying Mr. Planta in his brief, but touching narrative, of the events which mark the conclusion of the 18th century, we shall retrace our steps a few paces, in order to lay before our readers one of the numerous engagements in which the Swiss fought and bled for liberty, assuring them that we might have selected many others, equally conspicuous for chivalric heroism and patriotic self-devotion.

Duke Leopold of Austria, in 1385, anxious to sow dissensions among the Confederates, encouraged the Helvetian nobles to give them many vexatious causes of offence, which were for some time endured with patience; but Peter de Thombergh, to whom Austria had mortgaged the district of Entlibuch, oppressed the people to a degree beyond all human sufferance, and when it was perceived that complaint and remonstrance were followed by imprisonment, torture, or death, they resorted to their swords for security. Thus began what was termed "the War of the nobles," between the Confederates both of the Municipal and Prædial Cantons on the one hand, and the Helvetian nobility, under the auspices of the Duke of Austria, on the other. Hostilities commenced with great fury: battles were fought, and castles stormed, with various success to the combatants on both sides, until the entire defeat of the army of the nobles at Sempach, and the death of Leopold of Austria, by whom they were led in person.

"The duke advanced from Baden on the Argau, and passing by Sursee, reached the walls of Sempach. This small town, about nine miles from Lucern, lays at the head of a lake nearly six miles in length; the country round it rising into meadows, thence into corn fields, and lastly, into extensive woods which crowned the hills. The Confederates occupied these woods.

"Early on the ninth of July, they reconnoitred the enemy's army: they saw a numerous well appointed host; each band led on by an illustrious baron, an avoyer, or one of the duke's substitutes, whose pride and avarice had occasioned this war. A large body of cavalry, consisting entirely of nobles, who were emulous to achieve the reduction of the Swiss peasants without the aid of the infantry, bore the most formidable aspect. Among all the chiefs none was more conspicuous than Duke Leopold, at that time five and thirty years of age; manly, high minded, full of martial ardour, elate with former victories, revengeful and eager for the combat. It was harvest time; his people reaped the corn: the nobles approached the walls of Sempach, and upbraided the citizens: one of them held up a halter, and said, 'This is for your avoyer:' others demanded that breakfast should be sent out to the reapers; these were answered, 'the Swiss are bringing it.' The duke see-

ing the Confederates on the eminences, forgot, or perhaps never knew, that cavalry attacks with far greater advantage on an ascent, than a declivity: he unadvisedly ordered the nobles, whom their heavy armour rendered very unfit for the evolutions of infantry, to dismount, and sent their horses to a distance in the rear; he formed them in such close array, that the long spears of the rear ranks reached the front of the line, and formed a thorny fence that was deemed impenetrable. John Lord of Ochsenstein commanded this formidable phalanx. The vanguard, consisting of fourteen hundred foot, headed by Frederick Count of Zollern, was sent into the rear*. If the duke actually meant to wait for an attack, he erroneously adopted the plan that becomes a commander who opposes a small to a superior force. To this he may have been induced by the romantic gallantry of his nobles, who scorned advantages gained by stratagem, or a manifest superiority of numbers; and deemed that a victory thus gained would leave the palm of valour undecided: and the bright qualities of Leopold fitted him much more for high feats of chivalry, than for the command of an army.

"John Baron de Hassenberg, an experienced veteran, having surveyed the whole army, intimated to the nobles, that presumptuous hardiness often proves fatal, and earnestly recommended that the Baron de Bonstetten might be sent for without delay; but they reprobated his caution: and thus also, when the duke was admonished, that in all engagements unforeseen accidents do happen; that the province of a chief is to conduct the army, and of the army to defend its chief; and that the loss of a commander is often more ruinous than that of half his force, he at first answered with a smile of indifference; but being urged with still greater solicitude, he replied with warmth, 'Shall Leopold look on from afar, and see how his brave knights combat and die for him? Here in my country, and with my people, will I either conquer or perish.'

"The Confederates drew up on the eminence, under cover of the wood. As long as the knights were mounted, they thought it scarce possible to stand the brunt of their attack in the plain and open country, and deemed it safer to abide their approach in their present position. No sooner, however, did they see the nobles dismount, but, suspecting a stratagem which they might not be able to guard against in the wood, they advanced towards the plain. Their contracted line consisted of four hundred men from Lucern, nine hundred from the other forest cantons, and about one hundred from Glaris, Zug, Gersau, Entlibuch, and Rotenburg. Each band under its proper banner, was commanded by the landamman of its valley, and the Lucerners by their avoyer: they were armed with short weapons; some held the halberts their fathers had

* This appears to have been part of the infantry whom the nobles would not allow to share in the glory of the day.

wielded at Morgarten; several, instead of shields, had small boards tied round their left arms. According to ancient custom, they knelt and implored a blessing from on high. The nobles closed their helmets; the duke created knights; the sun stood high; the day was sultry.

"The Swiss, after their devotion, ran full speed, and with loud clamour, across the plain, seeking an opening where they might break the line, and spread havoc on each side of them: but they were opposed by a solid range of shields as by a wall, and by the numberless points of spears, as by a thick fence of iron thorns. The men of Lucern, more exasperated than the rest at the unexpected impediments, made many fierce attempts to break into the line, but all of them ineffectual. The knights, moving with hideous rattle, attempted to bend their line into a crescent, meaning to outflank and surround the assailants. The banner of Lucern was now, for a time, in imminent danger; the avoyer having been severely wounded, and several of the principal leaders slain. Anthony du Port, a Milanese, who had settled in the valley of Uri, cried out, "Strike the poles of the spears; they are hollow:" this was effected; but the broken spears were immediately replaced by fresh ones, and du Port himself perished in the conflict. The knights, partly owing to their unskilfulness, and more so to the unwieldiness of their armour, found it impracticable to form the intended crescent; but they stood firm and unshaken. The Confederates, who had now lost sixty men, became apprehensive of a movement of the vanguard from the rear, and did not think themselves altogether secure against a surprize from Bonstetten.

"This anxious suspense was at length decided by one heroic deed. Arnold Struthan de Winkelried, a knight of Underwalden, burst suddenly from the ranks: 'I will open a passage,' he cried, 'into the enemy's line. Provide for my wife and children, dear countrymen and confederates; honour my race!' He threw himself instantly upon the enemy's pikes, grasped as many of them as he could reach, buried them in his bosom, and, being of a tall corpulent stature, bore them to the ground with his own ponderous mass: his companions instanty rushed over his expiring body; and a close column forced itself into the broken ranks of the enemy, who were thrown into still greater confusion by their endeavours to close the interval. The pressure this occasioned, added to the intenseness of the heat, proved fatal to many knights, who fell without a wound. Fresh columns of the assailants availed themselves of this disorder, and the havoc became general. The servants of the nobles, who had been left with the horses, perceiving from afar the consternation that prevailed, mounted, and consulted their own safety by flight. The banner of Austria sunk to the ground, together with Henry de Escheloh its bearer. Ulric of Arburg raised it anew, and endeavoured to restore the fight; but he also was soon oppressed, and fell exclaiming, 'Help, Austria, help!' Duke Leopold ran

to him, received the banner, now steeped in gore, from his dying hand, and once more waved it on high. The conflict at this moment became most fierce and obstinate. Numbers of combatants pressed round the duke; many of his illustrious companions fell near him: at length, all hope being at an end, he exclaimed, 'I too will fall with honour.' He sprung forth from among his friends, rushed into the thickest of the enemy, and sought his doom: he fell, and while, weighed down by his ponderous armour, he was struggling in vain to raise himself, he was approached by a common man from Schwitz, who levelled a blow at him. Leopold called out, 'I am the Duke of Austria.' But the man either heard him not, believed him not, or thought that in the day of battle the highest rank conferred no privilege: the duke received a mortal wound *. Martin Malterer, the banneret of Friburg, in Brisgau, saw the disaster: he stood appalled: the banner dropt from his hand: he threw himself upon the corpse of his slaughtered sovereign to preserve it from insult, and there met his own fate.

"The Austrian infantry now, looking round in vain for their duke, betook themselves to flight. The nobles called loudly for their horses; but the dust they saw rising at a distance marked the road by which their faithless servants had long since led them away. Oppressed by their heavy armour, by heat, thirst and fatigue, they still resolved to avenge their sovereign; and, if they could not preserve their lives, at least not to fall easy victims to the resistless fury of their triumphant foes.

"Among the leaders of the Confederates fell Conrad Landamman of Uri, Sigrist Landamman of Underwalden above the forest, and Peterman de Gundoldingen the Avoyer of Lucern. While the latter was bleeding to death, one of his townsmen approached him to learn his dying requests. He, unmindful of all private concerns, answered, 'Tell our fellow citizens never to continue an avoyer longer than one year in office; tell them this is the last advice of Gundoldingen, who dies contented, wishing them repeated victories, and a long series of prosperous years:' thus saying, he breathed his last. The banner of Hohenzollern was taken by a shepherd of Gersau. The services of the burghers of Bremgarten, who withdrew from the field covered with the blood of slaughtered foes, were so greatly prized by the Austrian princes, that they immortalized their valour by a change of the colours of their town livery †. Nicholas Gutt, Avoyer of Zoffingen, fell, together with twelve of his townsmen. Regardless of every concern but that of preventing his banner from falling into the hands of the enemy, he tore it into small pieces, and was found among the dead with the staff fast locked between his teeth. His successors

* We must have better authority than that of C. E. Faber, to believe that the man who killed the duke was actually tried and executed at Berne for that deed.

† They were henceforth red and white.

in office have ever after been made to swear, that they would maintain the banner 'even as Nicholas Gutt had maintained it.' Six hundred and fifty-six counts, lords and knights, whose presence was wont to grace the court of Austria, were found among the slain: and it became proverbial among the Confederates, 'that God had on this day sat in judgment on the wanton arrogance of the nobles.' After most of the chiefs on both sides had thus fallen, the ardour of the conquerors gave way to fatigue, and the extreme sultriness of the day. The few surviving nobles and Austrians were permitted to consult their love of life; and the Confederates meeting with the enemy's baggage, gratified their love of plunder*.

"Thus ended this memorable day, in which Arnold de Winkelried, by devoting his life, saved his country from impending ruin. The enemy, it is true, were impeded by the weight of their armour, the unfitness of their array, and their unskilfulness in the evolutions of a well-trained infantry; and even their native prowess, better adapted to feats of knight-errantry than to the tactics of a disciplined army, was moreover relaxed by the sovereign contempt they entertained for the Swiss peasantry. The Confederates, on the other hand, were greatly favoured by their thorough knowledge of the advantageous positions of their country. They were inferior to others in maœnuvres and manual exercise; but their mode of warfare was, like their souls, simple, grand, and vigorous. With an infantry like that which fought at Morgarten, Laupen, and Sempach; and with a mind like that of Winkelried, miracles might have been performed, even had it been required to storm the thundering batteries of their recent invaders. The Swiss have, at all times, had the means to keep a foreign host out of their country; but those means of late had not co-operated, and were not duly directed.

"Notice was immediately sent to Zuric, Berne, Zug, and Glaris, of the prosperous event which had saved the Confederacy. On the ensuing day, after a party of Austrians had been defeated near Sursee, the Swiss agreed to an armistice for the burying of the dead. Leopold, with sixty of the higher nobility, were conveyed to the abbey of Koenigsfelden, where the remains of the duke were deposited in the vault in which reposed the ashes of Queen Agnes, and others of his house. The lords of Argau were laid in the tombs of their ancestors; the remainder were buried in large pits dug on the field of battle. Two hundred of the Confederates received funeral obsequies at Lucern; and here a perpetual service was ordained for the souls of all who had been slain in the battle, whether friends or enemies. The name of Winkelried has ever since been venerated by his countrymen. Men ought to be well apprized, that a single instant may confer immortality; and that one decisive action of a hero, makes all good men fathers and

* Too hastily, as may be gathered from the subsequent compact of Sempach.

brothers to his children, down to the latest posterity. The conquerors remained three days on the field of battle, and then returned to their homes, with fifteen captured banners, celebrating in artless songs the glory of their arms."

It is painful to turn from a scene so animating as that presented by the battle of Sempach, to the remainder of our task, and we shall endeavour to conclude it as rapidly as possible. Foreign artifice and internal corruption successfully undermined the peace and liberty of Swisserland. As French influence prevailed, ancient institutions were abolished; the democratic form of government became popular; trees of liberty were planted in the principal towns, and while joining in the senseless cry for liberty and equality, the infatuated Swiss perceived not that they were preparing for themselves the worst species of slavery. The venerable Confederacy was trampled under foot, and the deluded men who traitorously promoted these innovations, vainly believed that the Directory would reward them with the high stations to which they aspired in the new government. Swisserland, however, presented too rich a harvest to be suffered to remodel herself in tranquillity. Fifty thousand French bayonets roused her citizens from their dream of security, but too late to enable them to offer any effectual resistance. In vain did they endeavour to recal somewhat of their ancient union, and discipline, and arm to oppose their invaders. On the 5th of March, 1798, which Mr. Planta emphatically terms "the last day of the Confederacy," was fought the battle of Frauenbrunnen—a battle as glorious to the conquered, as it was disgraceful to the victors, and with the detail of which we shall conclude our extracts.

"No sooner had the provisionary regency established its destructive influence, or rather a perfect anarchy, at Berne, than the venerable avoyer Steiguer deposed the insignia of his office. Neither his precarious health, nor his advanced age *, nor yet the hopeless prospect before him, could deter him from joining the army. In the evening of the fourth, he bid a long, and, as he might well forbode, an everlasting farewell to his native city; and, with a brother and some other relations, went forth to seek death in the ranks of his devoted countrymen. He joined Erlach at Frauenbrunnen.

"On the fifth, at one in the morning, General Rampon, who commanded the French on the right of their army, began a cannonade against, and soon after attacked, the posts at Laupen, Neweneck, and St. Gines. He not only experienced a vigorous resistance, but was even repulsed at the latter place. The other posts indeed yielded a while to superior numbers; but, being reinforced by fifteen hundred men, they renewed the action with an ardour worthy of the glorious times of the confederacy. They

* He was in his 69th year.

rushed headlong among the foe, and in a short time compelled them to repass the ravine of Neweneck, and to retreat near ten miles, with the loss of two thousand men, and the whole of their artillery. The Berners lost about eight hundred men in this encounter; and among the slain were found several women, who scorned to shun the perils to which their fathers, husbands, friends, and countrymen exposed themselves. This victorious column was now preparing to advance towards Friburg, when the events of the day, in another quarter, retarded its progress; and Colonel Graffenried, who had fought with a heroism worthy of the old Helvetians, received orders, about three o'clock, to desist from all further hostilities.

"About five in the morning of this eventful day *, General Schawemburg attacked on a sudden the front and each flank of the post of Frauenbrunnen; the place where, in a horrid night, the Berners, above four centuries ago, had defeated the Cambrian Ap Griffith, and his terrific English bands. Two thousand horse assailed the Swiss, who had no cavalry to oppose; and, what galled them far more, a numerous train of horse artillery, the first that had ever passed their frontiers, spread death and dismay throughout their ranks. The fierceness of the resistance was unexampled. Women, endeavouring to obstruct the effect of the artillery, are known to have placed themselves before the mouths of the cannon, and to have hung on the wheels, in order to impede their progress. The diminished bands, seeing themselves on the point of being surrounded, fell back to the village of Urteren, where they stood a second conflict. Unable, however to maintain themselves, they took post at the Grauholtz, an almost impenetrable pass, about four miles from Berne, where, their right being covered by a rock, and their left by a swampy wood, they hoped effectually to secure themselves by an abbatis in front. The struggle had been no where so obstinate, nor the carnage so great, as at this post. At length, however, an opening having been made in the abbatis by the artillery, and a party of the enemy having climbed up the rock, and turned the right flank of the Bernese infantry, they found this post no longer tenable. They fell back, but formed anew, and stood a fourth attack about a mile behind this last station; and, notwithstanding their heavy losses, and their being exhausted with fatigue and want of sustenance, they yet fought a fifth time before the gates of Berne †. Men, women, children, and the cattle grazing on the meadows, fell promiscuously by the bayonets, sabres, and cannon of the invaders:

* Erlach, at the dawn of day, told his aid-de-camp, 'My friend, I see the sun rising; but I shall not behold its setting.'

† All the accounts of the French generals to their Directory, acknowledge that in every action the Swiss fought *avec une rare bravoure, ut un accharnement inconcevable*: and they express their surprise at the resistance made by a militia, which, during three centuries, had scarce seen the face of an enemy within their confines.

yet these victims belonged to a people who are said to have called in a foreign power to free them from the tyranny of an oppressive government.

"Berne, throughout this awful day, heard the incessant roar of cannon and musketry from various quarters, and saw the last disastrous conflict under its own walls. No preparations whatever had been made for the defence of the city. Horror and despair seized all the inhabitants. In this extremity the new regency, in its last agony, demanded a capitulation, or rather a safe-guard against the licentiousness of the victorious soldiers; and in the evening the city surrendered without any terms but a mere gratuitous promise of protection for the persons and property of the citizens. A tree of liberty was soon after planted in the presence of General Brune. Frisching, although president of a new provisionary regency, yet a silent mourner over the calamities of his country, officiated at the inauguration. 'There,' said he, addressing the French general, 'there is your tree of liberty: may it bring forth wholesome fruit!'"

Little remains to be added—Berne was pillaged with impunity, and all Swisserland, with the exception of the Grisons and the district of Underwalden, shortly after submitted to the Gallic yoke. It became necessary to bring these "rebels," as the Directory dared to call them, to their duty, and an army was led against the Underwaldians. The event of so unequal a contest may be easily anticipated. The French were victors, but it was by depopulating the country. Men, women, children, the whole population of Underwalden, rose in one body to oppose themselves to the invaders; they contested every inch of ground; the place of the slain being supplied by the living, as long as any remained alive: they fought with every species of weapon which could be collected—with masses of iron, and with fragments of rock. The battle lasted thirteen hours, and the few survivors, chiefly women and children, fled into the higher Alps, and left their little district a desart to their conquerors.

Mr. Planta concludes his history with the awful extermination of the Underwaldians. We have sufficiently expressed our high opinion of his work in the progress of our Review, and we trust that the extracts which we have selected have impressed sentiments equally favourable upon our readers. We have but one fault, or rather omission, to notice—it is the want of reference to his authorities, at the foot of the page, or upon its margin. This is satisfactory to the reader, and is an invariable custom with all standard historians. We strongly advise Mr. Planta to adopt this proceeding in a second edition.

Captain Turner's Embassy to Tibet.

The stupendous chain of mountains which separates Tibet from our East Indian possessions, and the national jealousy which forbids a stranger from penetrating within the confines of Bootan, have hitherto appeared to form an almost insurmountable barrier

between Bengal and those countries. However, in 1774, an unexpected opportunity of extending our knowledge of them offered itself, and was gladly embraced by Mr. Hastings, then President of the Council: a neighbouring Raja having invaded the territories of the Lama of Tibet, he was induced to apply to the Government at Calcutta for assistance, and in consequence of this application Mr. Boyle was dispatched to Tibet, ostensibly upon an Embassy of Ceremony, but in reality with the hope of acquiring some knowledge of a country with which Europe is so little acquainted, and specially to ascertain whether a communication with China might not be opened through the protecting mediation of the Lama of Tibet. This last mentioned object was, to all appearance, actually attained in the year 1779, by the Lama's influence with the Emperor of China; but unfortunately the death of the Lama, from the small-pox, and also that of Mr. Boyle himself, suddenly and completely terminated these favourable expectations.

This Monarch of Tibet, known to us only through tales so wild and so fabulous, that his very existence is rendered doubtful, is not only the King, but the principal Deity of his subjects. He is immaculate, immortal, omniscient and omnipresent: the Vicegerent of the only God, and the Mediator between mortals and the Supreme Being: he is also the centre of all civil government, which derives from his authority its whole influence and power. Although he apparently yields to the common lot of mortality, by sinking the victim of age or disease, his soul passes into the body of some chosen infant, who is welcomed and acknowledged by the Tibetians as their eternal sovereign, under a new form. When, therefore, the Government at Calcutta learned that this transmigration had actually taken place, and that the Lama had made his re-appearance, Mr. Turner was selected to head a fresh deputation, and the present most interesting and well written narrative contains an account of his journey and of the results of his judicious observations and inquiries.

Mr. Turner's companions were Lieutenant Davis, as surveyor and draftsman, who has enriched the volume with several beautiful views of the country and buildings, and Mr. Saunders, a surgeon. They commenced their arduous undertaking in the beginning of the year 1783, and proceeded to the frontiers of Bootan. Here they were obliged to wait some time for passports from the Daeb Raja, whose permission was indispensable ere they dared to set foot upon a country strictly interdicted to all foreign visitants. This obstacle surmounted, they journied slowly onward through a wild and luxuriant district, their course frequently obstructed by woods, rivers, and mountains, and sometimes interrupted by serious alarms from the wild elephants, which shewed a strong inclination to attack the tame animals of their own species that were in the suite of the Embassy.

At the foot of the Bootan Mountains is a plain, about thirty miles in breadth: it is intersected in various directions by streams,

which descend from the hills, and the exhalations which arise from these waters being pent up and confined by the underwood and rank rich vegetation which covers and encloses them, an atmosphere is generated which is always injurious and frequently fatal to travellers, and the inhabitants are a wretched, squalid, and dwindled race of human beings. This place, in 1772, nearly destroyed all the troops which were sent by the Government in India to assist the Lama; Captain Jones, and almost all his men, fell victims to the pestiferous breezes: and although Colonel Sir John Cuming escaped at the time, he was only reserved for more lingering suffering, which eventually terminated in death.

The first place of any eminence at which the travellers halted was Buxadewar. The account of this town, and its customs and inhabitants, is extremely curious, as it contains details of a people of whom we have hitherto remained in entire ignorance. The Soobah, or chief Governor, came to visit Mr. Turner.

"I invited him to dine, to which he readily agreed. At table he ate and drank as we did, without scruple; yet I suspect his urbanity might incline him to suppress expressions of dislike, and to do some violence to his taste; for beer and claret could hardly be agreeable to a palate, unaccustomed to such liquors; he drank of them, however, as well as of Madeira, and said he liked them much: he admired our bread, and ate of it heartily. After dinner, in the way of conversation, I mentioned that we were desirous of going to the top of an adjacent hill, towards which I pointed, and asked him if there was any road. He observed to me, that it was a consecrated place, and that he would choose by all means to accompany us. My guns were standing in a corner of the tent, and he expressed some curiosity to look at them: they were charged, and I fired one at a kite. Presently, as we walked out to a bamboo stage erected on the side of the hill, and hanging over a declivity, Mr. Davis shot a crow. Though not sanguinary in their dispositions, these were murders they could easily pardon, for both these marauders are considered as mortal enemies to the strings of raw meat, which it is their common custom to pull into shreds, and hang in the sun to dry: an effect which does not completely take place, before the meat has acquired an odour extremely attractive to kites and crows. The Soobah proposed firing at a mark, and one was placed in the valley, at three hundred yards distance. We each shot twice, but without success; but, in justice to the Soobah it must be owned, that, when he took my fowling piece, he shot more truly than either of us. When the sun was nearly down, I turned about to walk; the Soobah followed, and we went to the tent. I told him, that as I understood him to have been lately ill, I was apprehensive the walk we proposed to take, would fatigue him too much, and begged, therefore, he would not trouble himself to accompany us. His answer was equally polite and attentive; nor could we dissuade

him from escorting us, and he accordingly went home to make some preparations.

"I was told, that it was a custom with the Soobah to ascend this hill every month, when he sets up a white flag, and performs some religious ceremonies to conciliate the favour of a Dewta, or invisible being, the genius of the place, who is said to hover about the summit, dispensing at his will, good and evil to every thing around him. I was advised to set up a flag also; and I did not think it prudent to give offence by refusing to comply with their customs, however absurd or ridiculous. In half an hour the sound of the nowbut * and the trumpet announced the Soobah's return. He came surrounded with a numerous crowd, clad in various coloured habits, and we walked together to the bottom of the stone slope, opposite to his house, where we mounted our horses. When the party was arranged in regular order, the cavalcade was by no means contemptible. In front were carried, on bamboo poles, five white flags; two staves immediately followed, on which were fastened shreds of silk of various colours, blue, red, yellow, and white, in alternate rows from the top to a foot and a half downward: the bearers kept constantly twirling these in their hands. Seven young girls with loose hair went next, chanting, in a sort of religious tone, as we advanced: they were led with a slow and solemn pace by the Lama, or chief priest, in a deep crowned cap of clotted wool, and a scarlet vest, riding on a Tangun horse. Two Zeenkaubs followed, and immediately after came the Soobah, dressed in a vest of blue satin, with gold embroidery, and a garnet-coloured shawl, one end of which passing under his right arm, was thrown negligently with the other over the left shoulder. The crown of his hat was shaped after the European fashion, and the brims were three or four inches broad. The top of the hat was decorated with a crest of yellow metal, which in shape bore some resemblance to a leaf. After him rode two priests, with caps similar to those of the Lama: I followed next, with Mr. Saunders, and a number of attendants: Mr. Davis was lame, and could not go.

"The road was very steep and narrow, and our horses were frequently obliged to halt to recover their wind, as well as to relax the tone of their muscles; for it was with the greatest exertion that they scrambled up. When we gained the summit, the girls, who had preceded us, were drawn up in a row, and sung to us after their manner, as we passed them, marking the time by a slow movement of the hands and feet, which I considered as a solemn dance, in strict unison with the monotony of their music. The whole variety of their motions consisted in alternately resting on each foot, as they advanced one before the other; their hands being raised about as high as the shoulder, and placed a little before them, were perpetually turned with a circular

* A kind of kettle-drum, used only as an appendage of state by persons in authority.

kind of motion that reversed their backs and palms. On the top of the hill we found a small level spot, which situation seems to be always preferred for the scene of their devotions. Here, against a large tree, was placed a kind of altar, elevated about three feet from the ground: the back and two narrow sides were covered with yellow silk, and on the back hung four handkerchiefs, red, blue, yellow, and white; a white handkerchief fastened on one side, was suspended in front, and falling in an easy festoon near the top, was sustained by another on the opposite side. There were three lamps burning upon the altar, with flowers and fruits in plates. Before the altar were six persons, arranged in a row, and in the following order: on the left of the whole stood the Lama; next a priest, who beat on a large tabor, with a long curved iron instead of a stick; a priest with cymbals; a priest with a tabor; and a priest blowing an instrument made of the shin bone of a man; on the right hand side stood two trumpeters.

"We were presented with a lighted rod of the perfumed composition, which we held in our hands. A cup full of ice was brought to us, with one of the lighted rods stuck upright in it: we touched the rice, as did the Soobah also, and it was then placed upon the altar. The Soobah stood on the left side of the altar; we were opposite to him on a rising ground. The ceremony began with the chanting of the priests; the tabors, trumpets, and cymbals all sounding: this was continued with short intermissions, and but little variation, for ten minutes, when the instruments ceased, and some prayers were repeated in a deep and hollow tone: a short silence afterwards ensued. The Soobah tied a white cloth before his face, covered his mouth and nostrils, and a vessel of water was brought to him, in which he washed his hands. A white pelong handkerchief was then presented, one end of which we held as we approached the altar, a priest holding the other: we released it, and it was waved over the smoke of the lighted rods. The prayers continued; some rice was scattered about by the priests, and the pelong handkerchief was then fastened on a staff. The Soobah had now come over to the side on which we stood: some cowry shells * intermixed with rice were brought; the flags were all fixed, and the consecrated rice and fruits, that stood upon the altar, were thrown down, and eagerly gathered up by the poorer spectators. The Soobah had a quantity of the rice and shells, some of which was given to us; and we, following his example, every now and then scattered it about, while the performers were chanting and sounding their instuments. When the whole was distributed, the priest stopped and drank tea: a plate of Jack † fruit was brought to the Soobah, which he touched

* Porcellana, *Linnæi*, found among the Nicobar Islands, in the Bay of Bengal, and current in Hindostan and Bengal as money.

† Jack fruit, Artocarpus integrifolia. *Linn.* Kuttul, *Ind.*

and tasted; we did the same, and then the whole was divided among the priests and performers: the girls now advanced, dancing, and the ceremony was ended with loud acclamations.

"We turned and descended the hill on foot (as the declivity was too steep for us to ride), in the midst of loud shrieks and shouts. We found, on our return, a large mat spread before the Soobah's house, with a bench placed in the middle of it; and we went and stood upon the mat, while the priests chanted some prayers. A paper, containing shells and rice, was put into the Soobah's hand, some of which he gave me, and we scattered them about: the cowries were quickly collected by the girls. A large vessel of liquor was before us; a ladle full of it was brought to the Soobah: he touched it; I did the same; and it was afterwards distributed among the people. We then adjourned to the Soobah's apartment, drank tea and liquors, and were presented with fruits and provisions.

"The Soobah told me, that this religious ceremony had been performed because we were just arrived in Bootan; and it was proper to invoke their deity to grant us protection, and a prosperous journey through their country, that we might return in safety to our own. This was a duty, he said, which they owed to the English Company, and the Daeb would be pleased to know that it had been performed. They were happy, he added, that we had joined in this act of devotion; and it was his wish that on our return we might revisit this abode, and again perform together the same ceremonies. We then took leave, and retired to our tents."

After leaving Buxadewar, Mr. Turner's narrative of his farther progress increases in interest. Every where they were welcomed with kindness and hospitality. They travelled through the most awful and magnificent scenery, and over mountains connected with each other by ingeniously constructed chain bridges, the simple description of which is sufficient to make the strongest head feel dizzy. From one of these mountainous ridges, where a slender and precipitous path overlooked crags, chasms, and torrents innumerable, a fine Arabian courser, sent as a present to the Lama, starting at an overhanging rock, lost his footing, and was dashed into a thousand pieces in a moment.

The principal city in Bootan is Tassisudon, where the Daeb Raja, or Lama of Bootan, resides. Mr. Turner's interview with this great personage is thus described.

"We were first conducted to a large apartment, on the west side of the great square of the palace, where the three principal officers, Zoompoon *, Zoondonier †, and Zempi ‡, had assembled to receive us. Here we rested until Zoondonier, who went to announce

* Commandant, or keeper of the castle of Tassisudon.
‡ Treasurer.
‡ Cup-bearer to the Daeb Raja, and master of the ceremonies.

our arrival, returned to usher us into the presence of the Daeb. We followed him, the other officers with many Zeenkaubs accompanying us, through several passages, and up a number of lofty ladders, which connect the different floors, till at length we arrived at the elevated station occupied by the Raja, near the summit of the citadel.

"After a short pause upon the landing place, the door was thrown open, and we were ushered into a small, but well proportioned room, having on the west side an arched balcony with sliding curtains, being the only aperture for the admission of light, immediately opposite to the door by which we entered, and before which a screen projected nearly one-third of the breadth of the room. The remaining space on the wall, beyond the skreen, was decorated with the portraits, wrought in silk, of some champions of their faith, as stiff and formal as any heroes that ever appeared in tapestry. The walls of the room were coloured with blue, and the arches of the balcony, pillars, doors, &c. were painted with vermilion, and ornamented with gilding. The Raja was habited in a deep garnet-coloured cloth, and sat cross-legged upon a pile of cushions, in the remote corner of the room, with the balcony upon his right hand; upon his left side stood a cabinet of diminutive idols, and a variety of consecrated trinkets; close upon his right was placed an escrutoire, for the deposit of papers required to be at hand; and before him was a small painted bench, to place his tea cup on, and answering all the other purposes of a table. We each advanced, presenting, one after the other, a white silk scarf, or long narrow piece of pelong, fringed at both ends (as is the custom in these countries) to the Raja, who, keeping his seat all the time, took them in his hand, and passed them to his Zempi. I delivered also into his hand the Governor General's dispatches, which he received with a smile upon his countenance, looking upon them, and nodding with a slow motion of the head several times, before he laid them upon the bench before him. On the other side of the room were placed, immediately opposite to the Raja, three separate piles of cushions; the Raja extending his arm, pointed to them, and at the same time with his hand directed us to be seated. It was some time before the last of our attendants had entered, and made the usual obeisance: they then ranged themselves behind us, on the same side of the room by which they had entered; the three officers stood in front of the balcony, between us and the Raja, and the interpreters by them.

"When the commotion of settling in our respective places had ceased, and silence ensued, the Raja addressed me with many earnest and particular enquiries respecting the Governor General; he congratulated us on our safe arrival at Tassisudon, and expressed his apprehensions for the fatigue and inconvenience we might have endured in travelling through a country abounding with so many natural difficulties, and so scantily furnished with the necessaries of life.

"I was happy in the opportunity thus afforded me, of paying every acknowledgment due to the civilities and attention we had experienced in the course of our progress; I expressed my thanks also for the ample supplies of provision provided for us, by the inhabitants and his officers, at every stage, as well as for the diligence and good care of the guide, who had conducted us from the frontier of his dominions.

"The Raja was not wanting in attention to the superior members of our government, but asked respectively after the health of the gentlemen of the Supreme Council, and the Chief Justice; and in endeavouring to convey to me an adequate idea of the strength of his regard and friendship for the Governor, he used various modes of expression, which he concluded with the action of advancing his arms, and bending the forefingers of each hand, linking them one in the other, and pulling them at right angles, with a strong exertion, as if to give force to his sentiments. The letter I delivered, being written in the Persian language, could not be then read; for there were none among his servants, or all his subjects, who were conversant in it. The Bengalee language is the only one, differing from their own, in which any business or correspondence is carried on; and in this, their commercial intercourse with Bengal, as well as what relates to the territory situated on its borders, is always and exclusively transacted. This was intimated to me; and I was asked, whether the delivery of the letter I had borne from the Governor, was my only motive for coming to Tassisudon. So pointed and laconic a question was quite unexpected; but I answered it, by briefly stating the reasons that induced the Governor General, at this time in particular, to depute a person to the Lama's court; and added, that, when I learnt the road to Tibet lay through his dominions, and not very distant from his capital, knowing also his attachment to the Governor, as well as having heard the fame of his exalted name, it became an object of much anxiety with me, to have the honour of paying my respects to the friend of my patron, and to a prince of so great renown. With respect to any other reasons there might be, for my waiting upon him, the contents of the letter would amply explain them.

"Three small benches, similar to that before the Raja, were brought and placed before us; and presently a servant came, bearing a large tea pot of white metal, embossed, and highly ornamented with some other metal, of a yellow colour. He approached the Raja, and then giving a circular turn to the tea-pot, so as to agitate and mix its contents, he poured a quantity into the palm of his hand, which he had contracted to form as deep a concave as possible, and hastily sipped it up. To account for a custom which has so little either of grace, or delicacy, in its observance, however recommended by extensive fashion, we are obliged to have recourse to the suspicions suggested in remoter times, by the frequent and treacherous use of poison. Hence originated a caution, in which the national character of

this people readily disposed them to acquiesce; and the same jealousy and distrust which gave birth to its adoption, has contributed inviolably to preserve it to the present day; so that however humble or exalted the rank of the person, who introduces to his guests the refreshment of tea, the cup-bearer, which is an office of the first credit, never presumes to offer it without previously drinking some of the liquor that he brings.

"The Raja held out, upon the points of the fingers of his right hand, a shallow lacquered cup, of small circumference, which was filled with tea. Three cups had been sent, and were set down before us: the Raja directed his servant to fill them also; still holding the cup in his right hand, he repeated, in a low and hollow tone of voice, a long invocation; and afterwards dipping the point of his finger three times into the cup, he threw as many drops upon the floor, by way of oblation, and then began to sip his tea. Taking this as a signal, we followed the example, and partook of the dishes of parched rice, that were served up with it. We found this liquor extremely unlike what we had been used to drink, under the same name; it was a compound of water, flour, butter, salt, and bohea tea, with some other astringent ingredients, all boiled, beat up, and intimately blended together. I confess the mixture was by no means to my taste, and we had hitherto shunned, as much as possible, these unpalatable libations, yet we now deemed it necessary to submit to some constraint; and having at last, with a tolerable grace, swallowed the tea, we yet found ourselves very deficient in the conclusion of the ceremony. The Raja with surprising dexterity turned the cup, as he held it fast betwixt his fingers, and in an instant passed his tongue over every part of it; so that it was sufficiently cleansed to be wrapped in a piece of scarlet silk, which bore evident marks of having been not very recently devoted to this service. The officers, who had entered with us, were not permitted to partake of this repast, and, but for the honour of it, we would willingly have declined so flattering a distinction. They spoke several times during our visit, delivering themselves deliberately in a ready flow of language, by no means inharmonious, with confidence, but at the same time with profound respect.

"The Raja descanted on the very limited produce of his mountains, and magnified greatly the scarcity of provisions, yet begged me to command every thing that the country could supply. Trays of fruit were placed before us, consisting of oranges, dried apples, walnuts, vegetables, and some preserved fruits of China and Cashmeer. He delivered to the Zempi, or master of the ceremonies, a silk scarf for each of us, which being thrown across our shoulders, he dismissed us, with many admonitions to be careful of our health, and wishes that it might suffer no injury from the change of climate.

"We then took leave, and returned to our quarters, with no unfavourable impression of the Rajah, from his manner and reception of us. His figure was much concealed, from the attitude

in which he continued sitting all the time, cross-legged, and enveloped in a quantity of thick friezelike woollen cloth; yet he exhibited enough of his person to shew that he was tall, and muscular in his make, but not inclined to corpulency. His garment was of the religious order; a close vest, leaving the arm bare to the shoulder, unless when drawn beneath the mantle, which serves occasionally to cover the hand, and reaches almost to the feet.

"His reception of us was supported with dignity and good humour; he was grave, but animated; his behaviour collected and composed. He spoke rather in a low tone of voice, but very articulately; his delivery was accompanied with a moderate action; and the whole of his conduct exhibited a degree of urbanity, that I confess surprized me, in one separated from intercourse with the world, by a mass of impervious mountains, and who was almost totally secluded from the sight of any other than his own subjects.

"The next day, receiving an invitation from the Rajah, I made him a second visit, and offered to his acceptance a few English manufactures, and other things, which I had brought from Bengal. I omit the repetition of the ceremonious part of our interviews, which, as established by universal custom, is invariably and indispensably the same.

"An inferior, on approaching a superior, presents the white silk scarf; and when dismissed, has one thrown over his neck, with the ends hanging down in front. Equals exchange scarfs on meeting, bending towards each other, with an inclination of the body. No intercourse whatever takes place without the intervention of a scarf; it always accompanies every letter, being enclosed in the same packet, however distant the place to which it is dispatched. Two colours are in use for this manufacture, which is of China, white and red; the latter is rather confined to the lower orders: the white is respectful in proportion to its purity and fineness: there are various degrees in both. I am yet ignorant of the origin of this custom, but shall endeavour, at some future time, to obtain an explanation of it.

"A long conversation ensued with the Raja on the dress and customs of the English. He admired, and minutely examined every part of our clothes; nor did the pockets least of all excite his wonder and surprise, by presenting such a number of comprehensive and concealed resources. He gave due credit to the convenience of our dress, its lightness, and the liberty it left to the limbs; but I could plainly perceive he judged its structure defective, as differing from his own, in shewing too plainly the general outline of the body. Thus it is, that the less enlightened Booteea, accustomed to observe the dignity of human character exist in factitious concealment, looks for importance in exterior ornament: divest his sacred superior of the robe of state, and his pontifical insignia, and he would, no doubt, conclude all authority and religion to be entirely at an end.

"The Raja exercised his fancy in endeavouring to trace a resemblance between the natives of Boo-

tan and Englishmen; but there was more of ingenuity than truth in the picture. Woollen cloths for raiment, meat, spirits, and tea, it is true, are in equal use amongst us; and the Booteea, like ourselves, is an utter stranger to the subtle niceties and refined distinctions of the Hindoo, which constitute the infinitely absurd perplexity that results from caste; yet nothing can be more different than our habits and our manners. I had a pleasure in recognizing a more striking similitude in the productions of his country and our own, as well as in the temperature of the climate. We had often met with strawberries and raspberries growing wild, in great abundance; and had seen apple, walnut, pear, peach, and apricot trees; the ash, the birch, the maple, yew, pine, and fir; but I looked for the oak in vain. The forests abounded with other handsome timber trees, to whose names and kinds I was equally a stranger.

"The Raja expressed a wish that my servants should leave the room. He then began to lay aside something of his formality, and conversed with less reserve. He dwelt much upon his friendship for the Governor General, and ascribed a durability to their connection, in strict unison with the doctrine of the metempsychosis. He told me that he understood the contents of the Governor's letter, in which I was mentioned in high expressions of confidence and regard; and assured me of the particular satisfaction he experienced, in seeing a person so intimately known to, and deputed by his friend; enjoining me to esteem him in the same light. Then carrying on an allusion, which agreed perfectly with the tenets of their faith, he claimed with Mr. Hastings the nearest spiritual alliance; and, rejecting every degree of mortal relation, asserted theirs to be no other than emanations from the same soul; thus indicating a new species of affinity of unlimited extent and compass; embracing, in one comprehensive system, the immaterial spirit, or animating principle of all the good and great, unconfined to place, to nation, or religion, but indelibly distinguished by a more permanent and definite similitude, than the operation of nature ever accidentally stamps, upon the perishable materials of the human form.

"The Rajah produced many unbroken seals, carefully cut from letters, and observed how much he prized every thing he had received from the Governor's hand. I cannot pretend to follow him through the variety of expression, by which he strove to testify the strength and sincerity of his friendship; but it all tended to convince me, that he knew at least very well, what belonged to gratitude and affection. He asked me many questions about a view of the palace of Punuka, his winter residence, which he had sent to Mr. Hastings: I had seen it at Calcutta, and assured him that it was received. He expressed his wishes for a picture of the Governor's habitation; and a question arose if either of us could draw. My interpreter (with that false policy which is inseparable from a suspicious mind,) eagerly grasping at an evasion, began to answer, that an Englishman was master of every art and science; astronomy,

geography, mathematics, mechanics. I stopped him: for no vanity could allow such indiscriminate and preposterous praise; and I told the Rajah in plainer terms, that drawing constituted in England a branch of education; and that as we made unequal progress in the art, I could boast but little skill in it, but that my friend Mr. Davis had attained a great degree of perfection. Mr. Davis happened to have with him a view of Calcutta, which he had taken from Fort William, comprehending the line of buildings that skirt the esplanade, and the shipping on the river: it had sustained some damage from the carriage; but he promised, as soon as it could be repaired, to present it to the Rajah. The employment of an interpreter was no less troublesome, than protractive of our conferences: the hour of two had passed; tea was introduced, of which we drank with the Rajah. We received presents of fruits and vegetables, and retired to our house."

In the valley of Tassisudon is a manufactory of paper, from the bark of a tree called Deah, by a cheap and easy process.

"The method of preparing this material, as well as I could learn, is as follows. When a sufficient quantity of bark is collected to employ the labourer, it is divided into small shreds, and steeped and boiled in a lixivium of wood ashes; it is then taken up, and laid in a heap to drain; after which it is beaten upon a stone, with a wooden mallet, until it is reduced to an impalpable pulp; it is then thrown into a reservoir of water, where, being well stirred about, and cleansed from the coarse and dirty part, which floats upon the surface, it is still further depurated in another large reservoir of clean water. When the preparation is complete, the parts are finely broken, and that which sinks in the water appears mucilaginous to the touch. All that now remains is to form it into sheets, which is done upon small reeds set in frames. The labourer dips the frame in the water, and raises up a quantity of the pulp, which, by moving the frame in the water, he spreads, until it entirely and equally covers the surface of the reeds; he then raises the frame perpendicularly, the water drains off, and the frame is hung up till the sheet is nearly dry: it is then taken off, and suspended upon lines. The paper thus prepared is of a much stronger texture, than that of any other country with which I am acquainted, as it is capable of being woven, when gilt by way of ornament, into the texture of silks and satins, to which use I have seen it frequently applied in the manufactures of China."

During the stay of the Embassy at Tassisudon, a rebellion took place among some of the subjects of the Raja, which afforded Mr. Turner an opportunity of observing upon their mode of warfare, the construction of their weapons, &c. &c.; and his narrative of the whole transaction is very curious and entertaining. After the insurgents had been subdued, he, with his companions, made various excursions into the surrounding country. We regret that our limits will not allow us to make any extracts from this part of the

work, but as the whole of Mr. Turner's residence in Bootan is, in point of fact, only introductory to the main object of his Embassy, we must hasten on to his departure from Tassisudon, which he quitted most reluctantly, being obliged, from some caution or suspicion, which he does not explain, to leave behind him in that city his active and intelligent companion Lieutenant Davis.

A long row of small banners marks the boundary between Tibet and Bootan. These are supposed also to act as a kind of charm upon the Dewta, or Genii, who are peculiarly inclined to range about the highest regions, and are represented to be always maliciously disposed towards travellers and strangers. In Mr. Turner's wanderings around Tassisudon, he was frequeutly warned of the danger which he incurred by venturing within the haunts of these invisible malignants; the Raja himself shared in the terrors of his subjects, and was evidently apprehensive when ascending mountains, especially after sunset.

Our travellers, however, passed on in safety, and entered Tibet amid the dreariest objects in nature. Surrounded by mountains covered with perpetual snow, their sufferings from cold were extreme, and they quitted these only to enter upon sterile valleys and arid plains, exhibiting here and there traces of a faint and scanty vegetation. As they proceeded the scene was sometimes varied by the melancholy appearance of whole villages utterly uninhabited and in ruins; either dispeopled by the small-pox, which had raged like a plague in Tibet, or deserted from terror of its ravages. A country little better than a desart encompassed them on all sides, until the gilded edifices of Teshoo Loomboo, the metropolis of Tibet, were perceived glittering in the distance. Mr. Turner's reception by the Regent (the Lama being but eighteen months old) is thus described.

"Early in the morning after our arrival, intimation was brought to me, that the Regent proposed, in the course of the morning, to admit us to an audience. Several messages passed between us, before the appointed time, for the purpose of arranging every thing completely in due form. At length, about noon, Mr. Saunders and myself, accompanied by Poorungheer, as interpreter, proceeded to a part of the palace, with which, though it was at a considerable distance from our rooms, there was a communication, without descending into the street. We were then ushered into the presence chamber, a large and lofty hall, of an oblong shape, surrounded with a colonnade, and enlightened by an opening, over the centre. This central part of the room contained an area, about twice as wide as the distance at which the pillars stood from the side walls. Light, air, and the grateful warmth of the sun, were occasionally admitted into the hall, by shifting the skreen, or rather moveable roof, which was placed immediately over the opening. The pillars that composed the colonnade were painted with vermilion, and richly ornamented with gold, as were also the edges of the scolloped arches, and the

mouldings over them; various symbolical devices were also represented in the gilding above the arches. The walls were painted blue, skirted by two broad fillets of red, and an intermediate one of yellow. The floor was of a mottled composition, apparently of brown and white flint, intermixed with some strong compost, which admitted a high polish. No window, or door, opened into this hall, except that by which we entered, at one end; at the other, immediately opposite, stood the throne of the late Teshoo Lama, placed in a recess, elevated about five feet above the floor, surmounted with cushions of yellow satin, and decorated with hangings on each side, of various coloured silks, and rich brocades. At the foot of the throne were thin tapers, of the composition which they burn as incense in their temples, and vases filled with aromatic woods, which, consuming slowly, with their smoke powerfully perfumed the hall. From this seat, we were informed the Teshoo Lama was accustomed to distribute justice, and confer his solemn benediction upon the people.

"Advancing to the upper end of the hall, we found the Regent, and Soopoon Choomboo, each of them habited in the religious dress, and seated under the colonnade, upon the left hand side of the throne, on elevated seats raised with satin cushions. White silk scarfs, according to the established custom of the country, were presented by us, which they received without quitting their seats. I then delivered the Governor General's dispatches into the Regent's hands, with a string of pearl and coral, whilst the rest of the presents were placed before him. Two raised seats of cushions had been prepared, towards which the Regent waving his hand, with a very significant look, directed us to be seated. I then thought it proper to address him nearly to the following effect.

"'The few things I have the honour of offering to your acceptance, the Governor General, Mr. Hastings, has sent to you as tokens of his friendship and esteem, and with an earnest solicitude to preserve and cultivate the amicable intercourse, that had so happily commenced between you. This correspondence, in its earliest stages, had been dictated by the purest motives of humanity, and has hitherto pointed with unexampled sincerity and steadiness towards one great object, which constituted the grand business of Maha Gooroo's * life, peace and universal good. The Governor General, whose attention is always directed towards the same pursuits, was overwhelmed with anxiety, upon hearing the mournful news of the loss of his respected friend; not only on account of his regret for the departure of so exalted a character, but from an apprehension, lest the friendship established between himself and you, might suffer interruption, and undergo a change. Yet, solicitous for its continuance, as soon as information was brought to him of your return from China, he de-

* One of the titles of Teshoo Lama. The title is Sanskrit, and signifies the *Great Spiritual Master.*

termined that a person in his confidence should repair to your presence; a measure, which the consoling character of a friend loudly demanded, and which was rendered still more necessary, by his desire to convey his earliest congratulations, upon the joyful tidings of the Lama's re-appearance in the world. In this great event, indeed, all his hopes are now revived; and, persuaded that the present Lama possesses the spirit of his former friend, he has no doubt that, by your good offices, and the will of heaven, every thing that was expected, will at length be effectually accomplished.'

"The Regent replied, by assuring me that the present and the late Teshoo Lama, were one and the same, and that there was no manner of difference between them; only as he was yet merely an infant, his spirit having but just returned again into the world, he was at present incapable of action, and unable to comfort them with his voice. Their thoughts and time, therefore, were solely employed in the care of his person (for this was their duty and delight), in the hope that he might be soon able to confer upon them his blessing. At the same time that he lamented the misfortune of the Lama's decease in Pekin, he assured me of the firm unshaken attachment which Teshoo Lama had entertained for Mr. Hastings, to his latest breath. He added that Maha Gooroo had even begun to open his mind to the Emperor of China upon this subject, confident of his sanction and encouragement of the connection, and trusting that the concord mutually established between them, would extend its beneficial influence over all his votaries, and all the subjects of both empires. He then dwelt upon the great attention and respect paid to Teshoo Lama at the court of China; and told me that the Emperor, immediately on his receiving intelligence of the Lama's regeneration, had sent ambassadors with letters of congratulation, and a rosary of large unblemished pearls, enjoining them in the strongest terms to be careful of the Lama's person, to conduct his education in the strictest privacy, and not to suffer any strangers to be admitted to his presence.

"But I must forbear entering into a minute detail of every particular that passed at our different interviews. It would be difficult, or rather perhaps impossible, to preserve the local idiom, and turn of expression, in a translation through two languages; and I am not certain even that my interpreter repeated them correctly in the Hindovi, which was the language that he used to me. Suffice it at present to say, that the Regent was most copious in his professions of attachment to the Governor General, and loud in his encomiums on the occasion that gave birth to their present friendship, which originated entirely in his granting peace to the Booteeas, who were engaged with us in a very unequal war, in compliance with the intercession of Teshoo Lama. This act he declared to be *bote durm*, or of the greatest virtue.

"Soopoon Choomboo also occasionally spoke. Inquiries respecting Mr. Hastings, the satisfaction they derived from the re-

ceipt of his dispatches, my journey, the difficulties that had impeded it, and their solicitude to see me, were topics which occupied a considerable share of our time in this conference. Much was also said respecting the sad calamity they had suffered by the Lama's having withdrawn himself from the world, in consequence of their offences; nor did they omit strongly to express their sense of the blessing, that he had been pleased to appear again so early in the flesh.

I was informed, that the infant Lama still continued to reside in the dwelling, where he was first discovered, in the valley of Painom; but that it was proposed to convey him within a few days to Terpaling, a monastery prepared for his reception, near the summit of a mountain at the distance of two days journey from Teshoo Loomboo; and that all the court were to attend his removal. All the time of the principal officers of state was nearly occupied in preparations for this event, and the Regent gave me to understand, that he had, in consequence, but little leisure, and might possibly, not have it in his power to see me again more than once before his departure. Near the close of the audience, tea was introduced, and served up in the same manner as in Bootan. We had small benches placed before us, and upon them was set the same kind of cup, which, I remember, the Daeb Raja told me, in his dominions, none but the Raja, or one of the three Lamas, could presume to use. This I notice, not only as being one among their sumptuary laws, but also as an evidence of their disposition to manifest very high respect, as well as civility, in their attentions to us. In shape and size this cup is somewhat similar to a China pint bason; but a round hollow pedestal proceeds from beneath, sufficiently long to be grasped within the hand, and upon which it will stand upright without support. It is made of the finest porcelain, extremely thin, and purely white, and is stamped on both sides with the impression of the dragon, the imperial emblem, which is visible only, like the water mark in bank paper, on close inspection, at a small distance. Previously to our taking leave, trays of tea, sugar, skins of butter, and dried fruits, consisting of raisins, dates, apricots, and almonds, with some others that I had never before seen, the produce of China and eastern Tartary, were severally presented to us. The Regent gave me many injunctions to communicate all my wants to the person, whom he had directed to attend upon us. We each received a scarf from his own hands, and withdrew, having every reason to be gratified with our reception, which I considered as attentive, and flattering, in the highest degree.

"The room in which I wrote, and the suite of apartments allotted to the accommodation of myself, and the companion of my travels, were erected by the late Teshoo Lama for his own private residence, whenever he chose to retire into uninterrupted solitude. In an adjacent building, upon the right hand, are lodged his mortal remains; in another, upon the left, those of a former Lama, whose

spirit exchanged its corporeal residence more than a century ago. The Teshoo Lama, I was told, had lavished upon this shrine of his predecessor, immense wealth; yet his own, which was nearly completed before his visit to the Emperor of China, had been since greatly enriched by the tributary offerings made to him on that journey, and was now considered as the most splendid and magnificent of the two.

"When I became acquainted with these particulars, situated as I was so near the mausoleum of our departed friend, I wanted not an excellent pretext for desiring to visit it; and having waited for a favourable opportunity, I urged my plea with such success, that the Regent, Chanjoo Cooshoo, immediately signified his most willing acquiescence in my wishes.

"Early in the morning my faithful attendant Gooroobah, came to conduct me. Proceeding from my apartment, along the corridor, we descended two flights of stairs, and passing through some passages, without any communication with the street, came to a small gate, which we entered, and found ourselves in the inclosure immediately before the grand mausoleum. Three sides of this court yard, which was paved, were surrounded with a colonnade, for the occasional accommodation of pilgrims, and other devotees. Upon the walls of this colonnade, were rudely painted many emblematical figures, of gigantic proportions, illustrative of various parts of their system of mythology. The two principal figures, of enormous size, depicted with hideous countenances, and coloured with blue and scarlet, represented incarnations of Cali. The pillars were painted with vermilion, and ornamented with gilding; and upon the pediment which they supported, was introduced the imperial figure of the Chinese dragon. In the centre of the colonnade was a large gate, which opened to a principal avenue of the monastery. Immediately opposite to this gate, stood the portico of the mausoleum, on the top of which, within a low railing, was placed the following device, resembling a coat of arms. The centre piece, which was of a spear-like form, resembling the leaf of the pepul tree *, was placed upon a low pedestal. On each side, was the figure of an animal, not unlike a deer couchant, with the head elevated, the nose pointing upwards, and the throat resting upon the shoulder, or projecting part, of the hastated machine between them, which I conjectured to be about eight feet high. The whole extended from one side of the portico to the other, stood entirely clear of the body of the building, and was very richly gilt. It had altogether, the appearance of a coat of arms with supporters, but upon a very large scale. The centre piece, I was informed, contained within it, some of their sacred writings.

"Under the portico, sat a priest, who read with a book before him, apparently regardless of our presence. It was his duty, together with others, who occasionally relieved him, to pray eternally upon

* Ficus indica.

the same spot, and keep alive the sacred fire, that burns before the shrine. Two ponderous doors, painted with vermilion, and embossed with huge gilded knobs, made the whole fabric ring, as their pivots grated within the sockets, and their massy sides came with strong concussion against the walls. It now appeared, that the building we had hitherto seen, served only as a case, to cover a most beautiful pyramid placed within it. At the base of this pyramid, the body of the late Lama was deposited in a coffin of pure gold, made by command of the Emperor of China, upon the decease of the Lama at his court, and in which the body was conveyed, with the utmost solemnity and state, from Pekin, through the provinces of China and Tibet, to Teshoo Loomboo. His votaries all the way, paid the most profound homage to his manes, and thought themselves peculiarly blessed, if they could but touch the pall, or any part of the bier, as the funeral procession passed slowly along.

" It is the custom in Tibet, to preserve entire the mortal remains of their sovereign Lamas only; every other corpse is either consumed by fire, or given to be the promiscuous food of beasts and birds of prey. As soon as life has left the body of a Lama, it is placed upright, sitting in an attitude of devotion, his legs being folded before him, with the instep resting upon each thigh, and the soles of the feet turned upwards. To a person unused to the practice, this must be a posture of extreme constraint; though Lama Rimbochay, of Bootan, has repeatedly placed himself in it before me, with much apparent ease.

" The right hand is rested with its back upon the thigh, with the thumb bent across the palm. The left arm is bent and held close to the body, the hand being open, and the thumb, at right angles with the fingers, touching the point of the shoulder.

" This is the attitude of abstracted meditation. The eyes, at the same time, being directed downwards, and half closed, indicate that, with the suspended powers of the body, the faculties of the mind also are completely absorbed in contemplation, effectually guarded against wandering, and shut to every species of external impression.

" The late Teshoo Lama is represented in an effigy of gold, which crowns the pyramid, and is placed within the concave of a large shell, radiated alternately, with white and red, the edges being scolloped, and projecting so far as to form a canopy, that incloses within its hollow, the whole body of the figure. The image is represented sitting upon cushions, and has the drapery of a yellow satin mantle, negligently flowing over the lower part, whilst a cap, resembling a mitre, covers the head. As a tribute of respect, which might be gratifying to his votaries, and tend to conciliate their affection, I made an offering of a white pelong scarf, which the attending priest received, and passed over the smoke of the incense burning before the shrine, while the Gosein and others prostrated themselves nine times with devout humility. The priest then ascended a ladder, and put one

end of the scarf upon that hand of the image which was a little advanced; the other hung down upon the pyramid. Round the borders of the canopy, were suspended all the various rosaries, of the richest gems, used by the Lama during his life; they consisted of pearls, emeralds, rubies, sapphires, coral, amber, crystal, lapis lazuli, and even beads of humble serbu-jya *, intermixed together, and hanging in festoons.

"The sides of the pyramid were encased with plates of solid silver. On each step that composed the structure, which gradually diminished in breadth and depth, from the base to the vertex, were arranged all sorts of rarities, and articles of curious workmanship, which had been presented at different times as offerings to the late Lama. Among these were various costly snuff-boxes, and valuable trinkets, the tribute of the Emperor; with choice specimens of China, large jars of old blue japan, and masses of lapis lazuli, variously arranged, and disposed, according to their taste, not without considerable effect.

"About breast-high from the base of the pyramid, was one step considerably deeper than the rest, in front of which were represented two lions rampant, carved in relievo, and between them was placed a human figure, with eyes extravagantly large and prominent; his countenance was expressive of the most anxious agitation, and his person thrown into strange contortions: his hands were applied to a stringed instrument, called a cittaur. Other instruments of music, hautboys, trumpets, and cymbals, were placed upon each extremity of the step, immediately before these figures; and the intermediate space was filled with China jars, and vases of silver and blue japan.

"On the right side of the pyramid was placed another image of the Lama, as large as life, and as Poorungheer assured me, a very faithful resemblance of his person. It was placed in a sort of pulpit, beneath a canopy of silk, in a devout attitude, with a book before it. This image, I was given to understand, was not of gold, but solid silver, gilt. In front of the pyramid, on an altar covered with white cloth, were spread about the common objects of daily oblation; such as fruits and flowers, with various kinds of corn and oil. Intermixed among the offerings, were seen at the same time, several lamps burning, which, being considered as sacred fire, are never permitted to go out; the smoke arising from these, and from a multitude of odoriferous tapers, filled the surrounding space, and strongly perfumed the air.

"On each side of the pyramid, hung suspended from the ceiling by one end, whole pieces of the most beautiful silks and satins. Close to the pyramid were two pieces of black velvet, embroidered all over with pearls, in squares like network, and finished with a border of the same. Some pieces of very handsome English brocades, and Benares gullbud-

* Canna, *Linnæi.*

den *, completed this rich display. On the surrounding walls were painted, from the bottom to the top, many rows of Gylongs, represented in the act of praying."

Notwithstanding the little intercourse which subsists between Tibet and India, the Tibetians hold Bengal in peculiar reverence, and express the same kind of anxious desire to visit that country which was formerly felt by Christians relative to Judea. Bengal is the Holy Land of the Tibetians: tradition has handed down to them that in times of remote antiquity the regeneration of their Lama frequently took place near the ancient city of Gowr, now only a heap of ruins, and there are numerous other spots which they consider as equally sacred. The native of Tibet who can perform a pilgrimage to these holy places, is deemed by his countrymen to possess a superior degree of sanctity; nor are these advantages always confined to himself alone: those who have urged him to the hallowed task, or assisted him in its execution, claim nearly an equal share of merit, and the wealthy of the land frequently employ agents to visit these sacred districts, and thus possess themselves by proxy of the benefits to be derived from such a pilgrimage. These customs and opinions, both in their use and abuse, cannot but strongly remind the reader of some of the distinguishing tenets of the Romish faith. Some points of resemblance also might perhaps be detected between the respective heads of each religion, who both unite in themselves the civil and religious supremacy, and pretend to an unerring, infallible, and almost divine authority. But the monasteries which abound in Tibet render the similarity still more striking. The Monks are styled Gylongs, the Nuns Annees; they are separated for ever from the rest of their species, are enjoined to observe temperance, sobriety, and the strictest celibacy, and are set apart to employ themselves solely in religious offices.

The following account of Mr. Turner's interview with the Infant Lama is too curious to be omitted.

"On the morning of Tuesday, the 4th of December, I was allowed to visit Teshoo Lama, and found him placed, in great form, upon his Musnud; on the left side stood his father and mother; on the other the officer particularly appointed to wait upon his person. The Musnud is a fabric of silk cushions, piled one upon the other, until the seat is elevated to the height of four feet from the floor; a piece of embroidered silk covered the top, and the sides also were decorated with pieces of silk, of various colours, suspended from the upper edge, and hanging down. At the particular request of Teshoo Lama's father, Mr. Saunders and myself wore the English dress.

"I advanced, and as the custom is, presented a white pelong scarf, and delivered also into the Lama's hands, the Governor General's present of a string of

* A species of silk cloth embroidered with flowers, a manufacture, I believe, peculiar to Benares.

pearls and coral, while the other things were set down before him. Having performed the ceremony of exchanging scarfs with his father and mother, we took our seats on the right hand of Teshoo Lama.

"A multitude of persons, all those who had been ordered to escort me, were admitted to his presence, and allowed to make their prostrations. The infant Lama turned towards them, and received them all with a cheerful look of complacency. His father then addressed me in the Tibet language, in words which were explained to me by the interpreter; he said that 'Teshoo Lama had been used to remain at rest until this time of the day, but he had awoke very early this morning, and could not be prevailed upon to remain longer at his repose, for, added he, the English gentlemen were arrived, and he could not sleep.' During the time we were in the room, I observed that the Lama's eyes were scarcely ever turned from us, and when our cups were empty of tea, he appeared uneasy, and throwing back his head, and contracting the skin of his brow, continued to make a noise, for he could not speak, until they were filled again. He took some burnt sugar out of a golden cup, containing some confectionary, and stretching out his arm, made a motion to his attendants to give them to me. He sent some, in like manner, to Mr. Saunders, who was with me. I found myself, though visiting an infant, under the necessity of saying something; for it was hinted to me, that notwithstanding he is unable to reply, it is not to be inferred that he cannot understand. However, his incapacity of answering, excused me many words, and I briefly said, that 'the Governor General, on receiving the news of his decease in China, was overwhelmed with grief and sorrow, and continued to lament his absence from the world, until the cloud that had overcast the happiness of this nation, was dispelled by his re-appearance, and then, if possible, a greater degree of joy had taken place, than he had experienced of grief, on receiving the first mournful news. The Governor anxiously wished that he might long continue to illumine the world by his presence, and was hopeful that the friendship, which had formerly subsisted between them, would not be diminished, but rather that it might become still greater than before; and that by his continuing to shew kindness to my countrymen, there might be an extensive communication between his votaries, and the dependents of the British nation.'

"The little creature turned, looking stedfastly towards me, with the appearance of much attention while I spoke, and nodded with repeated but slow movements of the head, as though he understood and approved every word, but could not utter a reply. His parents, who stood by all the time, eyed their son with a look of affection, and a smile expressive of heartfelt joy, at the propriety of the young Lama's conduct. His whole attention was directed to us; he was silent and sedate, never once looking towards his parents, as if under their influence at the time; and with whatsoever pains, his manners may have been

so correctly formed, I must own that his behaviour, on this occasion, appeared perfectly natural and spontaneous, and not directed by any external action, or sign of authority.

"The scene, in which I was here brought to act a part, was too new and extraordinary, however trivial, or perhaps preposterous, it may appear to some, not to claim from me great attention, and consequently minute remark.

"Teshoo Lama was at this time eighteen months old. Though he was unable to speak a word, he made the most expressive signs, and conducted himself with astonishing dignity and decorum. His complexion was of that hue, which in England we should term rather brown, but not without colour. His features were good; he had small black eyes, and an animated expression of countenance; altogether, I thought him one of the handsomest children I had ever seen.

"His mother, who stood by him, appeared to be about twenty-five years of age; she was low in person, but rather handsome, though possessing a true Tartar countenance. Her complexion was somewhat darker than her son's; she had regular features, black eyes, and a character that particularly distinguishes ladies of rank in Tibet; the corner of the eyelids being extended as far as possible, by artificial means, towards the temples. Her hair was black, but scarcely visible, from the vast profusion of ornaments that nearly covered it, consisting of pearls, rubies, emeralds, and coral. Pearls intermixed with beads of gold, and some rubies, constituted the ornaments of her ears. Chaplets of larger gems hung round her neck, among which were balass rubies, lapis lazuli, amber, and coral in numerous wreaths, one chaplet beneath the other, descending to the waist. Her vest was close buttoned round the neck. A girdle embraced it round the waist, which was fastened by a golden buckle, having a large ruby in the centre. A garnet-coloured shawl, wrought with white stars, completed her dress, which descended to the knee; she wore bulgar boots.

"Gyap, the father of the Lama, was dressed in a yellow satin garment, wrought with gold, and emblazoned with the imperial dragon. Our conversation was extremely limited; the Lama's father said, that he had instructions from Teshoo Loomboo to entertain me four days, and he pressed me so earnestly to stay one more, on his account, that I could not decline the invitation. The place he named for our meeting on the morrow, was just beyond the borders of the monastery, in a small pavilion, which had been erected for his occasional retirement and recreation; the use of the bow, in which he delighted, being deemed indecorous within the limits of the monastery, as indeed was every kind of idle sport, that seemed inconsistent with the character of the place."

We must now conclude, having already extended this article far beyond the limits within which we had originally intended to confine it, but our apology, and our parting remarks upon the work, may be expressed in a few and the same words, namely, that we

have seldom before met with so much new and curious information and amusing detail comprised within so small a compass. To extract all the interesting and entertaining passages would be to transcribe the whole book: the style is at once modest and dignified, the original observations bespeak acute inquiry, and are given without pretence, and in a manly and sensible manner. We part with regret from Mr. Turner, assuring our readers that the perusal of his volume will afford them not only high gratification, but also solid instruction, upon subjects hitherto so new to our literature, that it is no shame to be ignorant of them. *

CONTENTS.

HISTORY OF EUROPE.

CHAPTER I.

Agitation of Paris during the Revolution of the 9th November. Joy on the Overthrow of the Directory. First Sitting of the Provisional Consuls. Ascendancy of Buonaparte. New Ministry. Berthier, War-Minister. Gaudin, Minister of France. Supplies. He abolishes the forced Loan, and produces various Reforms. Cambaceres, Minister of Justice—Reinhard, of Foreign Relations—Forfait, of the Admiralty—La Place, of the Interior. Objection of Sieyes to Fouché, as Minister of Police. Negatived by Buonaparte. Sentences of Deportation. Repealed. Abolition of the Law of Hostages. Recall of the deported Priests. Protection extended to Religion. Release of the shipwrecked Emigrants. Suppression of the Oath of hatred to Royalty, and of the Festival commemorating the Death of Louis XVI. New Constitution. Oath of Fidelity. Projects of Sieyes. Lists of Notability. Conservative Senate. Tribunate. Legislative Body. His Plans for the Government are rejected. Three Consuls appointed. Pre-eminence of the First. Buonaparte appointed First Consul—Cambaceres, Second—Lebrun, Third. - - - - 1

CHAPTER II.

Review of the Operations of the French Royalists since 1796. Puisaye endeavours to renew the War in Britany. First Successes of Scepeaux and Chatillon. Advance of Hoche. Submission of Scepeaux. Activity of Georges in Morbihan. He consents to a Surrender of Arms. Successes of Frotté in Normandy. He is compelled to fly to England. Death of La Vieuville. Pacification of the West

announced to the Directory. Rigorous Measures of the French Government. Disagreement among the Royalist Chiefs. Policy of the Pacific Faction. Hedouville succeeds Hoche. Puisaye embarks for England. Success of his Mission. Hopes of the Royalists. Disappointed by the Revolution of the 4th of September, 1797. *Indiscreet Memorial of Puisaye. His Retirement to America. Depressed State of the Royal Cause. Deaths of Rochecote and Martial de Mandat. Great Influence of Georges. Royalist Movements during the Coalition of* 1799. *Distracted State of the Western Provinces. Affairs of Mons, Nantes, St. Brieue. Movements of Hedouville. Hopes of the Royalists on the Accession of Buonaparte to the Consulate. Overtures to him from Louis XVIII., and from the Comte d'Artois through the Duchess of Guiche. Buonaparte rejects them. Intrigues of Bernier. Through him an Armistice is proposed to the Royalist Chiefs. Reasons of Buonaparte for negociating. Landing of Stores by an English Squadron. The Royalists successfully defend this Convoy at Elven. Conferences at Pouance. Dissensions among the Chiefs. Predominance of those who were for Peace. Mission of Hyde de Neuville and d'Andigné to Buonaparte. Accounts of their Audience. Instructions from the Comte d'Artois. Warlike Appearance on both sides. An immediate Assent to the proposed Treaty, demanded by Hedouville. Indecision of the Royalists. Conferences resumed in Condé. Vigorous measures of Buonaparte. Brune assumes the Command of the West. D'Autichamp, Chatillon, Suzannet, and La Prevelayse, sign a separate Peace. Stratagem of Bernier. Execution of two Royalists at Paris and Versailles. Affair of Grandchamp. Georges disperses his Troops. Georges and Bourmont agree to the Peace. Constancy of Frotté. He negociates. His Overtures are not answered. His Letter to d'Hugon. His betrayal and Death. Conclusion of Bernier's History. Interview of Georges with Buonaparte. Their Accounts compared. The Comte d'Artois recommends a Cessation of open Force. Attempt of Georges during the Campaign in Italy. Peace of the West of France established - - - - - 14*

CHAPTER III.

Session of Parliament in September 1799. *King's Speech. Thanks to various Officers. Bill for enabling his Majesty to accept the Services of the Militia. Speeches of Messrs. Tierney, Wyndham, Sheridan, and Pitt, in the Commons; of Lords Holland, Westmoreland, Caernarvon, Hardwicke and Grenville in the Lords. Supplies. Treaties with the Emperor of Russia. Lord Holland moves an Address disapproving of the Introduction of Foreign Troops into Great Britain. It is negatived. Adjournment of Parliament - - - 40*

CHAPTER IV.

The First Consul proposes Peace to the English Government. Official Copies of the Papers relative to the Proposition. King's Message on their presentation to Parliament. Debate in the House of Lords. Speeches of Lord Grenville, the Duke of Bedford, Lords Boringdon, Holland and Caernarvon. The Ministerial Address carried. Lord Holland's Protest. Debate in the House of Commons. Speeches of Messrs. Dundas, Whitbread, Canning, Erskine, Pitt and Fox, The Address carried - - - - - 54

CHAPTER V.

Insincerity of Buonaparte's Proposal. Reasons which made a continuance of War his Policy. Measures of the Consular Government. Establishment of Præfactures and other Departmental Tribunals. Installation of the Consuls. Buonaparte takes Possession of the Thuilleries. Sketch of the State of Neutral Europe. Spain. Russia. Sweden. Denmark. Prussia. Negociations with the Court of Berlin. Saxony. Retrospect of American Affairs. Dismissal of General Pinckney by the Directory in 1797. *Capture of American Vessels. Convention of Congress. Firmness of President Adams. Farther attempts at Negociation. Insolent and outrageous Conduct of the Directory. Energy of the Americans. They arm. The Chief Military Command offered to Washington. His Opinion on the Conduct of the French. He accepts the Command. Change of Views in the French Government on the Accession of Buonaparte. Death of Washington. Honours paid to his Memory in America, and in France. General Mourning, and Funeral Oration in Paris. Willingness of Buonaparte to negociate. Favourable Terms of the Treaty. Its Ratification. State of the Austrian Councils. Letter of the Archduke Charles. His Pacific Views. Buonaparte makes Propositions through Him. His Retirement from the Command of the Imperial Armies. General Kray succeeds him. Preparations of Buonaparte. Formation of the Army of Reserve. Popularity of the War in France* - - - - - 101

CHAPTER VI.

Power of the Austrians in Italy at the commencement of 1800. *Election of Pius VII. to the Papacy. Flourishing state of the Austrian Army. Melas advances on the Ligurian Appennines. Wretched*

condition of the French Army. Massena assumes the command of it. He revives the spirits of his Troops. Their Numbers and Positions. The English under Lord Keith blockade the Genoese coast. Description of the Fortifications of Genoa. Importance of its possessions to both the Belligerents. Commencement of Hostilities. The French beaten before Savona; their Line is intersected, and their Posts driven in. They are recovered on the following Day. Retreat of Suchet. Battle of Voltri; the Austrians defeated by Soult. Farther Success of the French at L'Eremita. Defeat of Massena at La Stella. His personal dangers. His Plan of Junction with Soult; frustrated by the disorder of his Troops. He despatches Gen. Fressinet to Soult's assistance, who decides the Combat already related at L'Eremita. Massena again defeated at Cogoletto. He is rescued by Oudinot. Continued operations and various success of Soult. Affair of Massena at La Stella. Defeat of Soult at Sassello. Difficulties of Soult. His able Retreat and Junction with Massena. Massena retreats to Genoa. Reasons for his halt at Voltri. Second Defeat of the French at that place. Their Retreat covered by the bravery of Mouton. Mission of Oudinot to Suchet. Suchet recovers the Heights of Sette Pani. He attacks San Giacomo, is completely defeated, and obliged to retreat. Operations of Miollis near Genoa during Massena's absence. Distress and discontent of the Inhabitants. The French retire within the Walls. Proclamation of Melas to the Genoese. Counter-Proclamation of Massena. The Austrians are defeated in a Reconnoissance. Melas intrusts the continuance of the Siege to Ott. General Attack by the Austrians. Their success at first; in the end they are defeated. Repulse of the French at La Coronato. Repulse of Miollis. Success of Soult at Monte Creto. The defeated Division refuses to advance to his support. Second unsuccessful attack on Monte Creto. Soult is wounded and taken prisoner. Famine in Genoa. Popular Movements. Misery of the City. Bombardment. Vigilance of the Blockading Squadron. Brilliant exploit of Franceschi. The want of Food begins to be felt by the Soldiery. Experiments to produce a Substitute for Bread. They fail. Horrible condition of the Austrian Prisoners. Anxiety and excitement of the French. False hopes of Relief. Terms proposed. Massena wishes to cut his way out. The Plan rejected. Negociation. Favourable Terms. Summary of the Siege. Evacuation of the City. It is occupied by the British and Austrians. Examination of Buonaparte's Criticism on this Siege - - - - - 117

CHAPTER VII.

Berthier joins the Army of Reserve. Italy, its destination. Policy of Buonaparte in concealing this object. The Existence of the Army dis-

believed. Secret preparations. Correspondence between Buonaparte and Berthier. Buonaparte quits Paris. His interview with Necker at Geneva, and with the Engineer Marescot. The Army enters upon the Alps. Occupation of St. Remy. Passage of the Artillery. Perils of the descent. The Vanguard of the French victorious at Aosta and Chatillon. Buonaparte passes the St. Bernard in person. Anecdote of his Guide. The advance of the Army checked by Fort Bard. Description of the Fort. Lannes is repulsed in an Assault upon it. Panic of the French. Buonaparte reconnoitres the Fort. He decides upon passing the Rock of Albaredo. The French repulsed in a second Attack upon the Fort. They attain possession of the Town of Bard. Passage of the Army over Albaredo. Of the Artillery through the Town of Bard. Blockade and Capture of Fort Bard. Astonishment of the Commandant when he learned the Passage of the French Artillery. The Austrians driven from Ivrea. Delusion of the Austrian General. Defeat of the Austrians at Romagna. Successful Operations of the French on the right. Reasons which induced Buonaparte to march upon Milan. He prepares to cross the Tesino 144

CHAPTER VIII.

Object of Suchet in maintaining his position at Settepani. He avoids an attack by falling back on Loano. Is beaten thence, and retires to Oneglia. Occupation of the Col de Tende by the Austrians Battle of Oneglia: defeat of the French. Farther retreat of Suchet. He succeeds in passing the Var. Precautions before his retreat. The Austrians enter Nice. Military defects and advantages of the line of the Var. The Austrians repulsed in an attack upon the Tete du Pont. Buonaparte informs Suchet of the passage of St. Bernard. Manœuvres of Suchet. Melas receives intelligence of the advance of the Army of Reserve, and marches for Piedmont. Ulsnitz is left in command. He is a second time repulsed from the Tete du Pont. Ignorance of Melas as to the real state of the Army of Reserve. Ulsnitz repulsed in a third desperate attack on the Tete du Pont. The Austrians abandon their lines. Objects of Ulsnitz in his retreat. He occupies the line of the Roya. Suchet turns the Austrian position on the right at the Col de Tende. Ulsnitz retreats up the Valley of the Tanaro. His rear-guard is cut off. Disappointment of Suchet on the surrender of Genoa. He is joined by part of the garrison. He takes up cantonments near Savona and on the Bormida. Melas fixes his headquarters at Turin. He summons Ott from Genoa. Ott delays in order to secure the capitulation. Buonaparte passes the Tesino after a sanguinary action. He enters Milan. Astonishment of the Lombards. His endeavours to tranquillize political animosities. Surprize of Placenza by Murat. Of Pavia by Lannes. Melas names Alessandria

as his general rendezvous. Skirmish at Belgiojoso. The French cross the Po. Advance of Ott. Battle of Montebello. Ott retreats to Voghera. Error of Dumas in his account of this battle. Buonaparte remains in his former position. Irresolution of the Austrians. Uncertainty of the French as to the movements of Melas. They advance, and pass the Scrivia to Marengo. Arrival of Dessaix. His interview with Buonaparte. He is appointed to command the centre; and is detached on the left of the line. Anxiety of the French. Numbers and positions of the two Armies. Battle of Marengo. The French are driven back at all points. Steadiness of the Consular Guard. It saves the division of Lannes. The French rally in a defile. Melas believes the victory won, and leaves the command to Zach. Desaix arrives with his division. Saint Cyr turns the left flank of the Austrians. Advance and death of Desaix. The division of Zach compelled to lay down its arms. Advance of the whole French line. Disorder and flight of the Austrians. Their total defeat. Loss of both sides. Desperate situation of Melas. He negociates. Convention for an armistice. Suchet re-occupies Genoa. Surrender of the Fortresses in Piedmont and Lombardy. The Austrian Army permitted to retire behind Mantua. Buonaparte returns to Milan. Reorganization of the Cisalpine and Ligurian Republics. Massena appointed to the chief command in Italy. Buonaparte re-crosses the Alps. Lays the first stone of the Place Bellecour at Lyons. Returns to Paris - - - - - - - 158

CHAPTER IX.

Campaign of the Army of the Rhine. Moreau assumes the command. Positions and numbers of Moreau and Kray. Plan proposed by Buonaparte. Rejected by Moreau. Modified plan. Jealousy between Buonaparte and Moreau. The French pass the Rhine. St. Suzanne is ordered to repass it. Criticism of Buonaparte on this movement. Surrender of Hohentwœl. Battle of Stockach and Engen. Defeat of the Austrians. Battle of Mœskirch. Victory claimed by each party. Retreat of the Austrians. Battle of Biberach. Defeat of the Austrians. Action at Memmingen. Kray retires upon Ulm. Moreau despatches the division of Loison to the Army of Italy. Position of the French. Manœuvres and engagements round Ulm. Surprise of Augsburgh. Objects of either General. Moreau threatens Bavaria. Passage of the Danube. Cavalry engagement at Hochstett. Kray abandons his Camp before Ulm. Pursuit by the French. Capture of Munich. Narrow escape of the Elector. Investment of Ulm. Battle of Neubourgh. Death of Latour d'Auvergne. Retreat of Kray. He takes up a position at Landshut. Inaction of both Armies. Lecourbe's operations in the Tyrol. He forces the

Prince de Reuss to evacuate the intrenched Camp at Feldkirch. Armistices of Pahrsdorf - - - - 179

CHAPTER X.

Preliminaries of peace signed between France and Austria. Previous Treaty between Great Britain and the Emperor. The Emperor refuses to ratify the Preliminaries. Buonaparte proposes a naval armistice to the English Government. Discussions on this novel proposition. It is rejected. Resumption of hostilities in Germany. Convention of Hohenlinden; the Armistice prolonged. Change of the Austrian ministry. Appointment of Count Cobentzel. The Pope and Grand Duke of Tuscany take possession of their dominions. Miserable state of Italy. Brune, who commanded in that country, recommences hostilities. They are speedily suspended by an Armistice at Castiglione. Invasion of Tuscany. Successes of the French. Preparations for hostilities in Germany. Design of Buonaparte. Statement of the opposed armies. The French advance on the Inn. Manœuvres of the Archduke John. His first success. He neglects to follow it up. Battle of Hohenlinden. Total defeat of the Austrians. They fall back on the Ebro. Farther actions. The Archduke Charles assumes the command. Armistice of Steyer. Position of the two armies. Army of the Grisons. The Court of Vienna deceived as to its number. It marches on Italy. Position and movements of Brune and Bellegarde. Passage of the Mincio. Bloody engagement at Pozzolo. Passage of the Adige. Armistice of Treviso. Favourable terms to the Austrians. Buonaparte refuses to ratify it till Mantua is surrendered. Position of the armies. Peace of Luneville - - - 197

CHAPTER XI.

Astonishment of the Army of Egypt at Buonaparte's return to Europe. Kleber succeeds to the command. His wise administration. His gloomy despatch to the Directory. Intercepted by the English. Positions of the French. Suez and Cosseir bombarded by the English. Defeat of the advanced guard of the Grand Vizier at Damietta. Opening of negociation. Capture of El Arisch by the Turks. Treaty of El Arisch. The English not parties to it. They disavow the Treaty. Its rupture. Advance of the Grand Vizier. Proposition of Lord Keith. Reply of Kleber. Battle of Heliopolis. Defeat and flight of the Grand Vizier. Part of the Turkish force under Nassyf Pacha moves on Cairo. Destruction of the remains of his defeated army in the desert. Insurrection in Cairo. Massacre in the

French quarter. Brilliant defence of the place Esbekieh by two hundred French. Kleber despatches succours to Cairo. He returns to the Capital. Proposes to negociate. The citizens oppose the receipt of his terms. Mourad Bay attaches himself to the French cause. The whole of the Delta is subdued. Assault of Boulac and massacre of the Turks. Attack upon Cairo postponed by a violent rain. Assault of the city. Success of the French. Capitulation of Nassyf Pacha. The English land at Suez. Having burned the vessels in its port they re-embark. All Egypt in the power of the French. Internal measures adopted by Kleber for its government. Submission of the natives. Appearance of the Turkish fleet under the Capudan Pacha. He offers to negociate. Kleber refuses. Rejects an overture from the English Secretary Morier. Plans and prospects of Kleber. Frustrated by his assassination. Consternation of the French. Seizure of the assassin. Confession extorted from him by a promise of indemnity. He implicates the Grand Vizier. Means which had been used to instigate the fanaticism of the assassin. Four Cheiks of Cairo privy to the design. Trial, condemnation, and horrible execution of the assassin. Character of Kleber - 211

CHAPTER XII.

Military operations of the English. Attack on Quiberon. On Quimper River. Troops assembled at Minorca. Unsuccessful attempt on Ferrol. Blockade and capture of the Island of Malta. Fruitless expedition to Cadiz. Capture of Curaçao, and of Goree. Parliamentary debates on the War. Motion for an inquiry into the expedition to Holland. Speeches of Messrs. Sheridan, Dundas, Tierney, Perceval. Similar motion in the House of Lords. Speeches of Lords Holland and Moira. Message from the King on the Treaties with the Germanic powers. Speeches of Lords Holland, Grenville, and Duke of Montrose in the House of Lords; of Messrs. Pitt, Tierney, Wilberforce, Sheridan, Windham, in the Commons. Motion of Mr. Tierney, declaratory of the definitive object of the War. Speeches of Messrs. Tierney, Jones and Eliot, of Lord Hawkesbury, Mr. William Smith, and Lord Belgrave. Motion of Mr. Jones for the dismissal of Ministers. Motion of Mr. Sheridan for a Call of the House. His Speech. Reply of Mr. Pitt. Motion of Lord Holland to the same effect. His Speech. Reply of Lord Grenville. Motion of Mr. Western for a Committee on the state of the Nation. Speeches of Messrs. Western, Wilberforce, W. Smith, Windham, Hobhouse, Sheridan, the Solicitor General, Tierney. Treaty with the Emperor of Germany. Speeches of Messrs. Pitt, Tierney, and Canning. - - - - - 226

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER XIII.

Financial debates. Renewal of the Charter of the Bank of England. Speeches of Messrs. Pitt, Tierney and Thornton. Budget. Motion of Mr. Tierney for limiting the duration of the Income tax. Reply of Mr. Pitt. East India Budget. Proceedings in consequence of Mr. Thellusson's will. Mr. Abbott's Bill for charging public accountants with the payment of interest. The King's personal property - - - - - 265

CHAPTER XIV.

Measures of internal policy. Renewed suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. Speeches of the Attorney General, Messrs. Sheridan, Wyndham, Sir F. Burdett, Messrs. Canning and Wilberforce. Second reading. Speeches of Messrs. Hobhouse, Sturges, Sir F. Burdett, the Attorney General, Messrs. Tierney, Sheridan, and Canning. Third reading in the House of Lords. Speeches of Lords King, Carlisle, Holland, and Eldon. Attempt upon the King's life by Hadfield. Bill in consequence of the attempt. Inquiry into the causes of scarcity of Corn. Report of the Committee. Motion of Lord Hawkesbury. Debates in the House of Lords on the Report. Second Report to the House of Commons. Lord Hawkesbury's Resolutions. Incorporation of the London Flour Company. Poor Laws. Bull Baiting. Speeches of Messrs. Wyndham and Canning. Lord Auckland's Motion to supersede the necessity of examination at the Bar in Divorce Bills. Speeches of Lord Mulgrave and the Bishop of Rochester. Bill prohibiting intermarriage of Adulterers. Speeches of Duke of Clarence, Lord Mulgrave, Lord Eldon, and Bishop of Rochester. New Bill. Speeches of Duke of Clarence, Bishop of Rochester, Lords Auckland and Mulgrave. Third reading. Speeches of Lords Westmorland, Carlisle, and Bishop of Rochester. Debates on the Bill in the Commons. Speeches of Sir William Scott, Messrs. Erskine, Wyndham, Attorney General, Master of the Rolls, and Mr. Wilberforce. Bill lost. Monastic Institutions in England. Sir H. Mildmay moves for a Committee of Inquiry. Resolution. Speeches of Mr. Wyndham, Sir H. Mildmay, Messrs. Hobhouse, Erskine, Sheridan, and Perceval. In the House of Lords, Speeches of Bishops of Rochester, Winchester, and Lord Chancellor. Mr. Abbott's motion on dormant and expiring Laws. Inquiry into the Management of the Prison in Cold Bath-Fields - - - 289

CHAPTER XV.

Views of Government respecting the Union with Ireland. Mr. Cook's Pamphlet. Violent feeling in Ireland against the question. Public meetings. Meeting of the Irish Parliament in 1799. *Speech of the Lord Lieutenant. Amendment to the Address in the Lords. In the Commons. Strong language of Mr. Barrington. Speeches of Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Plunket, and Mr. Ponsonby. Majority of one against the Amendment. Debate on the Report of the Address. Fresh Amendment moved by Sir L. Parsons. Carried by a majority of five. Joy of the Anti-unionists. Lord Castlereagh proposes and obtains an Adjournment. Continued public meetings. Circulation of Mr. Pitt's Speech by both parties. Regency Bill. Speech of Mr. Foster. The Bill lost. Farther adjournment. Close of the Session. Speech of the Lord Lieutenant. Increased confidence of Ministers. Activity of the Marquess of Downshire. His dismissal from his public employments. Meeting and Resolutions of the Roman Catholics of Dublin. Opening of the Irish Parliament in* 1800. *The Union not mentioned in the Lord Lieutenant's Speech. Amendment moved by Sir L. Parsons. Speeches of Messrs. Grattan and Corry. Majority for Ministers. Aggregate meeting of the City of Dublin. The Earl of Clare presents a Message introductory of Mr. Pitt's Resolutions into the Lords. Bitter sarcasm of Mr. Grattan. Lord Castlereagh presents a similar Message to the Commons. Duel between Messrs. Grattan and Corry. Motion of Sir J. Parnell for a new Parliament. Resolutions of the Irish Parliament, approving the English Resolutions. Presented to the English Parliament. Debate in the English House of Commons on the King's Message. Speeches of Messrs. Pitt and Grey. Motion of Mr. Grey that a Committee be instituted to secure the independence of Parliament. His Speech. Speech of Lord Hawkesbury. The Motion negatived. The Resolutions committed and agreed to by the Commons. Debates upon them in the Lords. Lord Holland's Motion for a Committee to consider the disqualification of the Roman Catholics. Speeches of the Marquess of Lansdowne and Earl of Liverpool. The Resolutions pass the Lords. Address to the Throne. Bill in the Irish Parliament for regulating Elections. Countervailing Duties. Bill of Union passes the Parliament of Ireland. Compensation for the surrender of Boroughs. Royal Assent given to the Bill of Union in England. And in Ireland. Close of the last Session of the last Parliament of Ireland - - *344*

CONTENTS.

CHRONICLE, *1—*75.

Births in the Year 1800 - - - - - *75
Marriages - - - - - *76
Promotions - - - - - *78
Deaths - - - - - *87
Sheriffs appointed by his Majesty in Council - - *92

APPENDIX TO THE CHRONICLE.

Copy of a Letter from Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, Knt. Commander-in-Chief, of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels at Jamaica, to Evan Nepean, Esq. - - - *94
Despatch received from W. Wickham, Esq. by the Right Hon. Lord Grenville. - - - - *96
Despatch from the Right Hon. Lord W. Bentinck, by Lord Grenville - - - - - *97
Copy of a Letter from Captain Sir W. S. Smith, Captain of his Majesty's Ship Tigre, to Evan Nepean, Esq. - - *99
Copy of a Letter from Lord Nelson to Vice-Admiral Lord Keith *101
Despatch received from the Right Hon. Lord Minto, his Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Vienna by Lord Grenville - - - - ibid.
Copy of a Letter from John Thomas Duckworth, Esq. Rear-Admiral of the White, to Evan Nepean, Esq. - - *103
Despatches received from William Wickham, Esq. his Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary and Commissary at the Imperial, Royal, and Allied Armies, by Lord Grenville - - *105
Despatches received from William Wickham, Esq. his Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary and Commissary at the Imperial, Royal, and Allied Armies, and from Lieutenant-Colonel Clinton, by the Right Honourable Lord Grenville - - *107
Copy of a Letter from Sir Charles Hamilton, Captain of his Majesty's Ship Melpomene, to Evan Nepean, Esq. - *110
Copy of a Letter from Captain Inman, of his Majesty's Ship Andromede, to Evan Nepean, Esq. - - - *111
Copy of a Letter from the Earl of St. Vincent, K.B. Admiral of the White, to Evan Nepean, Esq. - - - *114
Despatch received at the Office of the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, from Lieutenant-General Sir James Pulteney, Bart. *116
Copies of Inclosures from Real-Admiral Sir John Borlase Warren to Earl St. Vincent, and by him dispatched to Evan Nepean, Esq. - - - - *117

CONTENTS.

Despatch received by the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, from Major-General Pigot, commanding his Majesty's Troops in the Island of Malta - - - - *118

Copy of a Letter from Captain Frederick Watkins, Commander of his Majesty's Ship Nereide, to Evan Nepean, Esq. - *120

Articles of Capitulation of the Island of Malta - - *123

Trial of James Hadfield for High Treason - - *126

Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Expense of and Mode of obtaining Bills of Enclosure - *134

Table of Fees payable in the Two Houses on Bills of Enclosure *141

Account of Fees received in the House of Commons on Bills of Enclosure, for fourteen Years, ending 1799 - - *142

An Estimate of the Expenses of Housekeeping, between 1773 *and* 1800, *by an Inhabitant of Bury St. Edmund's* - - *143

Reports of the Committee of the House of Commons respecting Bread, Corn, &c. &c. - - - *143—*179

Reports from the Lords' Committee on the present scarcity of Corn, &c. &c. - - - - *179—*190

Importation of Wheat in the Port of London, laid on the Table of the House of Lords, July 10, 1800 - - *190

Resolutions of the Grand Jury of the County of York, respecting the scarcity of Corn - - - - *191

Official Letter from the Duke of Portland to the Lord-Lieutenant of the County of Oxford - - - *192

Copy of a Letter from the Duke of Portland to the Town Clerk of Nottingham - - - - *195

Particulars relative to the Death of General Washington - *196

General Washington's Will - - - - *197

Return of the Number of Men who have been raised for the Service of the Army since the Commencement of the present War, to the 24th of December 1800, *presented to the House of Commons* - - - - - *207

Return of the Number of Men who have been discharged from the Service of the Army, on Account of Wounds, or bodily Infirmity, since the Commencement of the present War - - ibid.

Return of the Number of Men who have been killed in Action, or who have died in the Service of the Army; since the Commencement of the present War - - - - ibid.

Return of the Total Number of effective Rank and File actually serving in the Pay of Great Britain, 24th December, 1800 - ibid.

Irish Parliamentary Annuitants - - - *208

An Account of Gold coined at his Majesty's Mint, from Michaelmas 1796 *to the present time; distinguishing the Quantity coined in each year* - - - - - *210

Return to an Order of the House of Commons, for an Account of the Amount of the Public Funded Debt of the Kingdom, at the following periods, viz. at the beginning of the Years 1700,

CONTENTS.

1710, 1720, 1730, 1740, 1750, 1760, 1765, 1770, 1775, 1780, 1785, 1790, 1791, 1792, 1793, 1794, 1795, 1796, 1797, 1798, 1799, *and* 1800 - - - - *210

An Acount of the Amount of Bank of England Notes in Circulation, on an average of every three Months, from the 25th day of March, 1797, *in the Years* 1797, 1798, 1799, *and* 1800; *distinguishing the Amount of Notes below the Value of Five Pounds* - - - - *211

Resolutions moved by Mr. Pitt, and carried in the House of Commons, 28th July, 1800 - - - *212

An Account of the Total produce of the Tax upon Income, for the Year ending the 5th of April, 1800, *as far as the same can be made up and estimated; distinguishing the Amount, in consequence of Assessments by the Commercial Commissioners* *217

An Account of the total net Produce of the permanent Taxes for the Year ending the 5th of April, 1800 - - *218

India Budget - - - - *219—*223

Supplies granted by Parliament for the Year 1800 - *223—*232

Supplies granted in the Fifth Session of the Eighteenth and last Parliament of Great Britain - - - *233

Taxes imposed in the Year 1800 - - - *235

Public Acts passed in the Fourth Session of the Eighteenth Parliament of Great Britain - - - ibid.

Public Acts passed in the Fifth Session of the Eighteenth Parliament of Great Britain - - - *238

Average Prices of Corn for 1800 - - - *241

Meteorological Table - - - - *242

Prices of Stock - - - - - *243

A General Bill of Christenings and Burials, from December 10, 1799, *to December* 9, 1800 - - - *244

STATE PAPERS.

Message from his Majesty to both Houses of Parliament, 21st January - - - - - *245

Message from the King to the House of Lords, 2d April - ibid.

His Majesty's Speech from the Throne on closing the Sessions, 29th July - - - - - *246

Speech of His Majesty, on opening the Session, 11th November *247

His Majesty's Speech to both Houses, on concluding the last Session of the British Parliament - - - *248

Speech of the Lord Lieutenant, from the Throne, on the 15th of January, 1800, *at the Meeting of the Irish Parliament* - *250

Message from the Lord-Lieutenant to the Irish House of Commons - - - - *252

CONTENTS.

His Excellency's Speech to both Houses, on the 2d of August, 1800, on proroguing the Parliament of Ireland - - *252

Address from the British House of Lords to his Majesty, with the Resolutions for the Union with Ireland, as amended by them, &c. &c. - - - - *254—*274

Papers relative to the Commencement of Negociations for Peace with France - - - - *274—*318

Convention for the Evacuation of Egypt - - *318

Kleber, General-in-Chief of the Army of Egypt, to the Executive Directory of the French Republic - - - *322

Kleber, Commander-in-Chief, to the Divan of Cairo, and to those of the different Provinces of Egypt - - *325

Sir Sidney Smith to Citizen Poussielgue, Administrator-General of the Finances - - - - ibid.

Letter from Citizen Poussielgue to Lord Keith - - *326

Lord Keith's Answer - - - - - *327

Kleber, Commander-in-Chief, to the Army - - ibid.

Letter from General Menou to Sir Sidney Smith, informing him of the Assassination of General Kleber, and of his having taken upon him the chief Command - - *328

Letter from Sir Sidney Smith to General Menou, Commander-in-Chief of the French Army in Egypt: originally written in French - - - - - *329

Menou, provisional General-in-Chief, to Citizen Bonaparte, First Consul of the Republic - - - - *331

Convention between his Britannic Majesty and the Emperor of the Romans, signed at Vienna, June 20, 1800 - - *335

Treaty between the King of Great Britain and the Elector of Mentz - - - - - *337

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Merry, the British Minister at Copenhagen, to Count Bernstorff - - - *340

Reply of the Danish Minister to the Note of Mr. Merry - *341

Note delivered by Lord Grenville to Count Wedel Jarlsberg, his Danish Majesty's Minister, respecting the Capture of the Freya Frigate - - - - - *343

Extract from the official Note transmitted by Lord Whitworth to Count Bernstorff - - - - *344

Extract from the Reply of Count Bernstorff - - *345

Reply of Lord Whitworth - - - - *346

Preliminary Convention between the Courts of Copenhagen and London, signed at Copenhagen, August 29, 1800 - - *346

Circular Letter addressed by the Spanish Minister to the Foreign Ministers at the Court of Spain, relative to a Violation of the Right of Neutral Flags, alleged to have been committed by the English at Barcelona - - - *347

Letter to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of his Swedish Majesty, on the same subject - - - - *348

CONTENTS.

Note transmitted by the Swedish Ministry to the Minister of his Catholic Majesty at Stockholm, in Answer to the Representations of the Spanish Court - - - *349

Note from the Swedish Minister for Foreign Affairs to the Minister of his Prussian Majesty at Stockholm, on the subject of the Affairs at Barcelona - - - - *350

Reply of the Spanish Minister to the Note transmitted to him by the Swedish Minister, Oct. 22 - - - *352

Declaration issued by the Prussian Commandant on his entering Ritzebuttel - - - - - ibid.

Russian Edict - - - - - - *353

Notice published in the Petersburgh Gazette of the 10th September - - - - - *354

Letter from the Russian Ambassador at Berlin, to the Russian Consul at Hamburgh - - - - ibid.

Refusal of the Emperor of Russia to receive an Ambassador from the Emperor of Germany - - - ibid.

Substance of the Declaration of the Emperor of Russia relative to an armed Neutrality by Sea - - - *355

Order of the Emperor of Russia laying an Embargo on English Vessels - - - - - ibid.

Letter from Mr. Shairp, relative to the British Prisoners in Russia *356

Note from the Governor of Cadiz to the English Admiral - ibid.

Answer to the above by the Commanders-in-Chief of the Sea and Land forces of his Britannic Majesty, forming the Expedition before Cadiz - - - - *357

Reply to the Commanders of his Britannic Majesty's Sea and Land Forces - - - - *358

Proclamation of the Consuls of the Republic to the French - ibid.

Letter written by the General-in-Chief of the Army of St. Domingo to the Authorities Civil and Military, and all other Citizens of the City of Cayes, and Instructions given to the Deputies sent by him to the said City, bearers of the said Letter - *359

Convention between the Generals-in-Chief of the French and Imperial Armies in Italy, with the alterations made in it - *360

Preliminaries of Peace between France and Austria - *361

Armistice concluded at Steyer, the 25th of December, 1800 - *362

Treaty concluded between the French and Batavian Republics *366

Convention between Russia and the Porte, respecting the Ex-Venetian Islands - - - - - *368

Speech of his Swedish Majesty to the Diet, assembled at Norkoping, March 19 - - - - *369

Convention between the French Republic, and the United States of America - - - - - *372

Treaty of Amity and Commerce between the King of Prussia and the United States of America - - - *381

Speech of the President of the United States of America, on the

CONTENTS.

Meeting of both Houses of Congress, in the Senate Chamber, at Washington, on the 22d of November - - *389
Negociation for the Evacuation of Genoa, by the right wing of the French Army, between Vice-Admiral Lord Keith commanding the English Fleet, Lieutenant-General Baron d'Ott, commanding the Blockade, and the General-in-Chief Massena - *392
Convention relative to the Occupation of the City of Genoa and its Forts, the 5th of Messidor, year VIII. *otherwise the 24th of June,* 1800, *conformably with the Treaty made between the Generals-in-Chief Berthier and Melas* - - *394

CHARACTERS.

Account of the Annual Birman Festivals at Pegue, &c. From Symes's Embassy to Ava - - - *396
Account of the Reception of the Embassy. From the same - *404
Account of the Last Moments and Character of Charles I. King of England. From Laing's History of Scotland - - *413
Account of the Death and Character of Oliver Cromwell. From the same - - - - - *418
Elevation of the House of Hapsburgh to the Imperial Throne in the Person of Rudolph. From Planta's History of the Helvetic Confederacy - - - - - *420
Account of the Emperor Rudolph's Death. From the same - *422
Account of Robert Burns, the Ayrshire Ploughman, by himself, in a Letter to Dr. Moore; from his Works lately edited by Dr. Currie - - - - - *423
Extract from Kotzebue's Life, written by himself - - *431

NATURAL HISTORY.

Some observations on the Head of the Ornithorhynchus Paradoxus. By Everard Home, Esq. F.R.S. From the Philosophical Transactions - - - - - *436
Account of a Peculiarity in the Distribution of the Arteries sent to the Limbs of slow-moving Animals; together with some other similar Facts. In a Letter from Mr. Anthony Carlisle, Surgeon, to John Symmons, Esq. F.R.S. From the Philosophical Transactions - - - *438
Account of some Experiments made in France, by order of the Government, respecting the quality of Pewter. By M. Coquebert. Read at the Council of Weights and Measures. From the Repertory of Arts and Manufactures - - *441

CONTENTS.

On the successful Cultivation of the true Rhubarb in England, by Mr. Thomas Jones. From the Transactions of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce *444

On the Poison of Serpents. By William Boag, Esq. From the Asiatic Researches *447

USEFUL PROJECTS.

On the Cultivation of Potatos from the Rind, &c. By the Rev. Edward Whittle, of Odstock, near Salisbury. From the Repertory of Arts and Manufactures *461

Account of a simple and effectual Preparation of Seed-Corn. By Mr. John Wagestaffe, of Norwich. From the Repertory of Arts and Manufactures *462

Account of a new method of bleaching Cotton. From the Repertory of Arts and Manufactures. Read at the National Institute *464

Method of purifying Honey and Molasses, so that they shall serve for the same Uses as Sugar in most domestic Preparations of Food, &c. By Mr. Lowitz. From the Repertory of Arts and Manufactures *466

Extract of the Report delivered to the Class of Mathematical and Physical Sciences of the National Institute, by the Commission appointed to repeat the Experiments of Mr. Achard on the Sugar of the Beet-Root. From the Repertory of Arts and Manufactures. *468

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Achard to Professor Scherer, dated June 2, 1800, *on the latest Experiments on the Beet-Root* *473

On Clay and Marl. By Mr. Josiah Rodwell, of Liverpool, near Bury, Suffolk. From the Repertory of Arts and Manufactures *474

On the Distillation of Sulphuric Acid, as it is practised at Bleyl, in Bohemia. From the Repertory of Arts and Manufactures *477

Account of the Improvements on His Majesty's Farm, in the Great Park, at Windsor, by Nathaniel Kent, in a Letter to the Secretary of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce *479

Project for extending the Breed of fine-woolled Spanish Sheep, now in the possession of his Majesty, into all parts of Great Britain, where the growth of fine clothing Wool is found to be profitable. Drawn up and circulated by the Right Hon. Sir Joseph Banks, Bart. P.R.S. &c. *486

List of Patents for new Inventions granted during the Year 1800 *489

CONTENTS.

ANTIQUITIES.

Some Observations upon the Life of Cecily, Duchess of York, Daughter of Ralph de Nevil, Earl of Westmoreland and of Richmond, by Joan, natural Daughter of John, Duke of Lancaster. From the Archaeologia - - - *498

A complete List of the Royal Navy of England, in 1599. *Extracted from an Original Manuscript in the possession of Dr. Leith, of Greenwich. From the Archaeologia* - - *505

Copy of an original Manuscript entitled "Instructions for every Centioner to observe duringe the continuance of the Frenche Fleet uppon this Cost until knowlege shal be had of ther dispercement, given by Sir George Carye, Captein, this fyrst of September, 1586." *From the Archaeologia* - - *510

Copy of an Original Letter from Queen Elizabeth to the Earl of Warwick. Exhibited to the Society of Antiquities by Peter Renouard, Esq. F.A.S. in whose Family this curious Paper has long remained. From the Archaeologia - *511

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

General Reflections on the History of Greece. From Herder's Philosophy of Man - - - *515

On the Character of Ajax. From the second Volume of Letters from a Father to his Son, on various Topics relative to Literature and the Conduct of Life, by J. Aikin, M.D. - - *519

An Essay on the Origin of the Italian Language: from the German - - - - - *523

POETRY.

Ode for the New Year. By Henry James Pye, Esq. Poet Laureat - - - - - *530

Ode for His Majesty's Birth-Day, June 4, 1800. *By H. J. Pye, Poet Laureat* - - - - - *531

An Inscription. By Mr. Roscoe - - - *533

Bannockburn. Robert Bruce's Address to his Soldiers. From the Fourth Volume of the Works of Robert Burns - - *534

To Mary in Heaven. From the First Volume of the same Works *535

Odes of Anacreon. From Mr. Moore's Translation - - *536

CONTENTS.

Lines upon a Garland. By Angerianus. From the Notes to Mr. Moore's Anacreon - - - - *540
Epigram. By Dionysius. From the same - - *541
Lines. By St. Pavin. From the same - - ibid.
Lines to the Memory of Anacreon. By Antipater Sidonius. From Mr. Moore's Anacreon - - - ibid.

ACCOUNT OF BOOKS.

Planta's History of the Hevetic Confederacy. - - *543
Captain Turner's Embassy to Tibet - - *561

THE END.

Printed by R. Gilbert, St. John's Square, London.

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
004574

Case D 2 .A55 1800 20343

The Annual register, a review of public events home and abroad

NOT TO BE TAKEN FROM THIS ROOM.

20343